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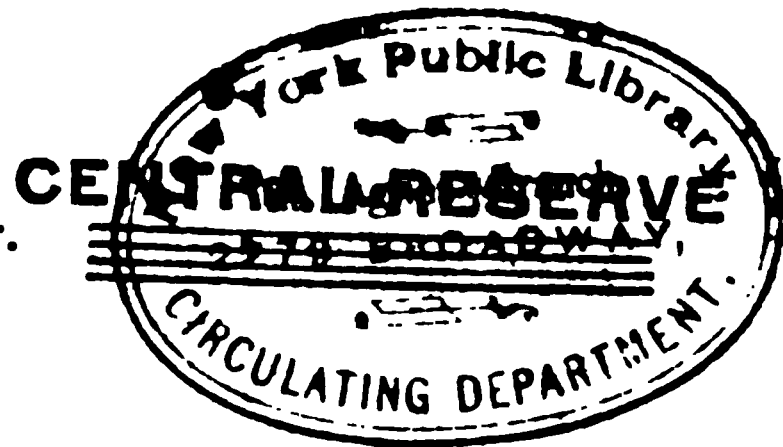


# STORY OF GOVERNMENT.

From Savagery to Civilization.

RUDIMENTS AMONG ANIMALS. — TRACES AMONG GYPSIES, BRIGANDS AND THIEVES. — EMPIRES AND OLIGARCHIES. — MONARCHIES, FEUDAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL. — THEOCRACY OR PRIESTLY RULE. — WOMAN IN GOVERNMENT. — MASONRY AND SECRET ORDERS. — REPUBLICS.

Henry Austin, Editor.

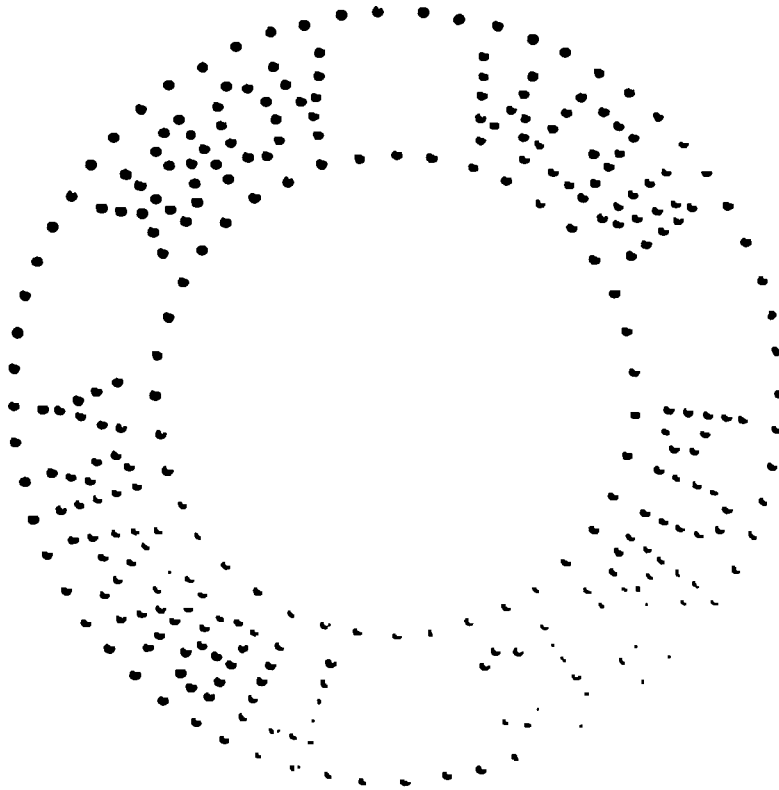
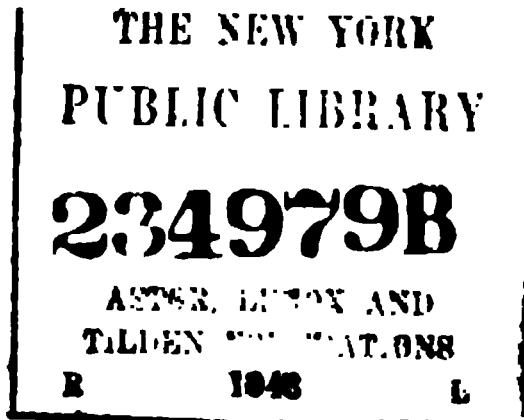


Illustrated with over 250 engravings and many double-page plates by the best American and European Artists.

1893:

A. M. THAYER & CO., Publishers,  
BOSTON AND LONDON.

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## Preface.

WHO reads a preface? Not the public as a rule, and yet this preface is written in the hope of being the exception that proves the rule—an exception made in favor of this book by a majority of thinking people. For this cause: it has no excuse to offer for its existence, but a reason and a right.

Last winter, the publishing firm, A. M. Thayer & Co., of Boston and London, realizing that the people were beginning to show a deep and deepening interest in questions of government, and that they were studying how to improve the American republic in spite of the politicians, conceived the idea of having a book that should show as picturesquely as possible all the forms of government under which mankind has lived, so that the people could study governmental problems by the light of comparison.

Chosen to compose this work, I have been embarrassed from the start by the riches of the mines from which my material was to be drawn, and I am conscious that many other journalists might have done this selection, connection and addition of thoughts and pictures much better than I. Yet, as one of the Titans of this age has said: "*What is writ is writ. Would it were worthier!*"

If it were, I would like to have paid my friend, Hezekiah Butterworth, of *The Youth's Companion*, that deservedly popular paper, the slight compliment of inscribing his honored name on a dedicatory page. As it is, I make no dedication of my labor, except to those men and women who find attraction in these pages.



Well aware how much more might have been put between the covers, I still hope and believe that this book will not merely feed the temporary curiosity of the average mind, but will stimulate the toiling men and women of America to desire, to demand, *and to obtain* better conditions of environment if not for themselves, at least for their children.

As to the help I have had in composing this book let me say a few words. Several chapters, perhaps the weightiest, were written by the veteran Irish journalist, O'Neil Larkin, and one, the Sixteenth, by Frederick Haynes, with only slight additions from my pen, and in some other chapters I have used so freely the work of other writers, English, French, and German, that I feel myself rather an editor than an author in this case.

Nevertheless, I dare to hope that some critics who are familiar with former work of mine may find some original and suggestive observations scattered through this book. In that hope I rest,

Very sincerely,

HENRY AUSTIN.

During the composition of this book, Mr. Austin, at our suggestion, for the sake of ensuring accuracy, cheerfully submitted most of the chapters to various authors who are authorities on certain subjects. We reproduce of the letters received by him just a few,—one from Gen. Douglas Frazar, the well-known traveller and author of "Perseverance Island," "The Log of the Maryland," "Practical Boat-sailing," etc., etc.; and one from Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, the famous author and lecturer, and one from the true philanthropist and world-renowned author of "The Man Without a Country," etc., etc., the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. These letters indicate to the public, better than any amount of advertising could, the character-value of this book.

A. M. THAYER & CO.,

Publishers.



Boston Oct 3<sup>d</sup> 1892.

My dear Mr Austin,

Several years residence in China makes any thing written about that country, extremely interesting to me. Permit me to congratulate you upon the excellent selection of the salient points of that peculiar people and country.

I have never met with an account so exact and truthful. It bears upon its face the unmistakable evidence of personal study amongst those people: an excellent perceptive ability, close observation, careful research, added to great powers of condensation.

Yours very truly  
Douglass Brazier





Melrose, Mass.,  
Sept. 23, 1892.

Henry Austin,  
Dear Sir,

I have read  
the chapter of your book,  
which treats of "Women in  
Government," and on the  
whole am pleased with it.  
The section relating to mod-  
ern women is admirable.

Yrs. truly,  
Mary H. Livermore



From

EDWARD E. HALE.

39 HIGHLAND ST.

ROXBURY, MASS.

Oct 8 1892

My dear Austin, -

I read with great interest the curious Chapter you sent me from your book. I was sorry you had not sent me more.

I learned a great deal as the result of your careful investigation, and we are all much obliged to you for the work you have put upon it.

Truly yours,

Edw. E. Hale.







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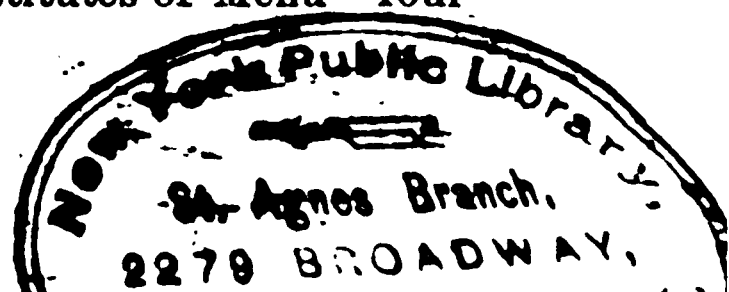
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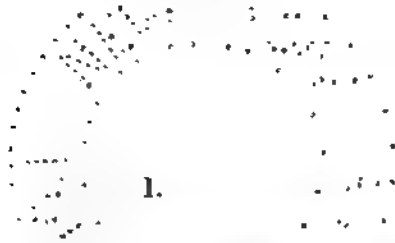
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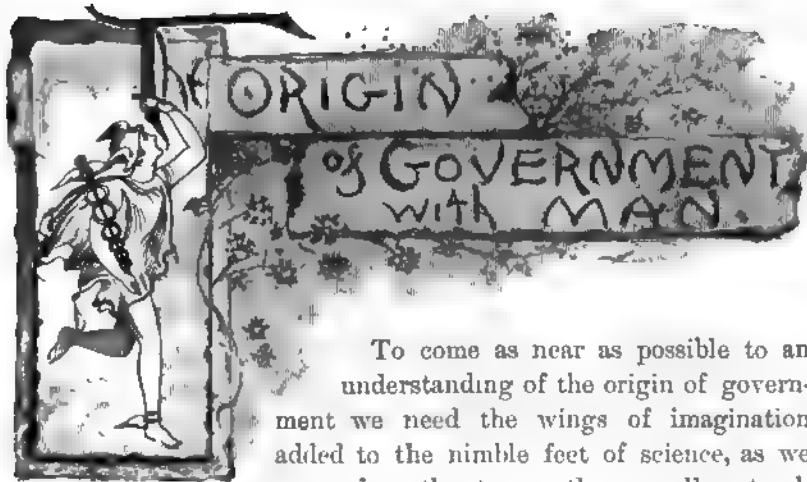
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1.



To come as near as possible to an understanding of the origin of government we need the wings of imagination added to the nimble feet of science, as we move along the strange, the marvellous track that goes back to the very dawn of human life on this planet.

The great antiquity of man is a fact on which scientists are agreed, though only in the last forty years has it been established beyond a doubt, but the exact amount of time man has been on earth will probably never be settled. It is tolerably certain, however, that man existed before the glacial period, and that the age of the human race dates back for over one hundred thousand and possibly three hundred thousand years. The different periods of human development have been styled by men of science, Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilization, and the first two have been divided into three grades.

The first or lower period of savagery dates from the infancy of the race to the time when man began to catch fish for a living and discovered the making of fire by simple friction, as depicted in our first illustration. "More light!" was the dying exclamation and aspiration of Goethe, the greatest of German thinkers.

How strange that the material element, fire, which is the source of light, which is the sign or symbol of progress, should mark scientifically the practical beginning of the enlightenment of mankind! This first period lasted many thousand years, and during that space, man's only weapons were clubs and stones rubbed into a rude resemblance to ax-heads, and tied to sticks by thongs of tough grass. The second picture represents a man of this period at the door of his cave-home in the wilds of ancient Switzerland. And the third picture, "Two mothers in the days before the flood," shows how the cave-home of primitive man in Europe was often invaded by the cave-bear, against whose attacks our savage ancestors were practically powerless, unless they happened to hit with an early blow a certain part of the animal's head. Next came the middle period of savagery, which is scientifically dated from the invention of the bow and arrow, that by its use in hunting gave man a new kind of food and a new means of defence against enemies.

The second stage of savagery, which is indicated by the fourth illustration, lasted an almost equal space until the discovery of the art of making pottery which marked a new step in human development and introduced the first stage of barbarism. This period stretched a weary, dreary length of many centuries until man began, on the Eastern Hemisphere, to domesticate cattle and live by flocks and herds; or, on the Western Hemisphere, as among the Pueblo and Zuni tribes of this continent, to plant maize, to build an excellent system of irrigation (from which our government might take a hint to-day) and to make houses of adobe brick.

Goquet, in the last century, first propounded the notion that the way pottery came to be made was that some wooden vessel, or some basket woven of bark, was daubed with damp clay to protect it from the fire and then the people, finding the clay harden into a durable state, conceived the idea of making vessels of clay instead of wood. Goquet says that Captain Gonneville, who visited the natives of southeastern South America in 1502, found their household utensils plastered with a kind of clay to the thickness of a finger which prevented the fire from burning them.

This second stage of barbarism extends also for ages till, on

the slow upward journey of the race, we reach the third station of barbarism which is marked by the discovery of the process of smelting iron and the use of iron tools and weapons. This, likewise, endures with slightly increasing degrees of refinement for ages and ages until what is called the first period of civilization, characterized by the invention of an alphabet to express to the eye the sounds of the tongue or, in fine, the art of writing.



MAKING FIRE BY FRICTION.

If we stop to consider how many thousand years elapsed from the invention of the art of writing to the invention of the printing-press, during which many separate so-called civilizations flourished and faded, we shall be more able to understand that many thousands of years must have intervened between the invention of the bow and arrow by some early savage of the third period to the invention of a jar of pottery. The following approximate table may help to fix in the memory the great, slow steps of the race.



TABLE OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

FIRST STAGE OF SAVAGERY.	
42,700 years.	From the Infancy of the race and a diet of Nuts, Roots, and Fruits to catching Fish and learning the use of Fire.
SECOND STAGE OF SAVAGERY.	
42,070 years.	From Fish and Fire to the invention of the Bow and Arrow.
THIRD STAGE OF SAVAGERY.	
42,007 years.	From the Bow and Arrow to the invention of an Earthen Pot for cooking.
FIRST STAGE OF BARBARISM.	
35,000 years.	From the Art of Pottery to the Herding or Domestication of Cattle, etc.
SECOND STAGE OF BARBARISM.	
21,000 years.	From Herding Cattle, Planting Maize, Building of Irrigating Canals and Houses of Stone and Adobe Brick, to the discovery of a process of Smelting Iron Ore.
THIRD STAGE OF BARBARISM.	
7,000 years.	From the Smelting of Iron and Making of Iron Tools and Weapons to the invention of an Alphabet.
FIRST STAGE OF CIVILIZATION.	
	From the Invention of Written Signs to express the sounds of the human tongue and the consciousness of thinking, as a thing of value in itself, to be treasured up or recorded, to some time in the future, when government of, for, and by the people shall be an established fact all over the world, and when poverty and material misery shall be merely a dim memory of the past, possibly the year 2,100 of our present reckoning.

<sup>1</sup> Ernest George Ravenstein, F. R. G. S., of London, figuring the fertile regions of the earth at 28,269,000 square miles, and figuring the world's population at 1,467,600,000, or 31 to a square mile, and taking as a basis for estimate the standard of living, as existing to-day in various climates, reckons that the world, if brought to its maximum of cultivation, can supply 5,994,000,000 persons with food. The increase of population might be materially affected by many unforeseen new conditions, social or meteorological; but weighing all the data, and considering all the causes likely to hasten or retard growth of population in various quarters, Mr. R. assumes that the increase each decade will be ten per cent. Accepting these figures as correct, in 1900 the present population will have increased to 1,587,000,000. In 1950, there will be 2,332,000,000; in 2000, 3,426,000,000; and in the year 2072, there would be 5,977,000,000, or within a few millions of what the earth can support. Consequently in the next 182 years Civilization must have learned myriad new lessons, or else a cataclysm must occur, destroying the present human race to a great extent, and perhaps starting man on the second stage of Civilization.

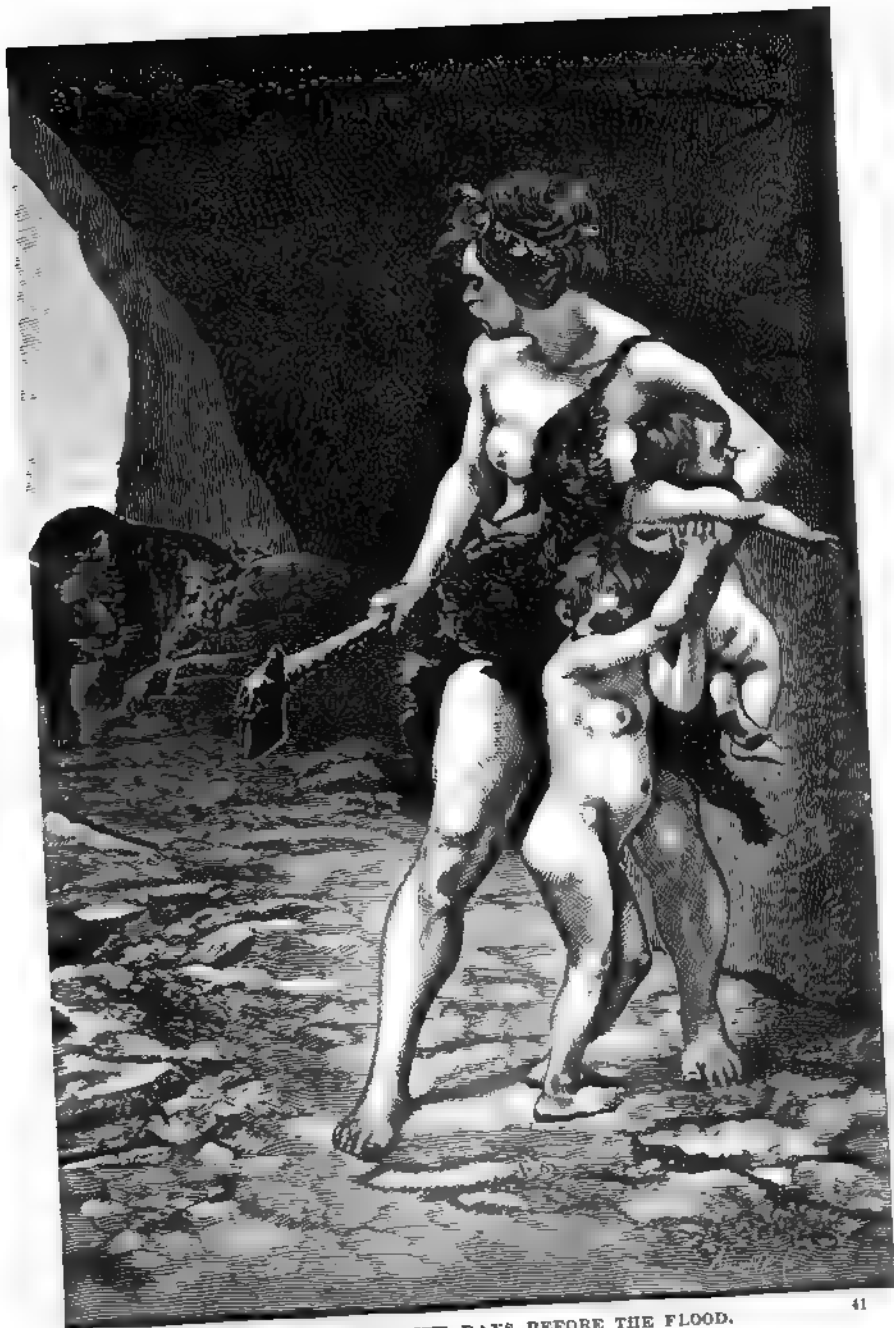


A SAVAGE OF THE SECOND PERIOD.

The marked decrease in years indicated by the preceding table from the third stage of savagery to the invention of pottery, and the still greater decrease to the second stage of barbarism, are estimated on the principle that every additional invention has a power of stimulation on the inventive faculty. But while studying such a table as this, though we cannot help feeling how slow the evolution has been, it must not dishearten us, nor need it fill us with a profound sadness for the vanished millions, since the progress, though slow, has been sure, and with a promise of ever higher certainties in the future. The history of the race, as revealed to us by the most recent researches of science, points conclusively to the fact that man in the mass, as well as man the unit, is destined to develop the animal, and probably to become something more.

The final findings of science are growing to coincide with the fundamental sense of all intelligent religions; that man's life is not merely summed up in the verbs, to eat, drink, sleep, think, propagate, and die. For it is now beyond dispute that in the slow process of this development from the naked savage of few words and equally few ideas, who toiled in caves and fished with his paws in streams, to the average man of to-day, who uses a vocabulary of ten thousand words to express his ideas, or to the scholar who uses twenty thousand, many races of animals that were on the earth with the early man have entirely disappeared. Does not this seem to imply that man is not merely a cooking animal, an inventing and aspiring one, but that he is pre-eminently a surviving animal?

There is also another reflection that naturally arises from a study of the ascending struggle of humanity, which is, indeed, that we are what we are to-day, not merely on account of our individual struggles and difficult development amid adverse circumstances, or our fortunate location and easy development in pleasant circumstances, but largely in either case, because many millions, through the countless ages of savagery, barbarism, and early civilization, have toiled and suffered to make possible our present average of collective comfort (still, alas! a pitifully small one) as well as our individual approximations towards a wise, kindly, dignified existence; in short, towards the happiness of refinement and the refinement of happiness.

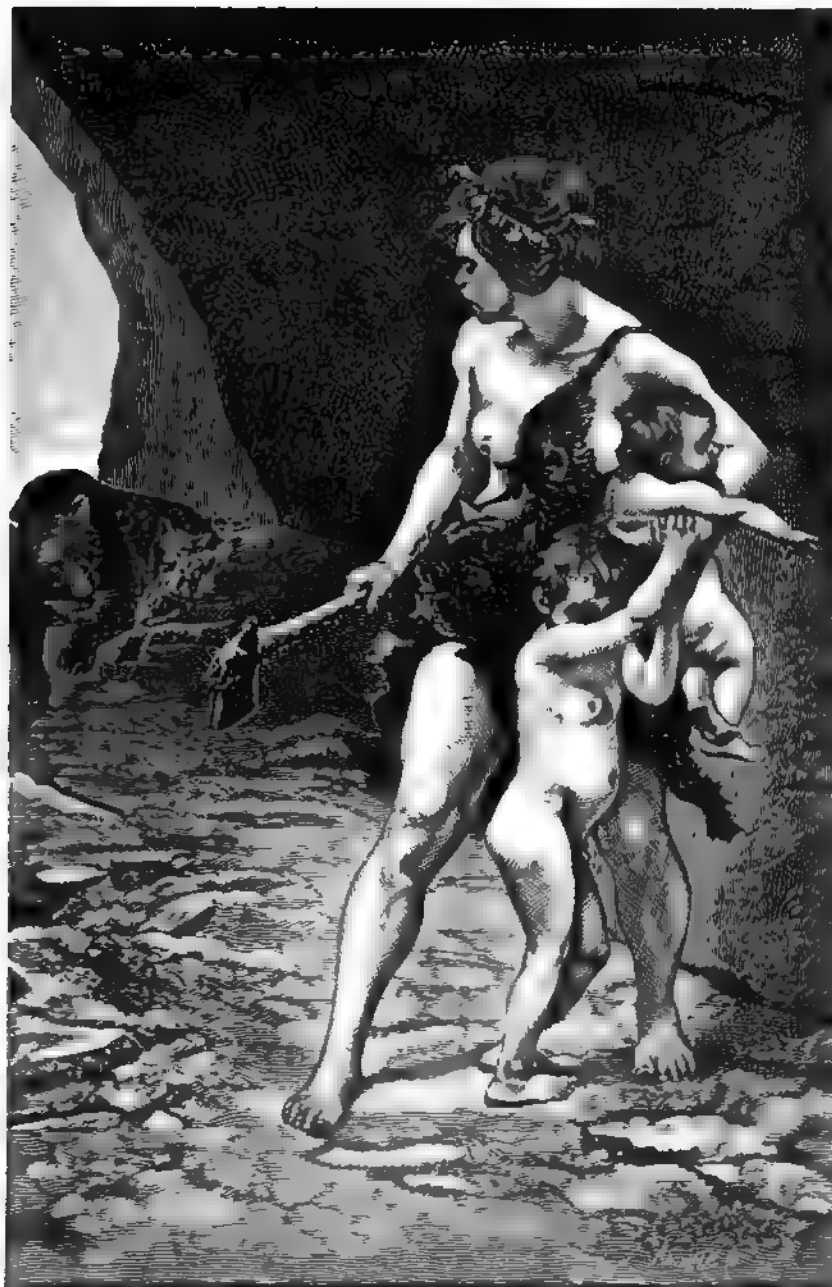


TWO MOTHERS IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE FLOOD.

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TWO MOTHERS IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE FLOOD.

Having thus briefly outlined the large steps of the race during which government has had its slow evolution, suppose we try for a definition of our own for this word. Suppose we say "Government is the condition resulting from an attempt to live together under some rule or order."

As to its origin, some scholars consider the family as the germ of it, though some find it rather difficult, when considering how promiscuous were the relations of the sexes in the early days of the race, to say with certainty that government developed from the family. Indeed, the opposite has been ably maintained, that family, as we understand it now, developed from government and the sense of property.<sup>1</sup> The weight of likelihood, however, seems to be on the side of those who regard the family as the germ, and this being so it becomes necessary to consider how many kinds of family relations have been invented or accepted by the human race.

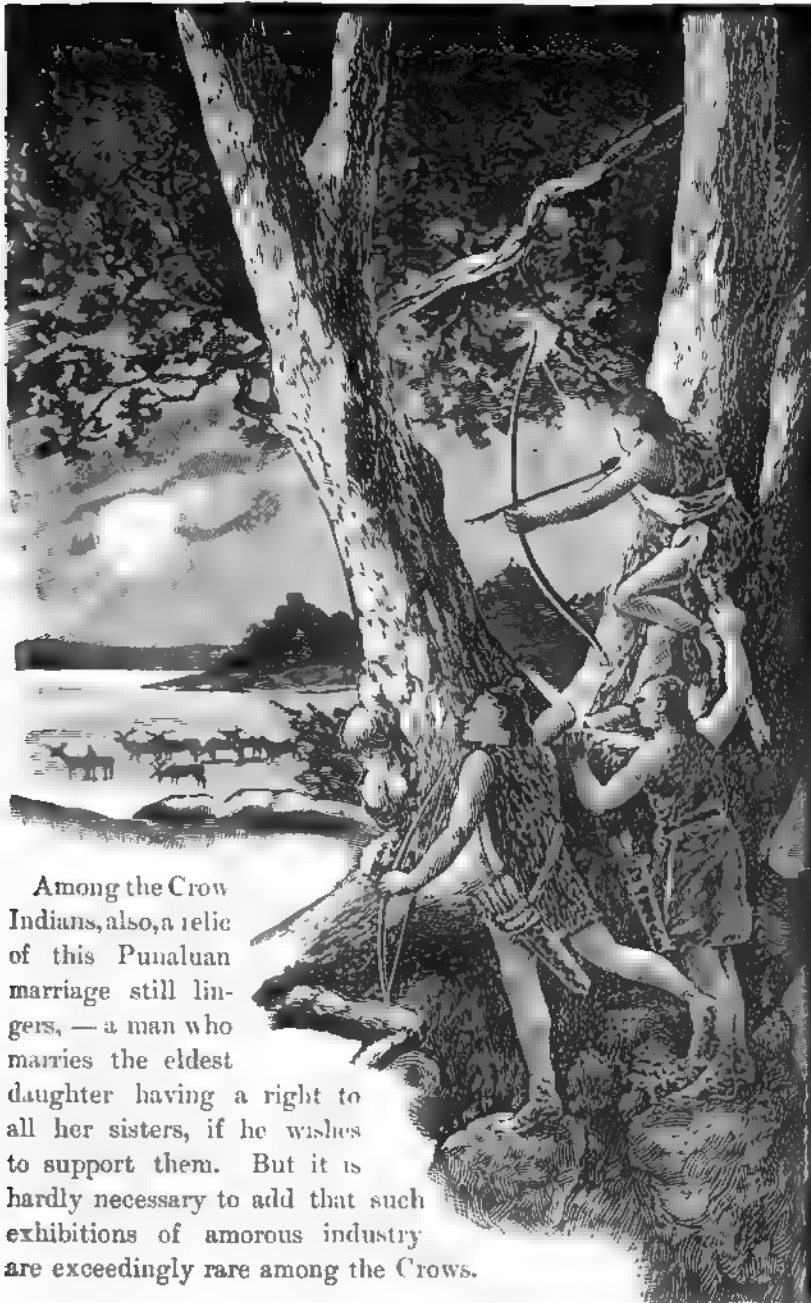
First is the Consanguine family, in which brothers and sisters freely intermarried. This form to-day seems to us a most horrible thing and is punished by the laws of every civilized State. Nevertheless it lingered so long in the minds of men that the great empire of Egypt, which was in the dawn of civilization and not in the scientific period of barbarism, not only countenanced it, but made it conspicuous by the example of the royal family.

The Second form of the family, or of the married relation, has been called the Punaluan, and was extant until recently in the Hawaiian Islands. The missionaries, in 1820, found it prevalent, and not being scientists or philosophers were disproportionately shocked by it. This consists in all the brothers of a family being the husbands of each other's wives, or in the sisters being the wives of each sister's husband; and brothers was a term, with them, of wide significance, comprehending cousins to the third or fourth degree.

Cæsar, the maker of so much history, and the historian of his own creations, the profound observer as well as the practical statesman, makes a note of finding Punaluan marriage among the ancient Britons in groups of ten or twelve.

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<sup>1</sup> Some scholars hold that Government, modelled after the exercise of authority in the family unit, is made necessary by the existence of property.



Among the Crow Indians, also, a relic of this Punaluan marriage still lingers, — a man who marries the eldest daughter having a right to all her sisters, if he wishes to support them. But it is hardly necessary to add that such exhibitions of amorous industry are exceedingly rare among the Crows.

THE BOW AND ARROW OR SECOND STAGE OF SAVAGERY.



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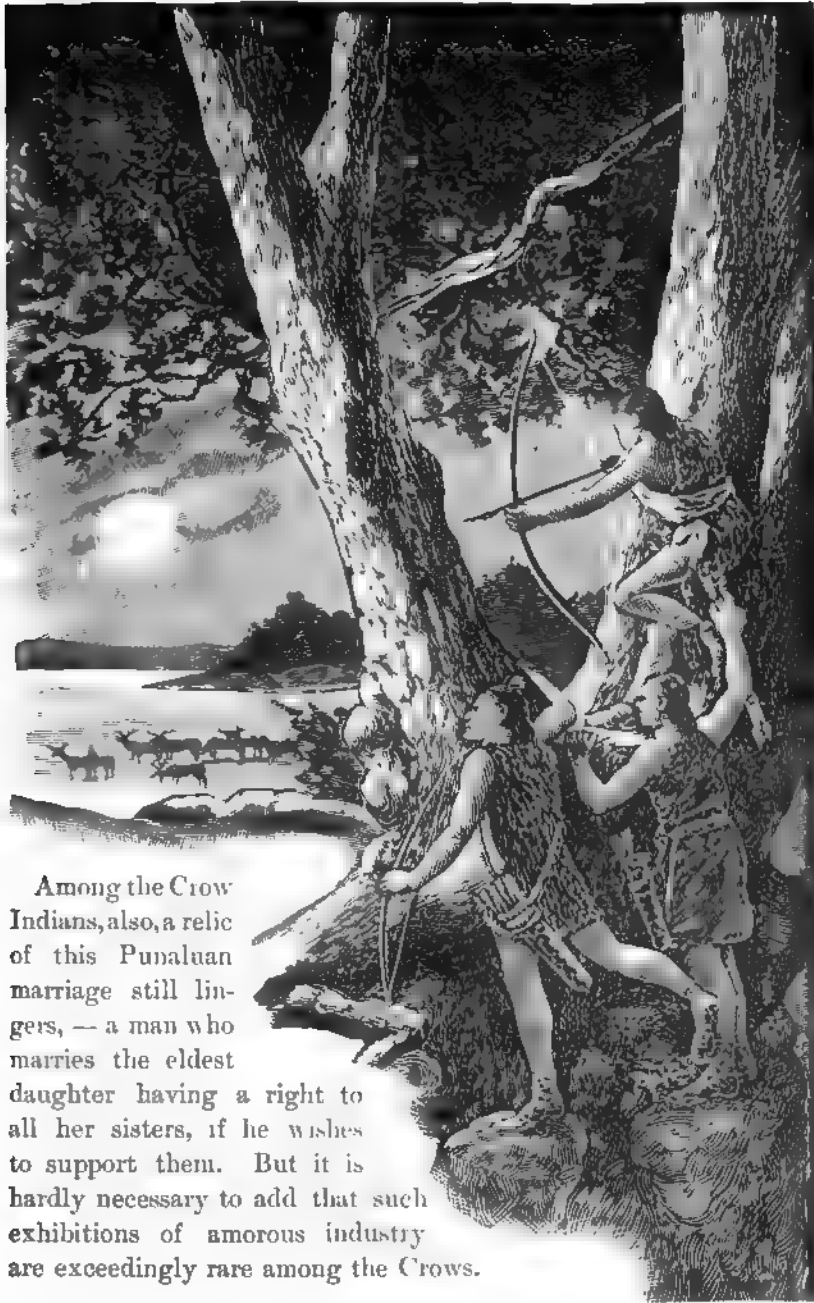
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THE BOW AND ARROW OR SECOND STAGE OF SAVAGERY.

In South America, likewise, among certain tribes where women are not regarded as mere beasts of burden traces of a similar practice still exist.

The Third form of family which has been called the Syndyasmian, still extant among some of the Indian tribes on this continent, is a step upward in morals as we regard them. It consists in the pairing of one woman and one man, not, however, with the intent or with the absolute promise of continuity, because divorce at will was a right felt to be inherent in both parties. This form of family has almost entirely vanished from the world as a national or tribal characteristic, though it crops up quite frequently in individual cases.

The Fourth kind of family has been styled the Patriarchal. This is the marriage of one man to several women, or polygamy, and still flourishes among some Asiatic nations, yet by no means to the extent that it once did; and the attempt to revive it in our occidental civilization has proved a priestly failure, although the Mormon colony of Utah, perhaps because of its co-operative features, has been conspicuous as a commercial success.

The converse of Polygamy, or Polygyny as it should be called — that is Polyandry, or the marriage of one woman to several men, though existent to-day in Ceylon, Australasia and Tibet, appears to be rather an exceptional sidegrowth than a regular grade of development.

The Fifth form of family, or the Monogamic, is that which flourishes to-day among all civilized races, and that seems to be the ultimate, the last word of advice which nature has to give concerning human happiness; for nearly all the higher animals, as well as man, develop to the having of only one mate.

Does it not seem, on the whole, rather a reasonable inference that the moment when absolute promiscuity in the fundamentally necessary and fundamentally righteous relations of the sexes ceased to prevail, and the idea ensued of limiting marriage to certain members of a clan or aggregation of human individuals, the idea of rule and order arose from such instinctive limitation and then the idea of *authority*, to enforce rule or order, dawned on the dull brain of the primeval savage?

We thus grasp the ideas of order and of authority, as twin

elements of a concrete concept of government: order desired by the general mind, and authority devised and then lodged somewhere to maintain and increase it.

THE FIRST POTTER.



Starting, then, with the single family, we arrive at the Gens<sup>1</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> Gens, Latin ; γένος, Greek ; ganas, Sanscrit ; our word kin being the same root.

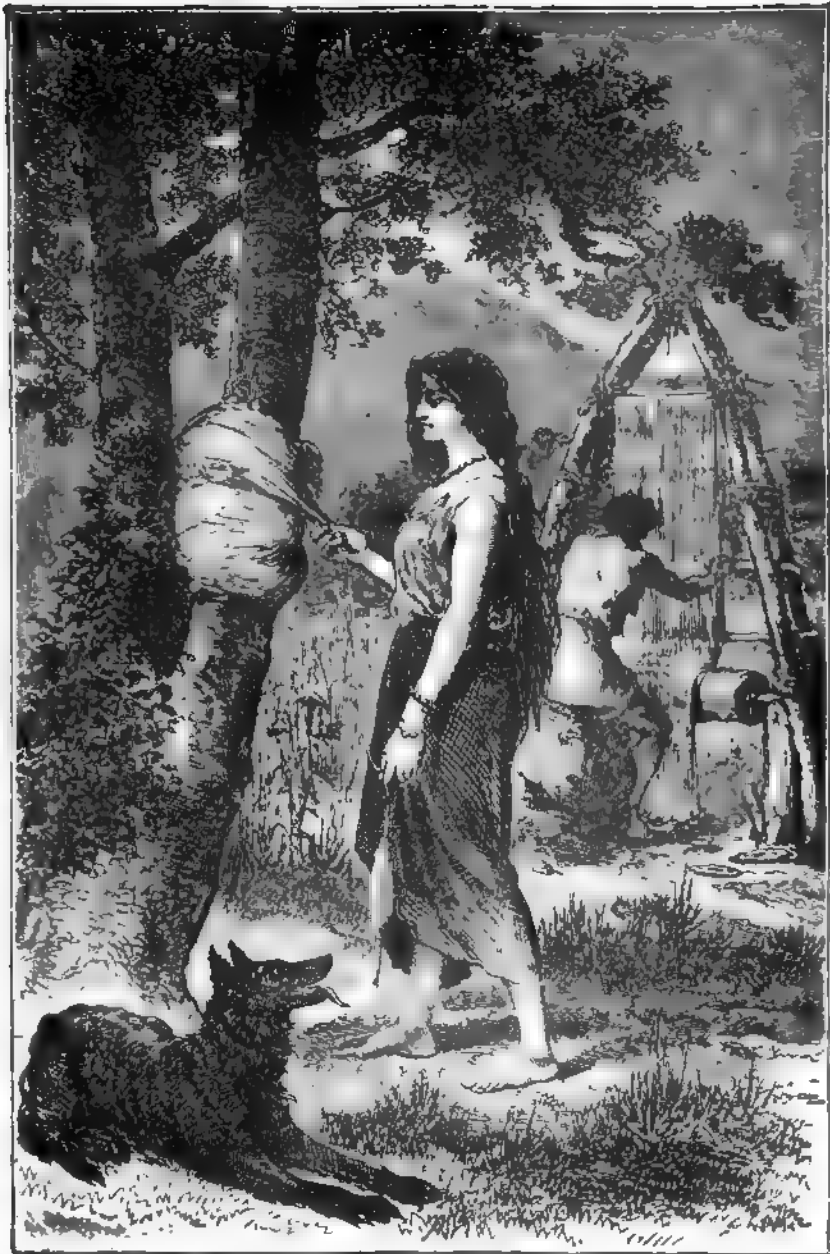
kindred, a small body of blood-relations living together, bearing the same name. This gens, as it throws out branches that settle in adjacent places, keeps itself connected with these branches by certain customs.

The inter-associations which practise these customs are scientifically called Phratries, from a word of Greek origin, signifying brotherhood, and indicating their relationship to the nucleus-gens. As others at a distance come into the same relationship, either by extension of the original family or by juncture with other families, the tribe is formed; and after the tribe, the confederacy, which was the nearest approach the barbaric mind made to our present idea of a nation.

The phratry is a brotherhood and an organic growth from the gens, and among the Greeks and Romans, as among the Iroquois, it was generally an association for certain religious or social objects of two or more gentes of the same tribe. The Roman curia, or cury, was the analogue of the Indian and Grecian phratry. There were ten gentes in each curia, and ten curiæ in each of the three Roman tribes, making three hundred gentes among the Romans. The governmental functions of the Roman curia became much more complex and political than those of the Greek or Indian, but the primary principle of association for social or religious purposes was identical. And this tendency to associate in phratries or lodges appears to be as strong in the masculine mind of to-day as it ever was; of which statement abundant testimony offers itself in the shape of our numerous fraternities, such as Masonry, Pythian, and other societies.

All these phratries and tribes and confederacies are evolutions of the family, and their status is founded on a social rather than a territorial and property relation. A separate and sharply-marked domain, and the possession of property, were ideas that only took root in the minds of men in the very latest days of barbarism, and to enter upon the second plan of government it was necessary to supersede the gentes and phratries by townships and city wards.

The decline of the gens and the rising of the organized town make the dividing line between barbarism and civilization, between ancient and modern society.



THE FIRST WEAVER.

It is well established, though but recently, that Man all over the world has a common scientific evolution; the story of one race is the story of all. Humanity is a unit in source, in experience, in progress; and, in the faith of science we may add, one also in the certainty of an immortal and imperial destiny. So, if we take the condition of development shown by a tribe of American Indians, we shall have a fairly approximate picture of just how the beautiful civilization of Greece, or the majestic empire of Rome under Augustus, developed through the gens, phratry, and tribe.

Too many of us derive our idea of an Indian from Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, or from the straggling specimens that sell baskets and beadwork in the summer. But these bear no more real resemblance to the Indian as he is historically than do the fawning, flattering, fortune-telling gypsies to the ancient Egyptian courtiers who exchanged elegant compliments amid the roseate shadows of the perfumed audience chamber of Cleopatra.

Nationally, we have done great material wrong to the original possessors of this country. Is it not becoming then that we should at least make some attempt to do justice to them historically, since we have never, or rarely, done it to the living individuals?

Moreover, our ideas of the Indian have always been colored by conflict. We have inherited a distrust of him, and it is only of late that scholars generally have begun to appreciate his virtues. Even large-hearted travellers like Dickens have been misled into regarding him as merely a dirty and drunken ruffian, glad to live in laziness and be supported by the government. The trouble is we are looking upon the Indian, not as God made him, not as he developed under the kindly eye of nature, but as we white men have unmade him by the almost off-setting brutality that accompanies our present civilization. The American Indian, sitting in council near the banks of some winding water, under the mellow harvest moon, was a very different being from those we see to-day, who have exchanged the virtues of barbarism for the vices of civilization; those to whom we have given of our worst instead of our best.

Metacom and Wamsutta, the last Indian kings of prominence

in New England, were types, it is true, of the third stage of barbarism. They were barbarians, but they were gentlemen. In fineness of feeling, in regard for the rights of others, in statesman-

EARLY AGRICULTURE IN EUROPE.



like qualities, and needless to say in daring, they would compare with any of the early Saxon chiefs except possibly Alfred the



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like qualities, and needless to say in daring, they would compare with any of the early Saxon chiefs except possibly Alfred the

Great. For instance, what could be finer than the feeling shown in the following incident?

Wamsutta was the chief king of Eastern New England during the early colonial days. His father, Massasoit, had heaped kindnesses on the Pilgrims, fed them when starving, saved them from the assaults of other tribes. After his death, Wamsutta was one day at breakfast in one of his many hunting lodges, with several of his nobles and their wives. A party of Pilgrims surprised them, seized their weapons that had been stacked outside, and told the king that he was under arrest and must come to Plymouth to answer certain charges. The leader of this party offered the outraged monarch a horse to ride on, but the king refused with these words: "I could not ride and let these women walk."

This is but one of the many incidents which a certain unconscious or subconscious candor has forced unfriendly historians to record. Wamsutta died from the effect on his proud nature of the indignity done him by this arrest, and his brother, Metacom, or Philip, as he was called by the Pilgrims, for years nursed plans of vengeance against the race who had been the cause of his brother's early death, who had spoiled him of his lands, wantonly burned many of his hunting-lodges, and tried even in his own home to curtail his powers.

Philip made war on our English ancestors during the fall of 1675 and the following winter and spring; and though like Napoleon, a personal failure finally, the results of his well-planned war on our ancestors were felt for fifty years after his death, or, as their writers agreed, he retarded the development of New England for that space.

Yet he, too, with every reason to detest our race, was not only kind in many instances to the prisoners he captured, but was uniformly courteous. Mrs. Richardson, who lived as his prisoner for many months before she was finally restored to her husband, tells us that this great soldier (even his enemies admitted his military genius) was a most kindly captor. He asked her one day to make a shirt for his little son, and when she had made it, expressing his pleasure, he not only thanked her, but paid her an English shilling for it.

Our tardy scholarship is beginning to see that such conduct

more fairly represents the Indian character as it was at the best period of development than the ravages occasionally committed by

MEETING OF MAGANOTT AND THE PILGRIMS.



the degenerate tribes of to-day, too often goaded to fury by dishonest government agents.

It is a pity that we have not sufficient data concerning the

political condition of the New England Indians to show how they developed to the production of such men as those just named, but by examining another Indian tribe, the Seneca-Iroquois, we shall see the evolution of government among barbarians up to hereditary monarchy as clearly as if we went through a long course of Greek or Roman history.

The Seneca-Iroquois were divided into gentes, phratries, and tribes. The chiefs in each gens were usually proportioned to the members. Among the Iroquois there is one to about every fifty persons. The Iroquois in New York now number three thousand, and have eight sachems and about sixty chiefs.

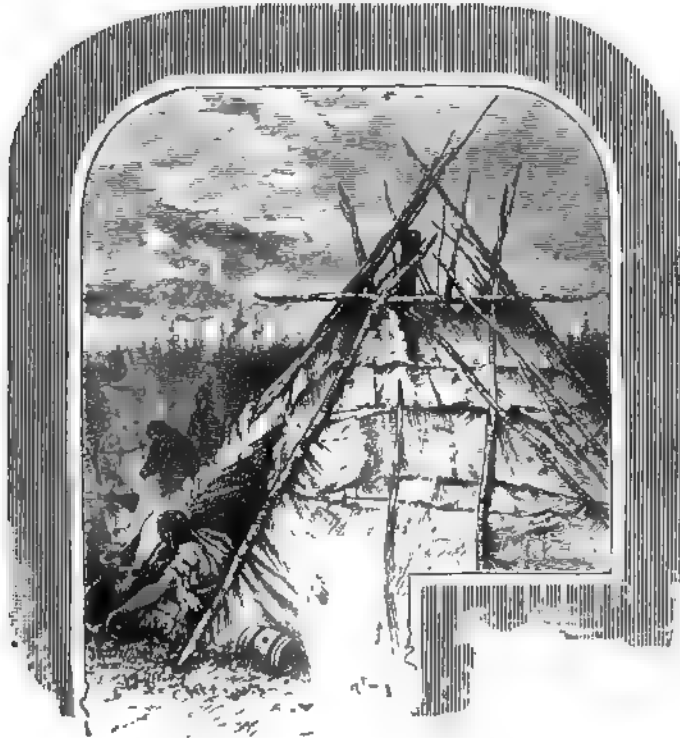
The first question, then, that suggests itself is, what were the political rights of the gens. First of all, with the basic right of having a council of its own, the right of electing and deposing its sachem and its chiefs. Here we have at once a fact that contradicts the old historical assumption that the democratical form of government is a late invention, and that the monarchical was the one most natural and most adapted to the evolution of human society. For the right of electing and deposing the head of the gens shows that man started in a rude way to have what we are trying to-day to have in a complete, though perhaps too complex, way; namely, a government of the people.

Another right of the gens was the inheritance of property. If a man died his property would not descend to his son or his daughter, but to the gens in common. The feeling here seems to be identical with that which our most republican millionaire, Andrew Carnegie, has recently expressed, that a man's material acquisitions, being largely the result of the co-operation of others, should at his death revert to whence they came. Mr. Carnegie's mind, however, has expanded since his first declaration, for he now maintains that a rich man in his life-time should restore to the people, in the shape of libraries, parks, and hospitals, the money he has made out of them.

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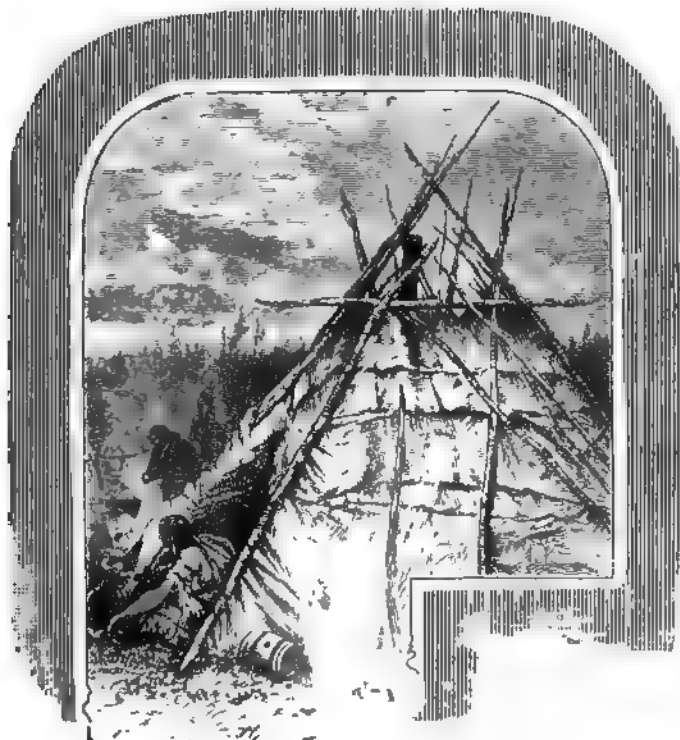
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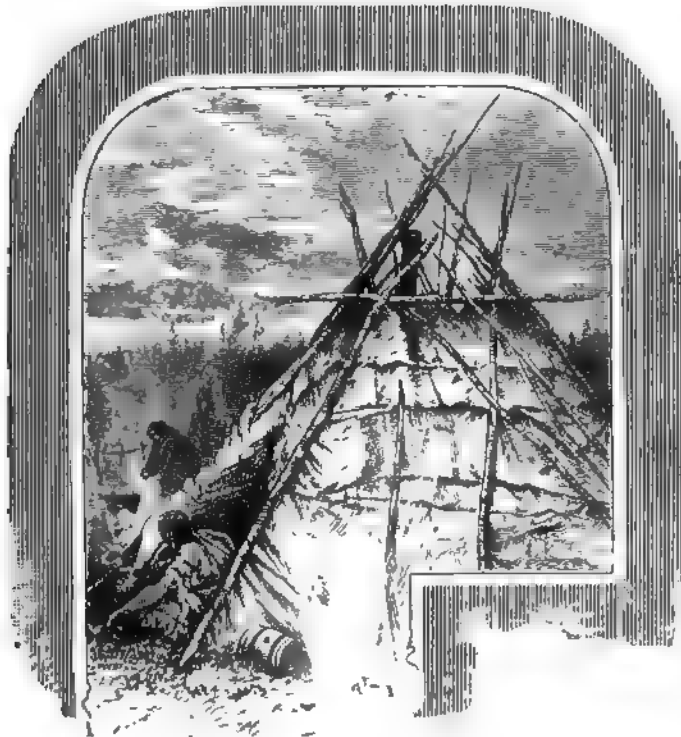
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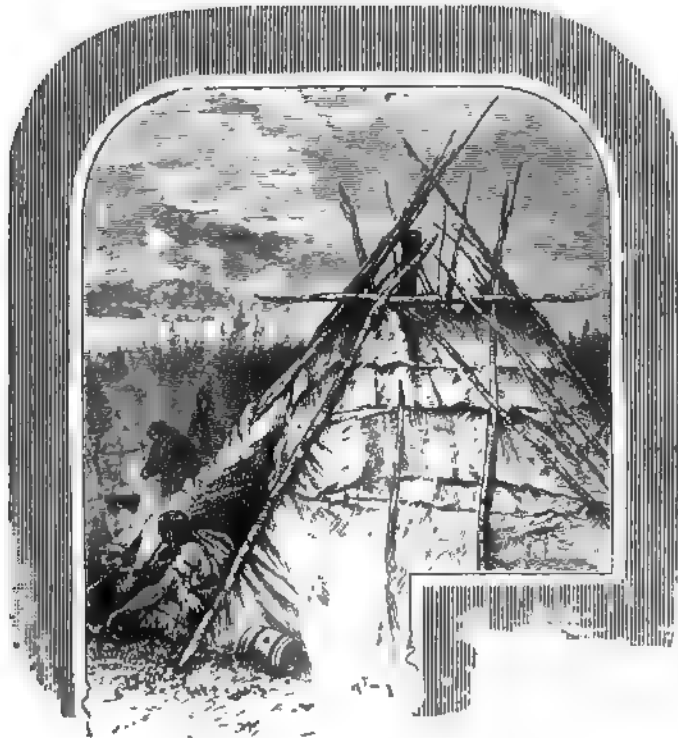
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The sachem, or wise-man, was elected in each gens from among its members. A son could not be chosen to succeed his father if descent was in the female line, which made the son belong to a different gens.

The duties of a sachem were confined to the affairs of peace. He settled disputes, advised the time of planting corn, or the location of the camp, or any matter that demanded personal advice, or sympathy. It was analogous in some respects to the

post of father confessor, though among many of the tribes this function was rudimentary in spite of the semi-religious character with which the sachem was invested. The relation of the sachem was primarily to the gens of which he was the official head, while that of the chief, who was chosen for personal bravery or for eloquence, was primarily to the tribe or large organization of the council of which he as well as the sachem were members. The sachem was so much an officer of peace that he could not go to war as a sachem, but simply as a private individual in the ranks under the leaderships of the chiefs, whose functions were purely military or advisory in military matters in the general council of the tribe.

The office of sachem was hereditary in the sense that it was filled from the same gens as often as a vacancy happened, but it was filled by election from different relatives of the deceased or deposed chieftain. Though the office was nominally for life, it was practically for good behavior, because of the power to depose. The ceremony of installing a sachem was very picturesque. It was accompanied by song and dance and the final act was symbolized by the putting on a headdress of buffalo horns, as his deposition was symbolized by taking off the horns.

It is one of the little facts that cumulate to show the substantial relativity of mankind that, even among tribes widely separated, horns have been made emblems of office and authority from time immemorial, and even of sanctity, as in the Catholic church we have the horns of the altar, which were invested with a peculiar sacredness. The killing of Thomas à Becket, for instance, in the age of Henry II. of England, when assassination was a common crime, was accounted especially heinous because the victim was not only a priest, but was killed while holding one of the horns of the altar.

Horns, also, by the imagination of the middle ages, are assigned to his Satanic Majesty, probably as a token of his power, and the horn as a sign of plenty is another emblem, derived possibly from the Scandinavian drinking-horn, though it is also credited with a Roman and Greek derivation. Tylor intimates that the commanding appearance of buffalos and such animals as wear horns may have suggested to the general mind this thing as a token of dignity and authority.

PHILIP, THE LAST NEW ENGLAND KING.





Among the Iroquois Indians, whose attempt at government we are considering, the nomination of a sachem by a gens was not complete until it had received the assent of the seven remaining gentes. If these gentes, who met for this purpose by phratries, refused to confirm it, the original gens had to make another choice; and even when they had confirmed it, it was still necessary that the new sachem, to use their own peculiar phrase, should be "*raised up*," that is, should be inducted into his office by a council of the confederacy before he could enter upon his duties. The same method of election and confirmation applied to chiefs, yet a general council never convened to "raise up" chiefs below the rank of a sachem, but waited for some time when a sachem was to be confirmed.

The principle of democracy manifested itself here in the retention by the gent-i-les,<sup>1</sup> or members of each gens, of the right of electing their most immediate rulers, and also proved itself in the safeguards thrown around the offices to prevent usurpations by the check on the election which the other gentes held in their hands and by the additional check held by the whole tribe. We can see in this ceremonial of "raising up" by the tribe an analogue of the administration to our President of the oath of office by some one else, as we can see also in the checks devised by the Indian mind against the seizure of power by unscrupulous ambition the same working principle that led the founders of this republic to put various checks on the power of individuals, and even of popular assemblies, such as the check of the Senate on the House of Representatives.

It is worthy of note that in this democratic assembly, or council of the gens, which elected a sachem, not merely every man, but every married woman, had a voice upon great questions, probably in many cases very much of a voice on little ones, likewise. Thus it is evident that the great ideas, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, which were the torch-words of the French Revolution, though never formulated into sounding phrase by Indian orators, were cardinal principles of their system of government.

Looked at carelessly, a council of Indian chiefs, scantily clad,

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<sup>1</sup> Gent-i-les — the members of a gens or family group. A word to be distinguished from Gentiles as used in the Bible.







A HUMAN HEART OFFERED UP TO THE SUN-GOD.



with paint-daubed faces, armed with rude weapons and smoking clumsy pipes, is of little importance except as a picturesqueness of the past. Studied by the light of science, it is seen to be the germ of the modern congress, and thus to have a bearing of great importance on the history of mankind.

The first stage of tribal government was a council of chiefs elected by the gentes and may be styled a *one-power* government; — not a one-man power, for that was to come later.



WIGWAM BUILDING AMONG THE IROQUOIS.

The second stage was a government divided, or balanced, between a council of chiefs, or sachems, and a general; one representing the civil, and the other the military necessities of the people.

The general, called War Chief among the Iroquois, Rex among the Romans, and Basileus among the Greeks, was the germ, or suggestion, of a chief executive magistrate, King, Emperor, or President. This office was elective and not hereditary among the Iroquois and other Indians, as likewise among the Romans, and later light seems to show that the Spaniards, and the great historian Prescott following their lead, were mistaken in thinking

that among the Aztecs the office was hereditary. It is also extremely doubtful whether among the Greeks of the traditional period, — that is, those who figure as heroes in the world's greatest poems, the Iliad and Odyssey, — the office of king was not elective, instead of hereditary, as most scholars have hitherto assumed.

This double government of an elective council and elective general, or *two-power* government, naturally unfolded into a third stage: a tribal government, with a council of chiefs, a general commander, and an assembly of the people, since the establishment of tribes in walled cities, and the creation of wealth in lands, flocks and herds and in private property necessitated a popular assembly.

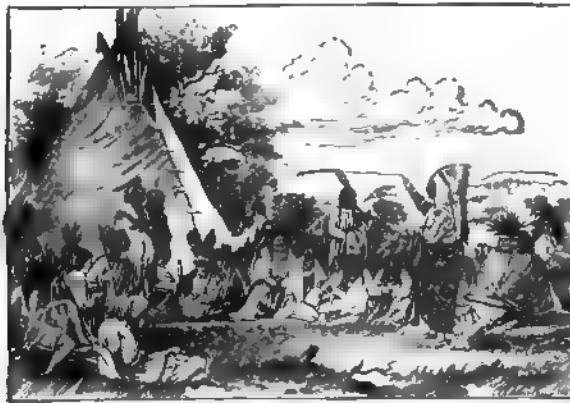
The council of chiefs, to retain their power, found it needful to submit the most important measures to this popular assembly for approval or the reverse. It does not appear that this assembly originated measures, but was content to let the chiefs do their thinking for them, retaining only the right of rejection or final action. This was a creation then of a *three-power* government, namely the preconsidering council, the popular assembly to sanction or reject the plans of their accepted thinkers, and the general to carry them out, if called upon.

The Iroquois went one step further in the development of government than most of the Indians, for one of their wise men, Ha-yo-went-ha, whom our poet Longfellow has celebrated as Hiawatha, conceived the idea of uniting their different tribes and some others into a confederacy with marked limitations of territory which was almost an arrival at the conception of a nation. The Iroquois tradition tells us that the council for this purpose met on the north shore of the beautiful Onondaga Lake near the present site of Syracuse, and that the organization was perfected.

The great Edinburgh scholar, Prof. John Stuart Blackie, remarks that the American Indians and the Greeks of the Homeric poems bear to each other in sentiment a wonderfully striking resemblance. This is especially true as to the basis of government indicated by their political or official titles. The Iroquois name for a sachem (Ho-yar-na-go-war), which signifies "a counsellor of the people," has its duplicate in many Greek names for military

leaders, which betokens that both barbaric governments were based on the people (as is not the case to-day with the barbaric governments of Russia and of China) and were, indeed, a rude kind of free democracy.

Since scientists are agreed that all men have developed in very nearly similar ways, there is contained in this particular picture a general one also of the way in which all races probably began, by the slow adding of new features to the machinery of their social system, to evolve the idea of government from the family. What is averagely true of the American Indian applies roundly,



A SACHEM RENDERING JUDGMENT.

and the different kinds of government which we shall be led to study further on, by means of brief historical illustrations, will be seen to be growths upon this primal stock of democratical government, excrescences caused either by the cleverness of priests, or the ambition of individual chiefs, who, temporarily clothed with power by the people, managed to perpetuate their power in themselves and their descendants. But these excrescences<sup>1</sup> on the fair growth of the original democratic idea are gradually losing their vitality and must before long drop away.

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<sup>1</sup> It is believed by some students of history that the people have sincerely developed the monarchical form as preferable to the uncertainty, the fluctuant character, of an oligarchic or democratic form. Possibly monarchy is part of a natural order, just as a disorder in childhood may be a safeguard against a more dangerous disease later — a sort of unconscious self-vaccination on the part of a people developing.



We have now had a brief outline of the simplest form of tribal government, a form adapted to meet only the needs of barbarians. We shall see in a later chapter how perfect in its mechanism, and how marvellous in its power has been, and still is, the theocratic, or priestly government, which the great French scholar, Fustel de Coulanges, seems to think was more strong in the beginning of ancient society than to-day. For de Coulanges maintains that among ancient races every family had a separate religion; that every hearth was the altar of a personal god, and that consequently every attempt at closer association between different families for the purpose, or towards the end, of establishing a joint government was not merely colored, but controlled, by the theocratic or priestly idea; was dominated always by the shadow of the unseen world.

It sometimes happens, however, that great scholars who adopt certain ideas as general explanations of any problem are tempted to twist even the simplest fact into an apparent substantiation of their theories. For example, this great Frenchman just mentioned, whose last book had the extraordinary honor of being crowned three times by the French Academy, takes a very simple passage from Homer's beautiful poem, "The Odyssey." Ulysses, when offered countless treasures and immortality likewise, wishes instead to see once more the flame of his own hearth-fire. The scholar, often too eager to prove his case and so tempted into becoming a special pleader, seems to see in this a proof of the worship of home and the household fire-god rather than a simple, though profound, idea put by the greatest of poets into the mouth of his wisest character.

For should not the wise man's words really be taken as merely an outburst of the charmingly simple and profoundly true feeling that human affection outshines all treasures, and that to see once again, after long separation, one's beloved wife and child would be more to a man than immortality away from them?

## II.

A decorative rectangular frame containing the title. The frame is filled with a dense stippled pattern. Along the top and bottom edges, there are stylized illustrations of animal eyes and tusks, looking inward toward the text.

# Rudiments Among Animals.

THE beginnings of human government, as of the human family, if we accept the doctrine of Darwin, are unquestionably found among the lower animals. But whether we believe the Darwinian theory or not, which the most eminent pathologist Virchow has recently declared to be still far from final, we cannot reasonably refuse to admit that “instinct,” as a mysterious line of separation between man and other animals, has been wiped out. The word, instinct, comes from the Latin verb, *instinguere*, to excite or urge on, and by logical necessity implies a conscious exciter behind the excitement exhibited. Hence, very justly from this point of view, Cæsalpinus, an ancient author, remarks : —“ *Deus est anima brutorum.*” “God is the mind (or moving principle) of animals.”

Most of the early philosophers, and especially the Christian fathers (who were almost unanimous in regarding all animal life as something necessarily coarse, gross and contemptible), assumed that animals were mere automata. In the middle ages those who sought an explanation for the manifold manifestations of reason among the brutes were, however, slightly at variance in their opinions, for some attributed such tokens to the all-powerful and ever-ready devil ; while others referred them to the agency of God, through the medium of instinct — which was defined as a

guiding, inborn, unchangeable and irresistible propensity, independent of experience or training or heredity, and acting appropriately without consciousness of the object aimed at.

According to Descartes, the great French philosopher, the feelings and emotions of animals are an empty show — a welcome bit of philosophy for animal tormentors. This extreme opinion, coming from a man so famous, had a great vogue in its time, but some voices here and there were lifted against it, and even the Jesuit father, Bonjeant, who found so much intelligence in animals that he thought most of it must be due to the help of the devil or devils, turned against Descartes with the words: "All the Cartesians in the world will never persuade me that a dog is a mere machine. Imagine a man who should love his clock as he loves his dog, and who should pet it because he believed it loved him and was of opinion that it struck the hours consciously and out of friendship for him. Yet, if Descartes be right, that is exactly the absurdity committed by all those who believe that their dog is faithful to them and loves them. I see how my dog runs to me when I call him, caresses me when I coax him, trembles and runs away when I threaten him, obeys when I order him, and how he exhibits all the outward signs of the distinct emotions of joy, grief, pain, fear, desire, love and hate. And if all the philosophers in the world should try to convince me, I should never be able to persuade myself that an animal is a machine."

But, in contradiction of the doctrine that animals are automatic, it has long been recognized that the power and practice of organization among the lower animals include a series of phenomena of the highest interest — phenomena that involve the possession and application of high mental and even moral faculties. For instance, there are forms of government and respect for constituted authority. "If men," wrote the pagan Celsus in the second century after Christ, "think themselves differentiated from animals, because they inhabit towns, make laws and set up governments, they prove themselves in error, for bees and ants do the same." Celsus also noted that ants talk with each other when they meet, and offered an opinion, which recent investigation has confirmed, that they had regular burying-grounds.

When an animal is very minute, people are apt to think its organization must be very simple and its intelligence very small, for the influence of the prejudice of mere size over the majority is very great. The gigantic dimensions of a whale, or a reptile of the fossil age, attract general attention, while equal attention is not easily aroused by the most wonderful phenomena exhibited in



FROM A PICTURE BY SIR EDWIN LANDSEER.

the life of a flea or an ant. Yet the extraordinary capabilities of an apparently lowly creature may yield to a philosopher the most valuable results.

The cerebral ganglia of the ant — which ganglia in invertebrate animals take the place of the brain proper to the vertebrate — are no larger than a quarter of a pin's head. "Under this point of view," as Darwin says, "the brain of the ant is one of the most wonderful atoms of matter in the world, perhaps more so than the brain of a man." And this fact shows that there may be

marvellously great mentality in a marvellously small mass of nervous matter.

Ants live in a republic, in the fullest sense of the word, that is, in a state on the widest democratic foundations; and is it not significant that the most intelligent family among socially living insects has made for itself a polity which is regarded among men as the relatively best and most ideal, while a step lower, among bees, there is a distinct inclination to the form of so-called constitutional monarchy? Among men, even among many college-bred Americans, it is frequently said that while the republican form of government, from a theoretical standpoint, best represents the ideal of the state and the principles of justice, nevertheless, on account of the ineradicable weakness of human nature, and the consequent impossibility of self-government, it is not practically realizable.

Were this true, ought we not to look up to and regard with profound admiration the little ant-nation that lives at our feet, since every tribe of those apparently petty creatures finds itself intelligent and civilized enough to live easily and happily under the principles of universal equality and liberty? Shall we not have to revise Solomon's saying, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard!" somewhat after this fashion, "Go to the ant, thou political economist, or college professor who inculcatest monarchism"?

But the ant republic has not merely political equality; it has gone a step further than that and evolved industrial equality. It has developed from the social the socialistic republic, and is indeed in all its industrial, though not in all its social features, what our most idealistic politico-social reformers are wont to put forward as the last and mightiest aim of human efforts after governmental perfection; the ideal of Plato, and Sir Thomas More, of Edward Bellamy and a growing host of thinkers and workers now in every place. The ant state is a "Proletariat State" in the truest sense of the word, since only the wingless, sexless worker-ants, which have no families of their own to look after, take part in directing the business, while the winged males and fertile females are kept as prisoners in the nest, and are fed and nurtured for the sake of their progeny.



THE POLICE OF THE ALPS.

The expression "sexless" is really not appropriate to the men, or rather women-workers, for these are really undeveloped females, so that the state is truly under a rule completely feminine. Huber remarks that these are women whose moral qualities have been developed at the cost of their physical,—a thing which ought not to happen among mankind, for the most perfect development of a human being is that which is symmetrical. As Alcott said, Friendship is globular, Love is spherical, and the loss or depression of any element of God's creation is not a superior purity but an imperfection.

The individual ant does not possess a family, for the principle of public and state training of children — such as the philosopher Plato is known to have desired in his republic, and which would be necessary in a fully organized "Proletariat State" — is thoroughly carried out in the ant republic.

There is one singular contradiction to the equality regnant among ants and this is, that for an unknown length of time they have had a politico-social institution which has played and still plays a great part in the history of human nations and civilizations. This institution, indeed, seems at first sight not to harmonize with the otherwise social-democratic arrangements of the ant republic; but when we remember that slavery existed in the republics of antiquity, and not only well agreed with the rest of the polity, but was even an essential support of the same, we can scarcely deny to the ant republic its democratic character on account of slavery. And this the rather since slavery among ants is as mild, if not milder, than it was in Greece, where freed slaves were often known to rise to the highest offices and dignities of the State, or even than in Rome, where Greek slaves were the tutors of the young, and slavery, odious as it may be in and for itself, nevertheless apparently contributed to the general advance of civilization.

Besides, slavery among ants, in a very important point, is far superior to that among men, and it may be said without question that in this respect ants think and act more humanely than men themselves. For instance, they never allow grown-up members of their race, who have come to their full antly consciousness, to be enslaved, whereas human slave-makers are known never to have the smallest scruple on this head. For the

ant-kidnappers only steal larvæ and pupæ, which they bring up as regular slaves within their dwellings, so that these last have never tasted the sweetness of freedom. Only young ants, one or two days old, recognizable by their clear color, which are not yet out of their long clothes and do not yet know what is "manly or womanly pride before the throne of a king," are seized and made into slaves, and these accustom themselves quickly and easily to their new position.

The slaves of the ants, moreover, do not seem to be conscious of the loss, or rather of the absence of freedom, and, as a rule, work willingly and uncompelled, in common with their masters at all the tasks necessary for the maintenance of the colony, such



A VILLAGE OF BEAVERS.

as building the dwellings, searching for plant-lice, tendance and feeding of larvæ and pupæ, and so on, and even fight against members of their own species in company with their robber-lords. They are regarded more as friends, brothers, or helpers than as real slaves. They never think of escaping from slavery by flight, although the naturalist, Forel, once observed a revolt among them. This rule applies at least to the Swiss species observed by Huber, while in the south of England colonies have been seen in which the slaves never leave or venture to leave the nest, and are thus, in the true sense of the word, domestic slaves.

Ants also show a strong resemblance to men in the development of their character. Their great attachment and self-sacrifice for the commonwealth and for each member of it are accompanied



generally by a hasty temperament, a proneness to furious anger, and an unquenchable hatred against all foreign or hostile colonies. Therewith are blended industry, perseverance, and too often cruelty. Gluttony also is one of their characteristics, and their love for a good meal is so great that it is thus possible to restrain their otherwise unconquerable desire to fight. Nothing is more interesting than to watch this struggle of two passions. If honey, of which ants are inordinately fond, and for which they will generally leave all other food, be placed on a battlefield between two contending parties, as for instance red and turf ants, some of the warriors will be seen approaching and tasting it. They never stay by it long, but quickly return to the fight. Sometimes these same ants will turn back longingly twice or thrice.

Government among the Termites, who are wrongly named ants, has some highly interesting points. They belong to an entirely different order of the Insecta, the Orthoptera, are related most nearly to our Blattæ or cockroaches, and are three or four times as large as our black ants. Their polity seems to be almost more developed than that of the ants, and their architectural talent is also superior. They raise, in Africa at least, fine buildings of from ten to twenty feet high, out of the earth, clay, pieces of plants, stones, etc., fastening together these materials by a kind of gummy saliva.

So firm does this make their towns, built in the shape of a cone or of a large haycock, that several men can stand on their surface. Antelopes and buffaloes are wont to use these giant ant-hills for sentries or watchtowers to look over the wide plains and guard against the approach of enemies. They do not break through even under the tread of an elephant or the weight of a heavily laden wagon. In Senegal their size and number are often so large that at a distance they frequently resemble human dwellings, the similarly conical huts of the negro villagers, and travellers are sometimes thereby led in a wrong direction. Jobson, in his "History of Gambia," says that many of these towns are twenty feet high, and that he and his companions often hid behind them when out hunting.

At first the buildings are only small, and resemble pyramids scarcely a foot high. Gradually, as the population increases, new

and similar hills rise up all around. The partition walls are then broken through, the new dwellings are united to the old, a dome is added, and a symmetrical roof is built over all. Thus a perfect object-lesson of mankind's greatest principle, co-operation, is continually repeated, until the mound of twelve or twenty feet high is made. The outer covering consists of a firm-domed vaulted layer of clay, which is exceedingly strong, so as to withstand injuries from weather, attacks of enemies, and other accidents.



NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA FIGHTING TERMITES.

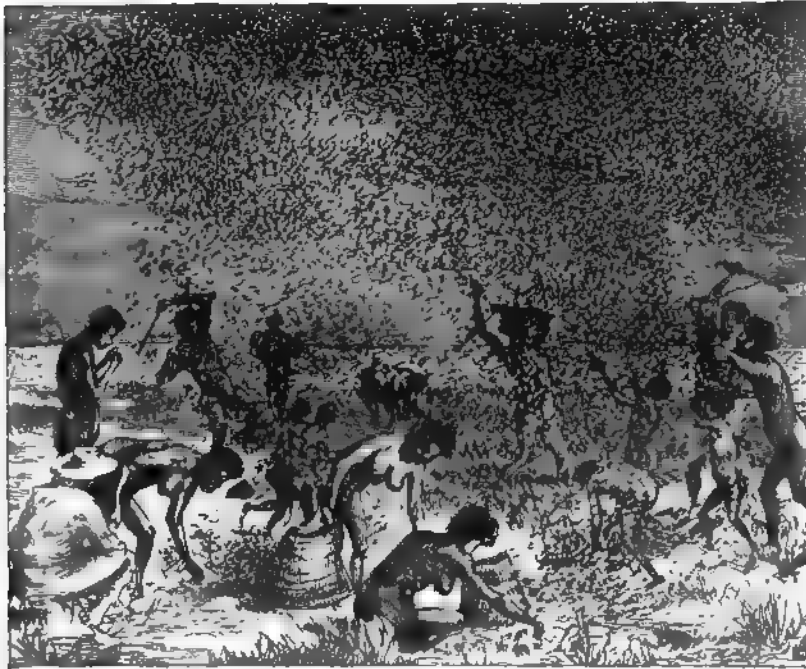
The astonishment felt at the capabilities of these creatures who are sometimes a scourge to the human inhabitants of the countries where they live becomes even greater when we investigate the interior of the hills that serve as their dwellings. These internal arrangements are so various and so complicated that pages of description might be written about them. There are myriads of rooms, cells, nurseries, provision chambers, guard-rooms, passages, corridors, vaults, bridges, subterranean streets and canals, tunnels, arched ways, steps, smooth inclines, domes, etc., etc., all arranged on a definite, coherent, and well-considered plan. In the middle of the building, sheltered as far as possible from outside dangers, lies the stately royal dwelling, resembling an arched oven, in which

the royal pair reside, or rather are imprisoned, for the entrances and outlets are so small that although the workers on service can pass easily in and out, the queen cannot, for during the egg-laying her body swells out to an enormous size, two or three thousand times the size and weight of an ordinary worker.

The queen, therefore, never leaves her dwelling, and dies therein. Round the palace, which is at first small, but is later enlarged in proportion as the queen increases in size, until it is at last a yard long and half a yard high, lie the nurseries or cells for the eggs and larvæ; next these the servants' rooms or cells for the workers who wait on the queen; then special chambers for the soldiers on guard, and between these are numerous store-rooms, filled with gums, resins, dried plant-juices, meal, seeds, fruits, worked-up wood, etc. According to Bettziech-Beta, there is always in the midst of the town a large common room, which is used either for popular assemblies or as the meeting and starting point of the countless passages and chambers of the town. Other naturalists believe that this space serves for purposes of ventilation.

It is by no means easy to investigate accurately the interior of a Termite town, owing to the interdependence of the several parts — the destruction of one room, arch, or passage causing the breaking down of many, and in addition to this the energetic resistance of the Termite soldiers, armed with very sharp and strong mandibles, puts great obstacles in the way of the observer. "They fight," says the English traveller Smeathman, to whom we owe the fullest information about these creatures, "they fight to the last man, and they defend so energetically every inch of their property that they often drive away the unshod negroes, while the blood of the European runs through his stockings. We were never able to study the interior of a nest in peace; for while the soldiers attacked us, the workers stopped up as quickly as possible the rooms and passages laid open." They do this especially in the neighborhood of the royal dwelling, for which they show the greatest care, and that so cleverly that from the outside it only looks like a formless heap of clay and cannot be distinguished from its surroundings. Nevertheless, it is not hard to find, partly from its situation in the midst of the building, and partly because it is surrounded by great crowds of workers and soldiers, willing to risk

their lives in its defence. The interior also, besides containing the royal pair, is found filled with hundreds of the workers serving the latter. These faithful servants do not desert their sovereigns even in utmost need and peril. "For when I," says Smeathman, "took out such a royal dwelling and kept it in a large glass vessel, all of the servants busied themselves with the greatest care about their sovereigns, and I saw some of them engaged about the head of the queen, as though they were giving her something. Then they



HIVING A BEE-CLOUD.

took away from her abdomen the eggs laid by her, and carried them carefully into some unbroken parts of the building, or hid them between scraps of clay as well as they could."

The Termites shun the light of day : "having light, they prefer darkness rather." This is also shown to some extent in their state polity, which, as already said, otherwise much resembles the Ant Republic, except that it favors the monarchical idea by possessing

a standing army and having generally only one queen. By this possession of a standing army the 'Termites' state is rendered more monarchical even than the famous Bee polity, so often regarded as the prototype of a monarchy, or the rule of one individual. The Bee government, indeed, generally has only one queen, but instead of a standing army it carries out to the fullest extent the purely republican or democratic principle of universal national arm-bearing in a fashion that leaves far behind it all human arrangements.

Yet not in this alone, but in all its affairs, the Bee state must be characterized as a monarchy with very democratic institutions. It may, indeed, be called a communistic or social-democratical monarchy — such as Napoleon III. for a time, while coquetting with the working-classes, appears to have had the notion of introducing in France. It may also be called an elective monarchy, for no direct hereditary line is followed, but the queen is in each case chosen by the workers, and selected or rejected as they please. The queen in return relies wholly upon the workers, or the neuter working bees, who, by the possession of their terrible poisoned sting, unite in their own persons the functions of workers and soldiers. The privileged condition of the non-working, pleasure-loving males, or drones, is only suffered by the workers just so long as their services are thought necessary.

On the other hand, the monarchical principle is very plainly manifested in the fact that the whole life of the hive revolves more or less round the queen; where she is wanting, dies, or is not succeeded by another, the hive falls into disorder, and in a longer or shorter time infallibly perishes. Single members of the hive, if they scatter, either die or become useless, lazy vagabonds and mischievous highwaymen. The monarchical principle of the Bee nation is still more strikingly manifested in comparison with the other social insects, in that only one ruler or queen is permitted, and that where several accidentally come together the superfluous ones are either killed or are compelled to go out and found new colonies.

Nevertheless an old and abdicated queen, no longer able to lay any fertilized eggs, is out of mercy sometimes suffered to remain for a while in the hive near her successor, and receive some



A KING OF BEASTS WHO HAS NO REGULAR SUBJECTS.

measure of the bread of charity. Pfarrer Calminius observed a case in which two queens lived peaceably and well tended near each other on two tables hanging side by side. But these are rare exceptions. The workers generally sting the old useless queens unmercifully to death, or suffocate them by surrounding them closely on all sides. Sometimes they are merely driven out of the hive and left to perish.

The wonderful observation has been made that a queen who, through age or some other weakening circumstances, becomes conscious of her exhaustion, and has communicated this consciousness to her people, provides in common with them for the safe succession to the throne, and soon as this is done gives back the throne and sceptre into the hands of the people, that is, either voluntarily leaves the hive in order to die outside, or is killed by the bees and thrown out.

As a matter of fact there is no small resemblance between the bee system and that of constitutional monarchy in so far as the bees appear to lay no stress on the person of their queen, and are perfectly contented so long as they have one, that is, some one capable of discharging the royal or rather maternal duties. They change the sovereignty as a rule easily and quickly, and thoroughly practise the well-known maxim of constitutional royalty: "*Le roi est mort — vive le roi.*" (The king is dead — long live the king!) A hive robbed of its queen either does homage to a fresh queen introduced into it just as her predecessor, or brings up a sovereign by its own efforts; while a hive long left queenless falls into sloth and riot, and sooner or later perishes.

The queen, since all revolves round her, is the necessary centre and bond of the hive, but without herself taking any personal part in the business and proceedings. She therefore, in reality, exactly answers to the foundation-stone of constitutionalism, and is what Napoleon I. declared he would not be, in reply to the famous constitutional reproach of Siéyes: "The prize-pig of the nation." She is indeed widely and honorably different from her human antitype in that she is not simply "representative," giving to high and low merely an empty show, but really discharges actual and essential duties, without which nothing could exist.

Apart from this, the queen in the simplicity and uniformity of

her work, and in the half, though respectful, imprisonment in which she is kept, is a complete contrast to her intellectually and physically developed and active subjects, so that here, as so often among men, it might seem fair to say that stupidity or narrowness, or perhaps only mediocrity, rules over reason.

In any case this sovereignty is much restricted by the subjects who, indeed, seem to indemnify themselves for the compulsory endurance of a monarchical head by observing otherwise the maxims of the most extreme democracy, of the widest Socialism and Communism. For among bees one is as good as another and the beautiful principle is unconditionally obeyed: "Each for all—all for each." They have no private property, no family, no private dwelling, but hang in thick clumps within the common room in the narrow space between the combs, taking turns for brief nightly repose. The building, cleansing, and working are also carried on partially through the night. All stores are common; there is only the state magazine, and all are fed from this without distinction of person. If want and hunger enter, all die alike. The queen here is an exception and has the privilege of dying last. The bees are, however, egotists in such times of need, and in threatening famine from continued bad weather, throw the larvæ, the drone larvæ first, out of the cells. This also happens likewise, when lack of place for storing provisions occurs, owing to very successful foraging. The larvæ are then thrown out, or the nursing narrowed down to the uttermost.

In the matter of labor the bees have realized the highest ideal of Communism, for it is perfectly free, voluntary, and un compulsory. Each does as much or as little as seems to it good; but there are no sluggards among them, for the universal example acts as an incitement; and in a society wherein all work, idleness is really an unthinkable and impossible thing. Whereas, on the contrary, in the much-praised opposite condition of human society the idleness of the few is not only favored but seems to be absolutely unavoidable.

Truly, in a communistic form of society the individual must have the consciousness, as among the bees, that, in so far as he is a member of the whole, he is not working for others but for the common good and therewith for himself. This consciousness



makes the bees such busy and eager workers that many of them work themselves to death in a few weeks during the foraging season, whereas working bees usually reach an age of nine or ten months, so that the great Roman poet, Virgil, whose genius threw light on the commonest human labors, wrote truly :

“ Ofttimes in a mistaken flight they tear  
Their wings, and even generously die  
Before they drop the precious load, so high  
The fame of getting honey, and so strong  
The love they feel for flowers.”

The “instinct” philosophers will probably say that this working themselves to death in behalf of the community is only the result of an inborn, irresistible, heaven-implanted tendency in the little bee mind from which the insect cannot voluntarily free itself, and that we therefore cannot here speak either of merit or design. But in the first place is it believable that “instinct” should impel an animal to do that which will finally lead to its destruction? Secondly that opinion does not agree with the already often mentioned experience that the inhabitants of a queenless hive, which in losing their queen have lost the object of their society, cease to work and fall into idleness and riot.

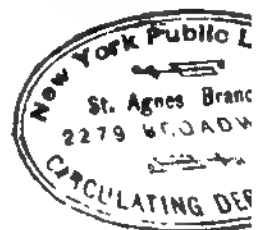
Now the same form of government which by one naturalist is termed a monarchy, with a king or queen at its head, is by another described as a republic, with a male or female president. But the essential feature — one of importance in many ways — is the government of a community or society, of a band or troop, flock or herd, family or other group of individuals, species or genera, large or small, by a leader or chief.

The consideration of this embraces the following features of interest : — 1. The principle of selection and election or appointment. 2. Competition and ambition for rule and their results. 3. The subjection of the weak to the strong in body, mind and will. 4. The use and abuse of authority, including the power of command. 5. The appreciation of insignia of office or status. 6. The value attached to the possession of power and place.

In various forms leaders, governors, chiefs, commanders, patriarchs, masters, rulers, or heads, are to be found in many social animals directing and defending the groups into which they are



A CITY OF SEA-BIRDS.



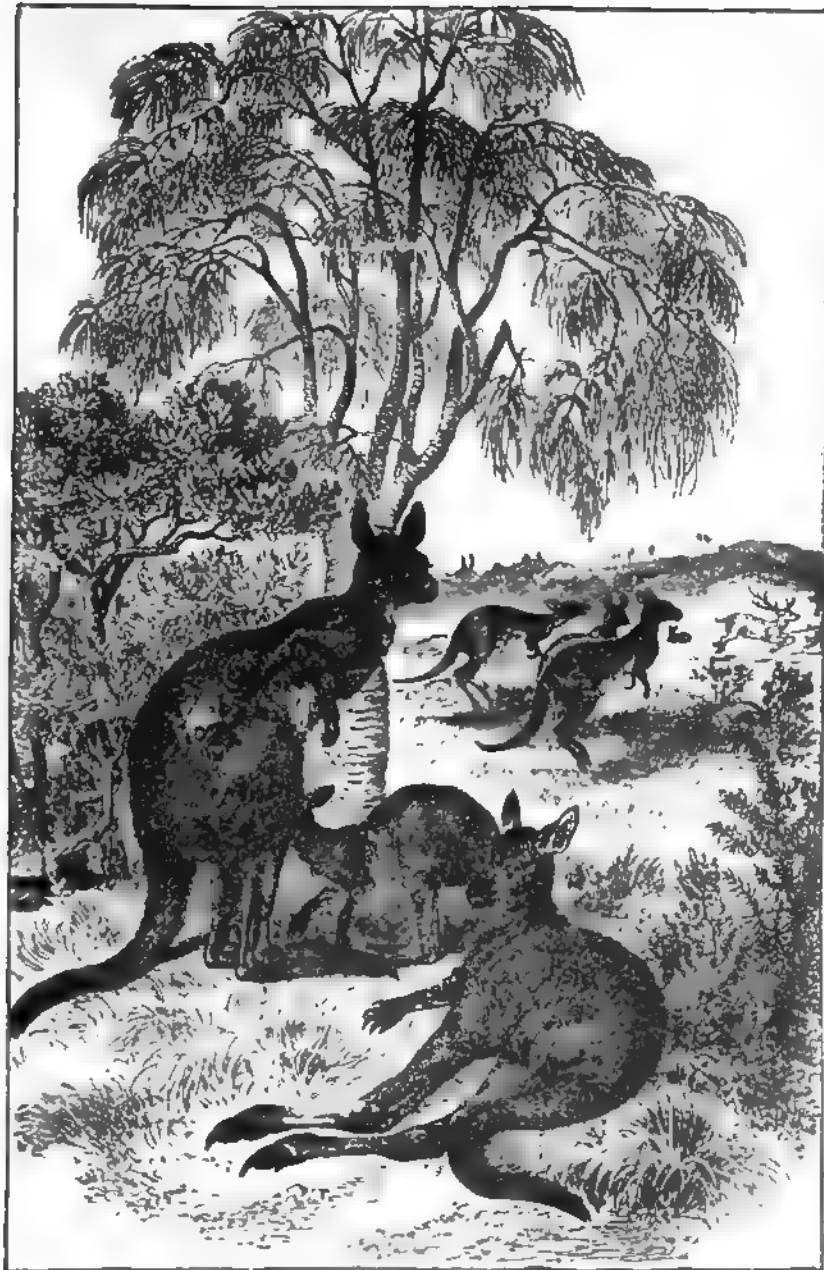
divided. They occur, for instance, among wild, military, and pack horses, Eskimo dog teams, or dogs in Turkish towns, beavers who build villages, camels, deer, oxen, mules, seals who hold conventions, buffaloes, kangaroos, goats, among certain sea-birds which appear to live in regular cities and certain of the quadrumana (such as the siamang gorilla, spider, howling, araguata, guereza, and other monkeys), cranes, swallows, wild geese, cocks and hens.

These leaders are, as a general rule, males of middle age, sometimes elderly or old, and possessing as qualifications for office: —

1. Physical superiority; being frequently above the average in size and strength, or at least so robust and active that they have proved themselves successful in combat and otherwise.

2. Mental superiority. They are distinguished, moreover, for their courage, cautiousness, sagacity, power of command, ability to act in emergency, so as to protect, defend, or direct their followers; for their experience; special knowledge of enemies or of ground; power of self-control, especially control of temper; interest in the common weal; enterprise; ingenuity and perseverance in the overcoming of difficulties — in other words, adaptiveness. Their superiority must be twofold, physical and mental; for a merely huge, strong animal, without the requisite intelligence to adapt its strength to circumstances, would be useless as a leader.

Generally speaking, leaders are of the same species as the animals they command; belong, perhaps, to the same small family or group, as in the case of certain patriarchs or mere heads of families or tribes. But in other cases the chief belongs to a different species or genus. Thus the axis deer, as depicted on the opposite page, sometimes leads “mobs” of kangaroos in Australia. The donkey in the district of Smyrna, in Broussa, and the Asiatic Olympus in Anatolia, and other parts of Asia Minor, is frequently employed as leader of a caravan of camels; for contrary to the prejudices of the West, in Oriental lands “Long Ears” enjoys the reputation of being the most intelligent of hoofed beasts. Mares are employed as leaders of droves of mules in Central America, the latter animals having a high respect for and pride in the horse as a “distinguished relative,” and thus willingly accepting a mare as their queen.



KANGAROOS LED BY AN AXIS DEER.

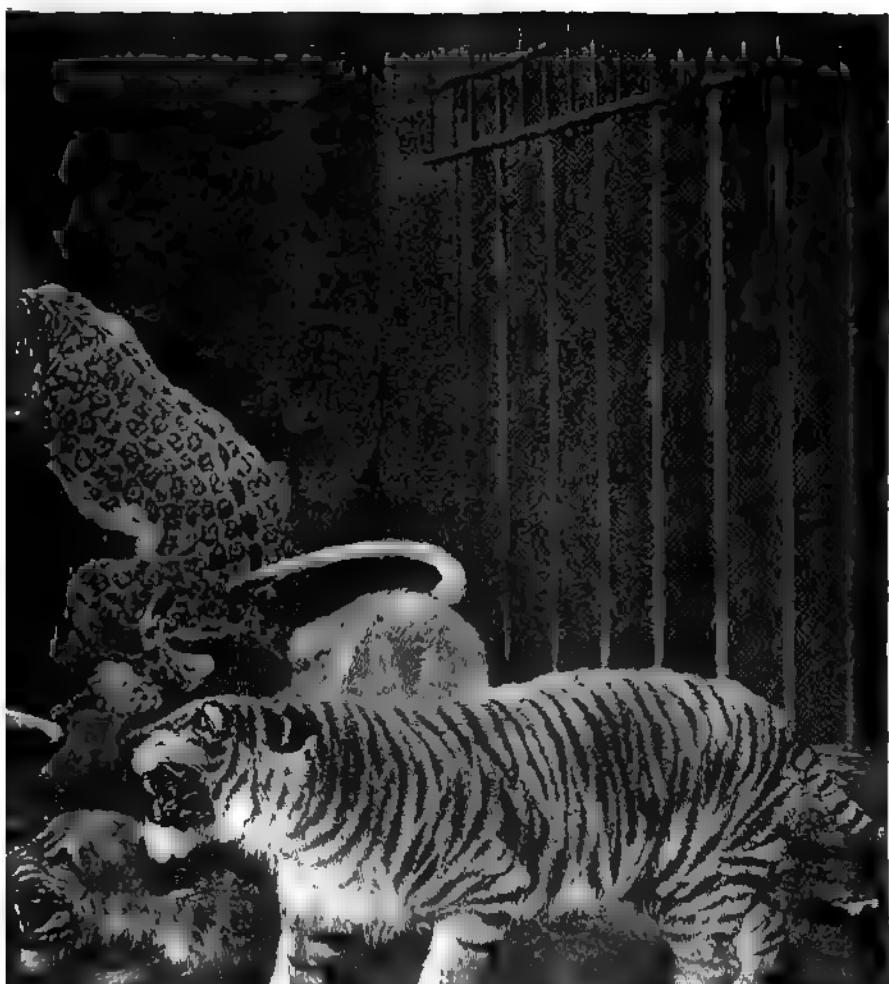
Man himself frequently becomes the leader of his flocks or his herds, as in the case of shepherds of the East, who literally "lead," do not drive, as ours do, their flocks. Man is recognized literally and figuratively as its "governor" by the dog; his right to command is freely acknowledged, and the propriety of his orders or actions, as a rule, not disputed. Here it should be noted that in this case it sometimes, at least, happens that man gains and wields his wonderful power over other animals by the exercise of kindness, not of terrorism; by the supremacy of love, not of fear; by the greatest of all forces, a patient gentleness. Thus the command of the shepherd over his sheep in primitive countries, where the use of the sheep-dog is unknown—for instance, in Palestine—is acquired by his constant association with his sheep, by his habitual kindly usage, whereby confidence in, and attachment to, his person or personality are produced. King Theodore of Abyssinia with his pet lions was an excellent example of what a King can accomplish by gentleness instead of cruelty.

The principle of appointment in the case of all kinds of animal leaders is that the strongest, boldest, best in every way, should be called to the front and invested with supreme power; and this principle actuates man equally with other animals in the selection of an animal chief for his flocks or herds. Man chooses and installs a leading mule, horse, dog, or ram on the very same principle that makes a flock or herd acquiesce in the self-appointment of some victorious young male. In human emergency of a serious kind, and on a large and public scale, how frequently it happens that some man of marked individuality, but previously unknown, comes to the front as a volunteer leader, no one knows how, and his supremacy is at once, by tacit consent, acknowledged. Average people feel that he is the "right man for the right place." He has the requisite force of character and the ability to command universal confidence. Universal confidence is forthwith accorded for the time.

The man of the time, however, is as liable to be discarded by a fickle populace as the proud and splendid stallion, when he begins to lose that most indefinable of all qualities, popularity. So in animal panics, for instance, some previously unobserved or undis-









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tinguished individual starts, literally, in this case, to the front, and is followed, for weal or woe, by the rest of a troop, herd or flock. There is ample evidence to show that self-appointment to the leadership is common among social animals; that the ambition of



A PRAIRIE DOG TOWN.

some young, energetic, vigorous male urges it to challenge and defeat the reigning chief, a defeat that is equivalent to the compulsory deposition of the one and the self-instalment of the other. This new appointment, however, is, under the circumstances,

ratified by the general assent, so that, in one sense, it may be deemed a unanimous election. There is a practical and tacit acknowledgment of the fitness of things, the excitement being confined mainly to the combatants themselves, though the spectators, no doubt, look on with a varying degree of interest.

There is, however, a strong probability, although no direct evidence, that, in cases where no such candidate presents himself and takes the law of competition and succession into his own hands, selection is made by universal suffrage — by pushing into a position of command that individual among them best qualified to exercise the supreme power. There is very distinct appointment, certainly, and by a kind of universal suffrage, in the street-dog republics of Constantinople, for they sometimes select as their leader some animal belonging to a different quarter of the town — from among their natural enemies, therefore — the motive of such choice being signal bravery displayed by the favored individual, either in attack or defence.

The usual function of animal leaders seems to be that of a protector, to direct measures of defence in assault, of extrication or escape in danger. But there are other cases in which their duties are rather those of regulators of the civil, social, or domestic economy of the communities over which they preside. Thus Houzeau describes mayors of towns or villages among prairie dogs — mayors who grant audiences, receive visits as to administrative affairs, — in short, discharge and regulate public business — and he tells us, moreover, that these governors or presidents of communities, occasionally, at least, excel their fellows in size and strength, as well as in force of character. In the case of animal leaders of all kinds there is a distinct specialization of duty, work, or business, a very decided division of labor. But this division of labor occurs among the lower animals in a great many other even more familiar forms. Thus it is illustrated in the appointment from among members of a community of

1. Sentinels, sentries, videttes, outposts, patrols, guards, or watchmen of all kinds.
2. Soldiers, laborers, artisans, nurses, or foragers.
3. Different ranks of officers among their soldiers, including generals, aides-de-camp and adjutants.



A ROYAL, HINDU, TIGER.

4. Delegates, ambassadors, or other forms of representatives or reporters, spies, scouts, commissioners, pioneers.

5. Officers of justice — including executioners, advocates, judges, and jury.

6. Royal personages, with their officers or courtiers, body-guard, and other attendants.

7. As well as in the relative duties or occupations of male and female parents, and

8. In the appropriate and harmonious playing of its part by each individual of the group.

Such appointments imply, in certain cases, at least, the assignation of a special duty to each of a group of animals, there being evidence further that there is frequently an adaptation of the special work to be performed to the special ability of a given individual to perform it.

Sentinels or guards are regularly posted at appropriate times and places by a large number of animals, such as the prairie dog, wild horse, swan, cockatoo of Australia, rooks, and many other birds, zebra, moufflon, and other sheep, Alpine marmot, certain monkeys, Greenland and other seals, wild African cattle, chamois and other antelopes, Texan and other ants, and certain wasps.

These guardians of the public safety are appointed usually for some of the following reasons, or under some of the following circumstances:

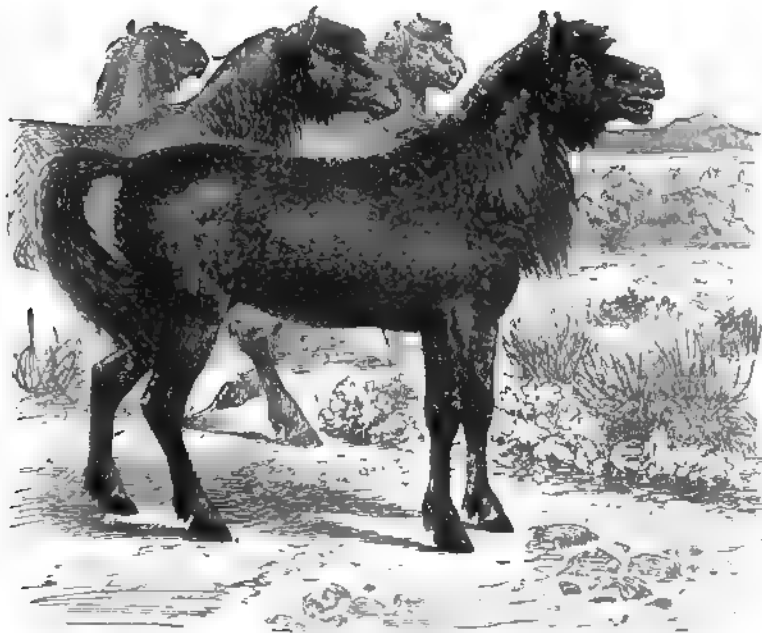
At night, or during the sleep of the flock or herd, to guard against surprise. During feeding, rest on a march, or pastimes. In war, on the march or halt, in camp or bivouac — here also to prevent surprise.

In connection with the appointment of sentinels the following points have to be noticed: that, as in the case of leaders, the animals selected are almost invariably males: that every advantage is taken of elevated ground commanding a view on all sides: that the animal appointed is implicitly trusted by the rest, has a specific duty to discharge, and performs it conscientiously. Must there not, therefore, be an appreciation of the different kinds of danger, as well as an idea of duty in relation to that danger?

Certain African antelopes place sentries — generally bulls — while they are grazing, and these sentries take up their posts on

the summits of the huge ant-hills which we mentioned before and which form the only heights in certain parts of the plains of the Nile. The occupancy of such watch-towers is, however, unfortunate for themselves in presence of the sportsman to whom they thus readily become a shining mark.

Thus, in a great variety of ways many of the lower animals recognize and act upon the principle that union is strength. They



THE WILD HORSE.

form combinations, associations, or alliances, temporary or permanent, for a great number of very specific purposes. They co-operate willingly, intelligently and successfully, not only with each other, but with man. One of the most obvious effects of such union, indeed even of the simplest form of union, that of marriage, is the inspiration of courage and confidence, the ability to dare and do, in behalf of themselves or their young, things that they would never attempt in their individual capacities. Even

timid sheep, in combination under a leader, do boldly what they would never do, individually face a dog, for instance, or have even been known to chase it ignominiously from a pasture. The meek cow and many gentle peace-loving birds are capable of similar feats of courage under similar circumstances.

Various baboons and other apes, spider and other monkeys apply the principle of co-operation very actively and picturesquely by making chains, suspension bridges, and ladders of their own bodies, joining hands or clinging to each other by various concatenations of paws and tails, and use such living bridges to cross rivers. Virtually the same thing mechanically, and a greater thing morally, is done by ants, for on bridges composed of the bodies of the latter, voluntarily sacrificed for the purpose, whole armies of their fellows sometimes cross rivers or streams.

Co-operation on a large scale — on the part of large numbers of individuals, whether of the same or of different species and genera, includes the convention, at special times and places, of convocations, conferences, congregations, or assemblies for the following or other specific ends: — 1. Judicial — for the trial and punishment of the offenders. 2. Military — for the holding of councils of war. 3. Recreational — for the celebration of pastimes, sports, or games of various times. 4. Migrational — for conference as to the time and manner of migration. 5. Defensive — for mutual protection, security, or safety. 6. Industrial — for the repair of damage to public property. 7. Marauding — for the acquisition of plunder or booty. 8. Food-seeking or foraging. 9. Emigration and colonization. 10. Nuptial — for courtship and marriage. 11. Hibernation. 12. The rescue of their fellows from captivity or danger.

One of the evidences commonly adduced of the reign of law among the lower animals, as in man, is the fact that certain birds, have what are, or what appear to be, regular judicial proceedings, regular trials by judge and before jury of culprits against law.

A trial among rooks in England has been thus described by an eyewitness. In the middle of the assemblage in one case “was one bird looking very downcast and wretched. Two more rooks took their place at its side, and then a vast amount of chattering went on. Ultimately, the unfortunate central bird was pecked



A CONVENTION OF SEALS.



nearly to pieces and left mangled and helpless on the ground." In such a case, we are led to infer, though our conclusions may be erroneous, that the spectacle was that of an accused, convicted, condemned criminal, official accusers, and the summary execution of a judicial sentence.

The stork, too, is represented by the naturalist Watson as having, or holding, trial by jury, public conventions at which harangues or speeches are delivered, accusations made, defences offered, by public orators and other officials, while the mass of the audience takes a lively interest in the proceedings. Consultations are held, sentence is pronounced, and capital punishment inflicted for such supposed crimes, for instance, as the hatching of a gosling instead of a stork, which, of course, would be a shock to public sentiment in storkdom. The sparrow is another bird that administers public punishment to offenders, after holding general councils the proceedings of which are marked by much agitation, tumult and clamor; and the public trial of a prisoner before a court by the aid of advocates has also been mentioned as occurring among Barbary apes.

From all of which evidences of law and order, of family and government among the lower animals, is it not clear that the higher animal might take a few lessons, if the humility and docility of Science could become attributes of the mass or could be the guiding principles of politicians or statesmen? For, indeed,

" If earnest lives in search of truth are noble,  
If sacrifice of self to swell the sum  
Of human knowledge and coöperant good  
Are very noble, Science can compare  
Her warriors, workers, martyrs, with Religion's.  
Yet Science has no pride, because no fear.  
She stoops to learn as woman yields to love,  
Instinctive that the action of surrender  
Will crown her empress of a nobler realm."

### III.



## Traces Among Gypsies, Brigands and Thieves.

**I**N singular contrast with the orderly animals described in the preceding chapter are the people usually called Gypsies, who appear to be not only opposed to any idea of order or authority from outside, but to have among themselves at the present day very little government discoverable by students of their habits. We need not go far in search of these Asiatic wanderers. They are found in almost every European country, and of late are frequently seen in the United States and Australia.

Wherever sighted, they are never to be mistaken. The most untravelled rustic instinctively knows that the dark-skinned, black-haired, snaky-eyed, lithe vagabond whom he sees in front of a ragged tent on a common, or who camps by the roadside to boil a kettle, which it is probable contains no poultry of his own raising, is not a child of the land in which he seems so much at home.

Once seen, a typical wandering gypsy is as marked a personality in the memory as a Jew of the purer caste, or a member of any other nationality which has preserved itself as a distinct element in the surrounding population. His brown skin stamps him as none of us, while his dark, glittering, serpent-like eye instinctively recalls some of the faces one meets on the London Docks, when a steamer from India has arrived. The small hands

and feet seem out of keeping with the finely proportioned, sinewy figures to which they are attached, while the aquiline nose, pearly, regular teeth, high cheek-bones, strongly marked brow, often knit as if in thought, and general air of secretiveness, are features of gypsy physiognomy that strike the least observant. As a rule, the gypsies are not a tall race, though men and women of uncommon stature are sometimes met. The young female gypsy has quite often the distinction of a beauty singularly fine.



A GYPSY QUEEN.

But the beauty is short-lived. Like all Orientals, they soon fade; and grow old, so far as the face is concerned, when a Northern woman is in her prime. The hard work, the squalor of their habits, their exposure to all weathers, and their unsettled, precarious — in brief, “gypsy” — life, help to age them before years ought to tell on a healthy person. A remarkable revenge which Nature takes for her lavishness at the outset is the supernatural hideousness which she often

bestows on the withered gypsy crone at a period when her civilized sister is mellowing into the comeliness of ripe matronhood, or even near the fated threescore and ten. Still, after all to the contrary, the gypsy must indubitably bear the palm for a species of wild beauty, which is admirably set off by his often romantic surroundings — his Tartar-like encampment, his stick fire and ragged tent — which looks so well at a distance, — and the showy colors in which, like his kindred on the other side of the Himalayas, he takes so inordinate a delight.

Here, then, is a people known to Europeans for at least



ROMANIAN GYPSIES BEGGING.

eight centuries, yet who have managed to conceal many of their ways and modes of life from the inquisitive scrutiny of the hundreds who have made these aspects of their cult a part of their life's study<sup>1</sup>, who are to this day the pariahs they were in their earliest homes, who have in their roamings picked up scraps of the language, religion, and civilization of the countries they have passed through, but yet speak a tongue unintelligible to the "whites" around them, who with a few exceptions are vagabonds on the face of the earth, despising a fixed life, a roof-tree, or any of the ordinary restraints of well-ordered society.

When they first came under the notice of civilized people they were for some careless cause decided to be Egyptians, and as such were described by the earliest writers, and this name, under various forms, exists in our word, gypsy, and in the designations attached to them by many other nations. As for themselves, they either knew nothing about their origin, or were sharp enough to chime in with the current fancy by styling themselves "Dukes of Little Egypt," as did a horde who appeared in 1418 at Zurich, assuming the rank of knights, and, among other "marks of nobility," carrying with them sporting dogs and a good supply of money.

The first notice of them which we possess, written about the year 1122, characterizes them as "Ishmaelites<sup>2</sup> who go peddling through the wide world, having neither house nor home, cheating the people with their tricks," a description which might be fairly enough applied to their descendants who are at present squatted under many a hedge.

At first these wanderers were received with great hospitality, their supposed origin and misfortunes obtaining for them an amount of sympathy of which their own roguery, rather than any knowledge of the actual state of matters, very soon deprived

<sup>1</sup> More than three hundred separate works have been written on the gypsies. Some of this literature is of little importance; but anyone who imagines that the gypsies can be exhausted in a few pages had better consult Potts' stupendous "*Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*," or Loebl's "*Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und ihrer Sprache*."

<sup>2</sup> The Gitanis or Tincali of Spain, the Jevk of Albania, the Zingani of Italy, the Pharo nepek Pharaon's people of Hungary, the Tattars of Scandinavia, the Bohemiens of France, the Zigeuner of Germany, the Tinkler or Tinker of Scotland, the Farāwni (Pharaonites) of Turkey, the Cingani of Slavonia, the Cigany of Roumania, the Guphtor of Greece, the Heydens Heathens of Holland, and so forth. They call themselves *Rom*, that is, Men, people, and their language, *Romani*. The plural of *Rom* is *Roma*, the feminine *Romni*.

them. They were — so they said, or some one having said it for them, they echoed the agreeable fiction — Egyptians, four thousand of whom, in passing through Hungary, had been compelled by the sovereign of that country to be baptized, and were condemned to seven years' wanderings, while the remainder of the travellers had been slain. Another story was that they were Egyptians, who, having been subdued by the Saracens, were forced to renounce Christianity; but having been reconquered by the Christians, they were doomed by Pope Martin V. to a penance, which consisted of wandering for the space of seven years, by which time their renunciation of the faith having been atoned, they would be sent into a fine and fertile land.

A third version of the cause of this vagabondage was, that they had been sentenced to roam the world for their want of hospitality to Joseph and Mary, when to save the young child, who was to save the world, this pair fled into Egypt. If we are to credit the historians of the period, these "Egyptians" travelled in great state, headed by "Counts" splendidly dressed, and under the command of a "Duke," who bore letters of safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund. The men were on foot, and the women and children brought up the rear in wagons, while the "nobles" rode on horses with dogs which apparently were trained to trespass on game preserves. They camped outside the walls of towns during the night and thieved during the day, the consequence being that several were taken and slain. It would appear that then, as now, they were fond of tickling the fancy of their dupes by assuming grandiose titles — king, duke, earl, and count. But, except that some powerful or wealthy individual managed to gain temporary or permanent control over the band with which he travelled, it is more than doubtful whether the gypsies have, or ever had, any official in the remotest way deserving these distinctions.

In the newspapers<sup>1</sup> we occasionally hear of the death of a gypsy "King" or "Queen," and of his or her burial with pompous obsequies. The people themselves very naturally like to mystify the public by keeping up the belief in such dignitaries, and possibly

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, this recent despatch to the *Boston Herald*: —

ELIZABETH, N. J., April 14, 1892. The body of Annie Lovell, the Gypsy Queen, who died in St. Louis on Monday, will be buried in the same grave in Mt. Olivet cemetery, in this city, in which her grandmother, a former queen, was buried. The Gypsies have a plot and imposing monument.

having so often heard them designated by royal titles, adopt the name and idea. Except, however, in the limited sense mentioned, there is no ground for the popular belief, though certain families, like the Faas and Blyths in Scotland, and the Stanleys and Hernes in England, having always been regarded as aristocrats among them, have sometimes been elected to a position of authority, and have even received a kind of hereditary respect, due to some traditional story that certain sovereigns had recognized one of their ancestors as a brother monarch. James IV. of Scotland gave, in 1550, "Anthonius Gagino, Count of Little Egypt," a letter of recommendation to Christian III. of Denmark, while James V. granted a writ giving "oure louit Johnne Faw, lord and erle of Litill Egipt" authority to hang and otherwise discipline "all Egyptians" within the realm.<sup>1</sup> This, however, simply means that the Scottish king, like so many other people, had been deceived regarding the origin and status of the vagabonds whom he thus recognized, though it is by no means proved that any corresponding dignities were known before he thus conferred on the leading men these sweeping powers.

At first, "the Egyptians" were well received, as the facts mentioned clearly show; but their popularity was naturally brief. Within a year of James V. making "Johnne Faw" and his son and successor *reges in regno*, an act of the Scottish Parliament was passed, commanding him and his tribesmen to pass "furth the realm," under pain of death. Already, indeed, Germany, Spain, France, England, Denmark and Moravia, had found it necessary to take similarly drastic measures, and before long a perfect hue and cry was raised all over Europe against the "unbaptized heathens," who had so recently been gulling the simple-minded Westerns with the fables about Joseph and Mary and the Saracens.

The glitter of the romance with which they had been early invested was rapidly rubbed off, after the lords and counts of Little Egypt had been convicted of harrying a succession of hen-roosts, and it was hard to preserve confidence in the penitence of a people who had no external symbols of any religion, and lived

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<sup>1</sup> In Malmesbury Abbey — side by side with Athelstan — lies the body of a Gypsy, "King John Buelle," said to have been laid there in 1657.



A GYPSY CAMP.



a life about as bereft of morality as it was deficient in that virtue which then, perhaps, less than now, was rated next to godliness. Worst of all, "the Egyptians" were discovered to have none of the wealth which at first they were supposed to own, and were therefore a people who could neither be "squeezed" nor cozened.

After this, we hear little about their persecution in Egypt, or of their "kings" carrying any letters, except the summary notices which were duly served on them by the constables of every district.

Edicts out of number were framed for their discomfort, and no more humiliating reading exists than the different acts, decrees and writs, which were hurled at these brown-faced wanderers, ostensibly because in addition to being "diviners and wicked heathens" they plundered farm-yards and had occult "trafficked with the deville."

Our illustration of Zigani pleading to Philip III. of Spain, early in the year 1600, shows how the church, having ceased its futile efforts to convert them, strove to have them banished. The general Spanish heart, however, has always had a kindly corner for this joyous race, and into many a Spanish song and story the gypsy enters with a charm of pathos and mystery that always touches a responsive popular chord. Our great romancer, Walter Scott, was attracted by this race, and into three of his most powerful novels, *Guy Mannering*, *Quentin Durward*, and *Peveril of the Peak*, he introduced a strikingly vivid gypsy character.

In the middle of the last century there appears to have been a tendency to treat the gypsies a trifle more mildly, though in 1748 Frederick the Great renewed the law that every gypsy beyond the age of eighteen, found within the Prussian bounds, should be hanged forthwith, and to this day it is in Germany *ipso facto* an indictable offence to be one of the prescribed "zigeuner" unless specially licensed as such.

Even in Roumania — where they swarm — the condition of serfdom to which they were reduced was not completely abrogated until 1856, though both Maria Theresa and Joseph II. tried — with very partial success — to settle them as "New Peasants" on lands specially set aside for the purpose.

But the passion for wandering is so innate, that just as

wild ducks hatched by a tame foster-mother will take to the lakes as soon as they can fly, so a young gypsy, even when reared away from the influence of the tents of its tribe, is apt sooner or later to "kick the traces" of culture, and escape to the squalor, the liberty, and the endless skirmish with society which is the normal life of its ancestral nomads.

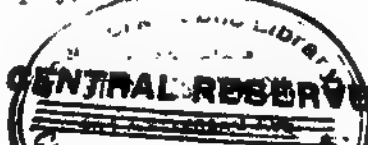
A study of their language soon confirms their Eastern origin, for though mixed with words from almost every country through which they have passed or in which they reside, and often sadly corrupted, it is an East Indian dialect so marked that, as one of the most celebrated of its students says, it is pleasant to be able to study a Hindoo tongue without stirring out of Europe. A gypsy talks, as does an Oriental, of his "kismet" (fate), and when he uses the word "quran" (koran) he refers to no book sacred or otherwise, but to the act of taking an oath. "Shali giv" is in Romany "small grain-corn"; in Hindostani "shali" means rice. The English gypsies call the Bible "shaster," which is simply the Hindoo "shaster," the word they use to describe their religious books.

In India many sects regard a cup with singular regard. In Germany the gypsies will never touch a cup which has once fallen to the ground; ever after it is sacred; and in England many of them can never be induced to use a white bowl. The same antipathy to horse flesh is exhibited among the gypsies that several Indian tribes display, and in brief there can be no hesi-



IN PRISON.

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tation in accepting the now generally received opinion of their comparatively recent Indian origin. The gypsies are a singularly secretive race, and keep their language, as far as they can, concealed from those in whom they have little trust; but in course of time, partly through intermarriage with vagabond whites, or through the association of "travellers" with the real gypsies a host of Romany words have gotten mixed up with English slang. For example, "jockey" is derived from *chuckni* (a whip), jockeyism really meaning the scientific use of a whip in speeding a horse; "cove" is from *cova* (a thing), though the term is almost indefinite in its applicability; "shindy" is probably from *chingaree*, which means the same; "chivy" is from *chiv*, one of the meanings of which is to scold; "shavers," as applied to little children, is from *shavies* (children); a "rum'un" is from *Rum* or *Rom* (a gypsy), or a man literally.

In regard to the disposition and traits, good and bad, of the gypsies, there is always, of course, a wide difference of opinion, according to the prejudices of the critics, the kind of gypsies with whom they have come in contact, or the capability of the judges for arriving at an opinion on the subject. Gypsies are extremely unwilling to betray themselves to strangers, though when they have confidence in anyone they are ready enough to answer questions, and as far as lies in their power to shun the ever-present temptation of "humbugging" the questioner. Among them, as among every other body of people, there are good and bad, though, as always happens when a pure or almost pure-blooded race is concerned, it is easier to arrive at some general conclusions regarding their disposition and abilities than those of a mixed people.

Light-hearted and wonderfully courteous in their conduct towards strangers, and even towards each other, they are capable of violent passions and cruel vindictiveness. At the same time, they are ready to forgive, their childish vanity being easily tickled by a show of affability or an approach to renewed friendship on the part of those by whom they have been offended. The war which the gypsy has for ages waged against society, and society against him, has left indelible traces on his character. To protect himself from the vengeance of the law he has recourse to



A GROUP OF TURKISH GYPSIES.

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that profound cunning which has grown to be with him a second nature, while the indolence that strikes one who sees him asleep under a hedgerow, more than any other characteristic, is the outcome of a life without ambition, a career without a goal.

It is an article of almost universal agreement with students of "gypsyology" that if once a gypsy gives his word he will keep it, and that they have preserved through many centuries the old Oriental, or rather the general vagabond idea of inviolable honor towards the wayfarer within their tents. The children receive scarcely any training: yet no people are kinder to their old parents and relatives than the gypsies. Jetsam and flotsam of society, they find that unless they tie very tightly the bonds which unite them, they would be powerless to hold their own. Hence, perhaps, the warm family affection which distinguishes these nomads. A parent never chastises a young child, yet it is quite common for a grown-up son to accept meekly a thrashing from his aged father.

A gypsy entertains no scruples regarding the method in which he supplies his larder, or, indeed, as to how he acquires property; but he will just as readily part with what he has to a friend in worse case than himself. "I have found them," says one writer, "more cheerful, polite and grateful than the lower orders of other races in Europe or America, and I believe that when their respect and sympathy are secured they are quite as upright. Like all people who are regarded as outcasts, they are very proud of being trusted, and under this influence will commit the most daring acts of honesty." There is no more independent epicure than the gypsy. He eats everything that is edible, except horse-flesh, and sleeps wherever he lights on a spot well sheltered from the wind, and tolerably safe from the only appanage of society which he dreads—the policeman. He has, moreover, a tact and delicacy which many in far loftier stations might well imitate, and a love of nature which makes mere life a joy.

Of religion they have little. "The gypsies' church," they are in the habit of saying, "was made of pork, and the dogs stole it." Where the absolute non-observance of the forms of any creed entails no difficulty, the gypsies are usually untroubled by a regard for the faith of the country in which they live. If, on the

other hand, they find it to their profit to profess a belief in some religion, they never hesitate to pick up as much of it as suits their convenience, their wonderful art of conforming themselves to the ways of the particular community into which they are thrown serving them here in good stead. Here and there may be detected, mixed up with endless superstitions and crude bits of Christianity, fragments of nature-worship and very early paganism, though how far serpent-worship and the adoration of a moon-god, which Sundt fancied he found among the gypsies of Norway, exist in reality, or in the too easy conclusions of a student bent on finding something new is scarcely worth discussing here.

The three great gypsy clans of Germany, according to Liebich, worship the fir, the birch and the hawthorn, and the Welsh Romany, certain fasciated growths in trees. The "Pharaoh people" of Turkey keep a fire continually burning, and on the first of May they all go to the seacoast or the banks of a river, where they thrice throw water on their temples, invoking the invisible spirits of the place to grant their wishes. Another custom observed with equal consistency is that of annually drinking some potion, the secret of whose preparation is known only to the wisest and oldest of the tribe. This drink is said to render them invulnerable to snake-bites, and certainly according to trustworthy travellers the "Chinguins," as they are also called, catch serpents and handle them with an impunity which is not vouchsafed to any persons not of the gypsy race.

They have scarcely any idea of a future state, the only trace of such a belief which Liebich ever detected being in a gypsy crone, who dreamed that she was in heaven, which to her appeared to be a very large garden full of fine fat hedgehogs, the dainty which Romany gourmands or gluttons most esteem. In Scandinavia, according to Sundt, who spent years in studying the vagabonds of the North, the gypsies assemble once a year, and always at night, for the purpose of unbaptizing all of their children who during the year have been baptized by the Gorgios, or whites. On this occasion the parents, whose acquiescence in the Christian rite has been obtained by the persuasive power of gifts, worship a small idol, which is preserved until the next meeting with the greatest care and secrecy. This is a good story, but, like many others

in circulation, had better be accepted with considerable caution. It would argue for the gypsy the possession of a keen moral sense — the terror that the baptism was dreadfully wrong. Now this is just what the Indian nomad does not possess. He is indifferent. His moral sense is formed by custom, and morality seems to be at times a question of latitude and longitude. A fearful crime in one section of human society is a virtue in another a few degrees farther north or south.

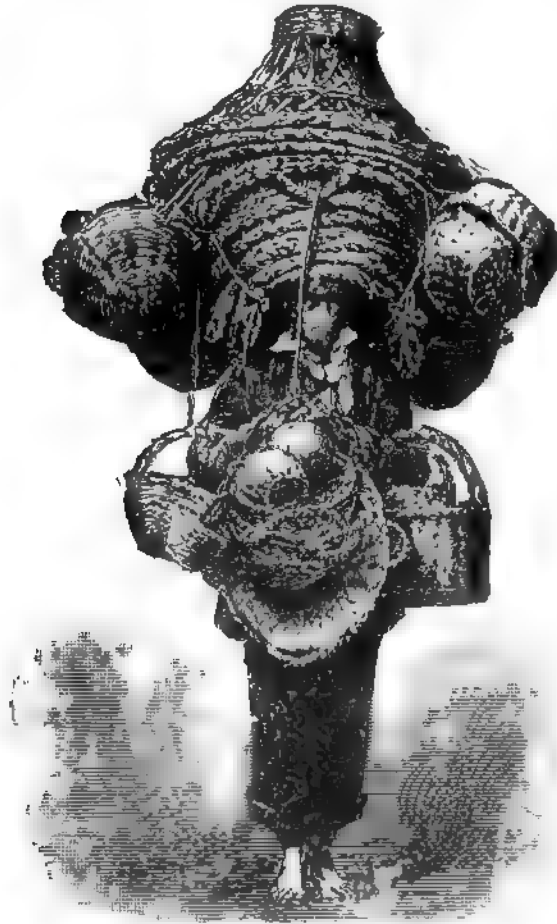
For instance, in the island of Borneo, a Dyak is, or was, ineligible for the humble position of a prospective husband until he had decapitated a fellow-man; we should have hanged him. The civilized father is overwhelmed with sorrow when his boy is detected pilfering other men's property, but an Apache parent thanks all the heaven he knows of that the lad who has managed to steal a horse before he was ready to take a wife promises to prove a comfort to his old age.

So with the gypsy. Ever poor, often hungry, always hated, it seems to him the most natural thing in the world that he should temporarily enrich himself and satisfy his appetite at the expense of those who, in his eyes, are burdened with superfluities. He knows it is against the law, for there are legends ever present to his memory and experience which tell of the policeman's illiberal ways; but, as for any moral crime, that is an aspect of the matter on which the gypsy has never been taught to reflect.

Yet there is hardly a race or tribe — no matter what ill-informed travellers may say to the contrary — which is entirely without religion, and the gypsy is no exception to this rule. His feelings of reverence find vent in an inordinate respect for the dead, an outcome, it may be, of the intense love he bears his kindred when alive. The corpse is waked and the effects of the deceased person are burned. "The Annual Register" for 1773 records that "the clothes of the late Diana Boswell, queen of the gypsies, value £50, were burnt in the Mint, Southwark, by her principal courtiers, according to ancient custom," and to this day the same rite is observed on the death of any of the tribe, though most probably this is one of the ancient rites which are on the wane. Certain tribes of North American Indians adopt the same plan, probably for the same reason, to put out of sight anything which

might recall the memory of the dead, or tempt them to pronounce his or her name.

In England a gypsy will, with wondrous self-denial, often abstain from spirits for years, because a dead brother was fond of liquor, or will abandon some favorite pursuit because the



A FRENCH GYPSY SELLING BASKETS.

deceased when last in his company was engaged in this business or pastime. Again, a wife or child will often renounce the delicacy most liked by the dead husband or father. They will never mention the dead one's name, and if any of the survivors happen



to bear one of the names they will change it for another less apt to recall the loved one. A gypsy declined a cigar offered to him by Mr. Leland, the famous American student of their habits, because in the pockets of his nephew some cigars were found after his death. The same man ceased using snuff after his wife's death. "Some men," said a gypsy once, "won't eat meat because the brother or sister that died was fond of it; some won't drink ale for five or six years; some won't eat the favorite fish that the child ate; some won't eat potatoes, or drink milk, or eat apples, and all for the dead. Some won't play cards or the fiddle — 'that's my poor boy's tune' — and some won't dance. 'No, I can't dance; the last time I danced was with poor wife that's been dead this four years.' 'Come, brother, let's go and have a drop of ale.' 'No, brother, I never drank a drop of ale since my aunt went.' 'Well, take some tobacco, brother?' 'No, no; I have not smoked since my wife fell in the water, and never came out again alive.'"

This is Oriental entirely, and in Germany, where the gypsies are even nearer akin to the primitive conditions of the race than in England, the respect for the dead is even more profound. "By my father's head!" is a very binding oath, but to swear by "the dead" is even more so. Even in England a gypsy who declares that he will do anything — "mullo juvo" — that is, by his dead wife, is pretty sure to keep his word, though he never reads the Bible, and regards the founder of our faith only in the light of something to lend strength to an affirmation. In Germany it is said that when a maiden called Forella died, her entire tribe ceased calling the trout by its old name of Forelle. In England this rule is very generally observed, though it is not universal. At one time they put new shoes and even money in the coffin with the corpse, or decked the body with gay clothes and ornaments of value.

In the course of their wanderings the gypsies have, as might have been expected, picked up a good many snatches of the Christian religion. For instance, some of them burn an ash fire on Christmas Day in honor of Christ, "because He was born and lived like a gypsy." Among other of their superstitious scruples is a dislike to wash a table-cloth with other clothes. A German gypsy woman must not cook for four months after the birth of a

child, and any vessel touched by a woman's skirt is defiled, while one of their most widespread and most Indian practices is to leave at a road-corner a handful of leaves or grass, or a heap of stones or sticks, to guide any of the band who may follow.

Though until lately almost entirely without school learning — the civilized gypsies of Yetholm are of course excepted — they are far from being a dull or unreceptive race. Many of them are persons of great natural shrewdness, though, except as musicians, few of the race have ever attained much celebrity. The Hungarians owe their national music to the Zigani. Many of them display considerable skill as metal workers, and one or two have developed talents of a certain kind as Methodist preachers. The late Rev. Dr. Gordon, a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, was always understood to be of pure gypsy stock. Lord Jeffrey and Christopher North (Professor John Wilson) were also said to be of the wandering folk, and it has long been affirmed, though the assertion has been stoutly disputed, that John Bunyan, author of "Pilgrim's Progress," belonged to the gypsy stock. Half of the tramps, the "travellers," as they are called, of England, are tinged with Romany blood. These "half-scrags" are an ever-increasing class. They are tramps and beggars, proprietors of travelling shows; horse-dealers, tinkers, cheap Jacks, "Punches," fiddlers, pottery dealers, sellers of skewers and clothespegs.

In England the number of house-dwelling gypsies is on the increase, but it is rare to find any who have for two generations ceased to find shelter under tents, or who do not at intervals take to their old kind of life. The gypsy has nowhere nowadays a distinctive dress, but he or she can generally be picked out in a crowd by reason of the gay colors so loved by the race, and the heavy rings on the women's fingers. In some parts of the continent the women wear a peculiar pattern of earrings, and in Hungary the male gypsy is fond of decking his coat with silver buttons bearing a serpent for a crest.

In the country the gypsy follows nearly all callings, from those of chimney-sweeps and factory hands, to those of actors and quack doctors, but as tinkers, or workers in metal, horse-dealers, makers of baskets, brooms, clothes-pegs, and pottery sellers,

they are pre-eminent. The Calderari, or copper-smiths of Hungary, travel all over Europe, and sometimes reach as far as Algeria. In Transylvania they are well known as gold workers, and no tourist who has ever visited the Alhambra but must remember the gypsy smiths whose anvils were placed in the caves of Granada.

Altogether, according to Mr. Simson, there cannot be much fewer than 4,000,000 gypsies in existence, but if pure bloods are meant, this estimate is probably far over the mark, since Von Miklosich reckons that number at somewhere in the vicinity of 700,000. In Hungary there are, according to a rough estimate, about 150,000 gypsies — vagabonds who wander over the country with their carts and horses, accompanied by their women and children, and though at one time persecuted as unbelievers, and hunted to death as sorcerers and poisoners, the cruel edicts which enjoined such treatment were never approved by the Hungarian people. The result is, that the gypsies have increased, and, in their own thriftless, squalid fashion, prospered, despite the hard usage they have experienced at the hands of their rulers.

Indeed, as we have seen, the Hungarian kings have more than once protected them as a "poor wandering people without a country, and whom all the world rejected," and granted them safe conducts to go wherever seemed good to them, with their troops of donkeys and horses. Joseph II. of Austria tried to settle them as agriculturists, and had huts built for them, but instead of occupying the comfortable dwellings themselves they stabled their cattle in them, and pitched their tents outside.

Then to prevent their corn from sprouting they boiled it before sowing, and though their children were taken from them and trained up into habits of work under Magyar and German peasants, these wildlings soon escaped and joined their parents, without having learned anything from their forcible apprenticeship to civilization. It is affirmed that a gypsy, who had actually risen to the rank of an officer in the Austrian army, disappeared one day, and was found six months afterwards with a band of Zigani encamped on the heath. A young Slovak peasant fell in love with and married a gypsy girl, but in his absence she escaped to the woods, and when discovered was living under a tree and

feasting on hedgehog after the fashion of the race from whom she had been taken.

The Abbé Liszt, charmed with the talent for music displayed

PLEADING FOR FREEDOM.



by a gypsy boy, took him to Paris and tried to train the little lad. But all in vain. The moment he saw his own people in Vienna his delight was indescribable; there was no longer any hope of keeping him under the velvet bonds of polite life.

Like all their kindred, the Hungarian gypsy has a horror of restraint and of continuous labor. His vocabulary contains no word signifying "to dwell;" hence he follows any trade which admits of his wandering about the country — farriers, nail-makers, horse-dealers (and horse-stealers), bear-tamers, and beggars. In the last capacity the Zigani are irrepressible. Time to them is no object. They will follow the traveller for half an hour, pouring forth their whine in fluent Magyar or gypsy until a piece of money is thrown to them, and then they will whine again to the next likely passer-by. Indeed, so deeply rooted is this love of mendicancy and its twin, mendacity, that it is nothing uncommon for gypsies wearing gold chains and rings, carrying gold-headed canes, and leading race-horses, to hold out their hands for alms to all whom they meet.

No people are more skilful as horse-dealers; a Vermont Yankee is miles behind them. In truth, so skilful are they, that Joseph II., who occupied a good deal of his time in devising means for the reformation of this section of his subjects, absolutely forbade them to trade in a species of merchandise which gave them an undue advantage over their neighbors, and put temptation in the gypsy's way of which he was not at all backward to avail himself. The women, like their sisters everywhere, tell fortunes, sell charms, ply the trade of jugglers and dancers, and, it is said, not without truth, act as go-betweens and supply poisons.

Many rustics in lands besides Hungary have still a firm belief in their power in these respects, and will tell how by magic formulæ they have extinguished fires, preserved horses from the flames, discovered hidden treasures or springs of water hitherto unsuspected, and cured diseases which have defied the regular faculty. It may be added, though the contrary has been asserted, that the morals of the women are, if possible, worse than those of the men. Among the gypsies, however, as among the people of every other race, exceptions are occasionally found which prove the rule, the rule being that they are vagabonds. The exceptions are the few who in Transylvania carry on the trades of wood-carvers, brush-makers, tile-makers, rope-makers, ropers, chimney-sweeps, gold-workers, dentists, and musicians — as they all are more or less — not to mention the Zigani who are always

ready to perform the hideous function of the public executioner. "Five florins for hanging a man!" a gypsy is said to have exclaimed when offered this fee for his services. "Why, I would hang all those gentlemen," pointing with an affable grin to the judges, "for that sum of money!" One or two Zigani have tried their hand at play-writing and acting, and now and then may be met a gypsy marionette manager, or even a comedian of the race. In Hungary they can hardly be said to profess any regular religion. They are not even pagans, for they worship nothing, though everywhere they show great respect for the dead, never passing a grave of their relatives without pouring on it a few drops of beer, wine, or brandy.

They adopt any religion which promises most profit or the greatest immunity from discomfort. Hence it will sometimes happen that the children of a wandering gypsy will be baptized four or five times, and be quite ready, so far as their parents are concerned, to be baptized a fifth if the nomad happen to come into a region where religious fervor runs high. How far they acknowledge any head nowadays is an open question. At one time they were governed by four "voïvodes," or chiefs, who were elected by universal suffrage, and proclaimed amid music and applause. A three-cornered braided hat was placed on the chief's head, and a pitcher of wine on a plate covered with flowers presented to him.

This he drained at a draught, then broke the flask in pieces, after which he harangued the assembly, and shook hands with each of his subjects in turn. Every seven years the people gathered round the supreme chief to receive his orders, and those washing the auriferous sands of the Transylvanian rivers, whatever might have been the habit of the others, paid a florin per annum to the voïvode under whom they worked. But in these days the chief exercises little, if any, visible authority. In Hungary, as in England and America, the policeman has long since replaced this gypsy sovereign.

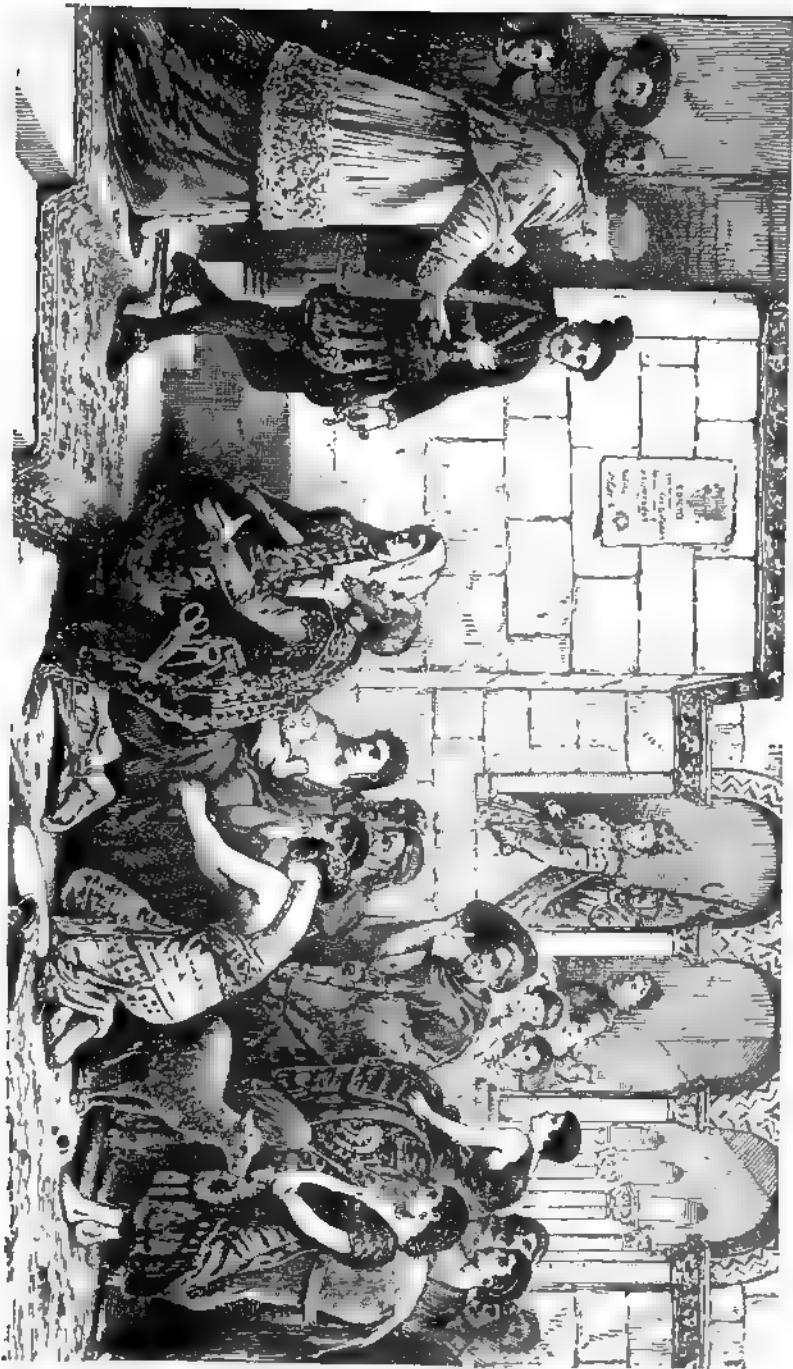
More than any people, save the poor artisans confined to the vile tenements of our great civilized cities, the gypsies exemplify the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest." A weakling soon perishes during the life of hardship which he must endure, but the strong survive to become the fine specimens of humanity which are

seen among them. Epidemics pass over them scatheless. Gout and rheumatism are to them unknown maladies. Their wounds heal with wonderful rapidity and, if perchance disease does attack them, brandy, onions and saffron are the only medicines which they tolerate. In short, their life is an animal one. A gypsy condemned to be hanged will always ask as a last favor to be allowed a smoke, and a pipe is, perhaps, the first thing which is put into a child's mouth after it is weaned.

Roumania is, however, the real home of the continental gypsy, for there he numbers, according to different estimates, from 130,000 to 300,000 in spite of the fact that until recently he was a mere serf, bought and sold with the land on which he squatted. They were nominally free in 1848, though it was not till eight years after this that the Zigani could be said to be absolutely beyond the power of their former owners, and as late as 1845 the following advertisement appeared in a Bucharest newspaper:—

“The sons and heirs of the late Sirdar Nicka of Bucharest will expose for sale two hundred gypsy families. The men exercise the trades of locksmiths, goldsmiths, shoemakers, musicians, and farm laborers. Not less than four families will be sold in one lot. As a set-off, the price asked is a ducat cheaper than the ordinary figure. Facilities for payment.”

In 1825, according to Walsh, if a gypsy belonging to a Boyard, or noble, was killed by his master, no notice was taken of the circumstance, but if the murder was committed by a stranger a fine of eighty florins was exacted. Slight faults were punished by the bastinado applied to the soles of the feet, or by the application of an iron mask, in which the head was shut up for a longer or shorter period, preventing the offender from eating or drinking. Those who had committed theft were fastened by the neck and arms to a plank, which they carried on their shoulders in the fashion of the Chinese cangue, which we illustrate in our Chinese chapter. They are still in Roumania the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. All rough, unpleasant work is allotted to them. There the men, women, and children are the drudges who carry bricks and mortar to the masons, meantime cooking and sleeping in the building on which they are at work,



ZIGANT PLEADING BEFORE PHILIP III. OF SPAIN.



their main food being mamaliga, or maize-meal, boiled and seasoned with salt. Or, as in other countries, they mend pots and kettles, shoe horses, or play the medola. But though the tawny face of the Frenchified Roumanian bears distinct evidence that his forefathers were not so callous to the charms of the lithe young gypsy, the so-called whites affect an unutterable scorn for the Zigani, ranking them as little better than the lower animals. The philosophy of gypsy life is summed up in the following little poem composed by a gypsy of Spain in which country these mystic strollers are regarded with a sort of tender tolerance like naughty but amusing children.

“ Poraquel luchipen abajo  
Abillela uri balichoro  
Abillela á goli goli,  
Ustilame Caloro.”

“ There runs a pig down yonder hill  
As fast as e'er he can,  
And as he runs he crieth still :  
' Come steal me,' gypsy man!”

But the gypsies are injured innocents compared with the extraordinary clandestine clan of robbers and assassins called the Camorristi, whose original home and habitat were the two Sicilies and lower Italy, but who have followed the Italian race in its emigrations and whose dark tracks can be discovered in every city of magnitude in this country. The Camorra, as this brotherhood of brigands is termed, affords a remarkable insight into the subtlety of the Italian character, its wonderful capacity for devising extraordinary means for the accomplishment of ordinary ends, and that less amiable aptitude for playing the conspirator or spy which has given the Italian nation an evil odor in the nostrils of other races which as a whole it does not deserve.

The recent trouble in New Orleans is traceable to the Camorra, for the Mafia is only a branch of that tremendous tree, like the banyan in its tendency to burrow back into the earth, and like the upas in its pestilent powers. The history of the Camorra is as remarkable as any fable, for the Camorristi during the misrule of the Bourbons were not only tolerated, but were actually permitted to ply their infamous trade, in the hope that this permission to plunder the people might influence them in favor of the government. The result was what might have been expected, for when Francis II., terrified at the measureless assurance of the society he had favored and fostered, attempted its suppression, the mem-

bers who escaped the wholesale capture and transportation decreed against them entered into alliance with the Garibaldians, and materially aided in the expulsion of King Bomba.

Meantime, and for many years, they had a festival time of it. Knowing that their exactions were winked at, they boldly presented themselves in the markets, at places of public amusement, and at the street spectacles by which the Neapolitan rulers tried to make their subjects forget the manner in which they were misgoverned. If a cab were engaged, the Camorra expected its share; if the fare were disputed, a hangdog-looking individual would step up and say with sinister quietness how much the signor ought to pay, and the coachman then knew that the Camorra had intervened, and would in due time render its account. Differences between men and masters were referred to the Camorristi — or taken to another tribunal at the risk of the recalcitrants regretting their rashness. The Camorristi extracted their percentage of whatever money passed from hand to hand in buying property or in making any open or even private purchase, for the Camorra was everywhere, and showed itself in the most unlikely quarters. Rents, wages, prizes in lotteries, winnings of gamblers — everything which could be taxed had, willy nilly, to contribute to the Camorrist treasury. There was nothing which the society could not accomplish, from the ruin of a minister to the dismissal of a laborer. For a consideration they undertook to convey smuggled goods to their destination, and if a *bravo* were required, the Camorra — for a consideration — would provide the stiletto.

Violence, robbery and murder were their machinery. Terrorism kept the members together, and so dreaded was their vengeance, that when thrown into gaol they would often succeed in exacting money from their fellow-prisoners, and even from the turnkeys, who dreaded the company committed to their charge. The "Camorra" has been repressed in Naples, but in Sicily it flourishes still, not so open and insolent as of yore, but yet potent.

Protean in form, it had many names or aliases also. In Ravenna and Bologna it was called the "Squadraccia," in Turin the "Cocca;" and those who have studied this strange cancer in the social life of Italy say that the Roman "Sicorii," the "Accoltella-

tori" of the Romagna district, and the Parmesan "Pugnalatori," were only the Neapolitan Camorristi under other names. It was a State within a State, and at the time when the government flattered itself that the organization was actually exterminated, there were upwards of 200,000 persons belonging to it, and addressing each other in a language unintelligible to more honest, or at least to less lawless, people. Recent revelations prove that if they are no longer able to weaken the power of the authorities, and to modify the operations of economic laws by exacting that

share of the national wealth of which they were deprived either by idleness or the badness of their rulers, they are not less a terror in certain strata of society, and a means of paralyzing confidence in the capability of the law to protect all classes equally.

As the branches of the banyan tree, hiding themselves in the earth, re-rooting, burrowing back into silence and shadow, are more remarkable than the original trunk or stem, so the Mafia, or Maffia, is more singular than the Camorra because more secretive and subtle.

This society still flourishes in Sicily, and has branches in nearly every large city on this continent, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, New York, for example. But New Orleans especially, by reason of her

attractive Italian climate, has proved a magnet to Mafian emigrants.

New Orleans for many years has had a large Sicilian population, and for many years the police of the Crescent City have noticed odd coincidences of crime. If a Palermo man was found dead or dying with a stiletto stab near his heart or in his stomach, a favorite stabbing-place, a Messina man soon followed.

Sometimes the murder was committed in broad day, but when



A CAMORRISTIC TRAMP.

the case came up for trial, the witnesses from the Sicilian quarter, where such things generally happened, seemed to experience an epidemic of stupidity, for the most searching questions failed to strike from their stony silence a scintilla of evidence that could light the way to a conviction for the crime. Out of the court the murderer strolled with a smile, rolling a brown paper cigarette.

In 1873 a characteristic case occurred. Two young Sicilians quarrelled in the French market; out flashed a knife, and one was completely disembowelled in a moment. His wife saw the horrible deed, and ran round and round shrieking, and pointing at the murderer whom the police, coming up, apprehended.

But two days later the woman swore in court that she could not tell who stabbed her husband. La Mafia had whispered in her ear, and she knew better than to know. A case occurred when the present writer lived in New Orleans more striking still.

A Sicilian lay in wait for another and fired at him an old blunderbuss loaded to the muzzle with nails, small stones, and buck-shot. The murderer was seized by the quick police with the weapon in his hand, and brought before the victim for still more certain identification.

The dying man darted one glance of hatred at the captive, then shook his head and said, "It is not the man, but another. This fool must have picked up the empty gun." Then he died, knowing he would be avenged by his branch of the Mafia, or by his family clan, as, indeed, was done not many months after. But the Mafia did not confine its operations to quarrels and personal vengeance. Blood was its drink, but money was its meat.

Rich Italians who, by reason of their national knowledge of Mafian or Camorran methods, could be more easily intimidated than citizens of other races living in that charming cosmopolitan city, very often received notices that they must make La Mafia a little present, the amount of which, with time and place for delivery, was obligingly specified.

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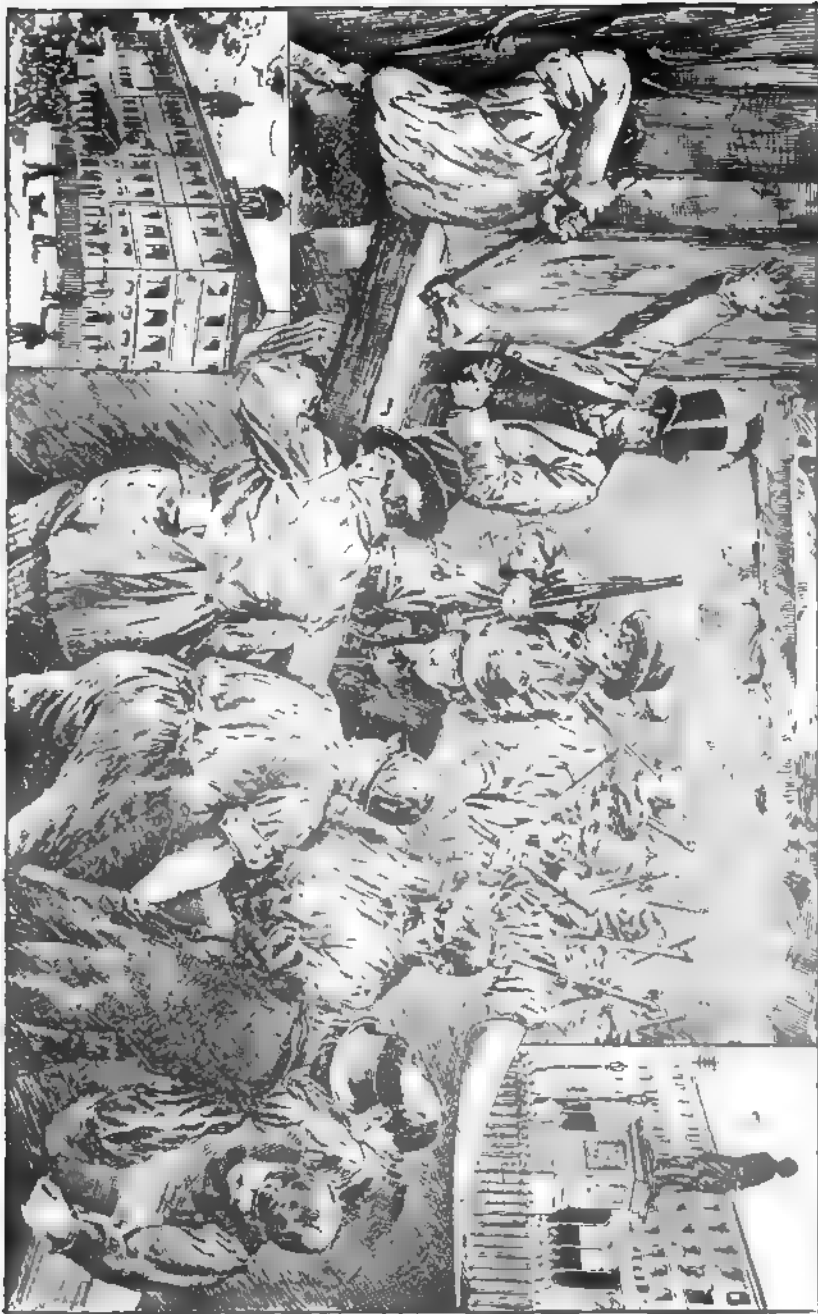
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Almost every member of this formidable host is known to the "police," but unfortunately this advantage is almost counterbalanced by the fact that the police are as well known to the majority of the twenty thousand. To their experienced eyes it is not the helmet and the blue coat that make the policeman. Indeed, they appear to depend not so much on visual evidence as on



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After wandering about for several days half starved, I was taken by several poor ragged boys whom I met, to sleep in the dark arches of the Adelphi. I think I lived with them, sharing all they had, for over a

their main food being mamaliga, or maize-meal, boiled and seasoned with salt. Or, as in other countries, they mend pots and kettles, shoe horses, or play the medola. But though the tawny face of the Frenchified Roumanian bears distinct evidence that his forefathers were not so callous to the charms of the lithe young gypsy, the so-called whites affect an unutterable scorn for the Zigani, ranking them as little better than the lower animals. The philosophy of gypsy life is summed up in the following little poem composed by a gypsy of Spain in which country these mystic strollers are regarded with a sort of tender tolerance like naughty but amusing children.

“Poraquel luchipen abajo  
Abillela uri balichoro  
Abillela á goli goli,  
Ustilame Caloro.”

“There runs a pig down yonder hill  
As fast as e’er he can,  
And as he runs he crieth still :  
‘Come steal me,’ gypsy man!”

But the gypsies are injured innocents compared with the extraordinary clandestine clan of robbers and assassins called the Camorristi, whose original home and habitat were the two Sicilies and lower Italy, but who have followed the Italian race in its emigrations and whose dark tracks can be discovered in every city of magnitude in this country. The Camorra, as this brotherhood of brigands is termed, affords a remarkable insight into the subtlety of the Italian character, its wonderful capacity for devising extraordinary means for the accomplishment of ordinary ends, and that less amiable aptitude for playing the conspirator or spy which has given the Italian nation an evil odor in the nostrils of other races which as a whole it does not deserve.

The recent trouble in New Orleans is traceable to the Camorra, for the Mafia is only a branch of that tremendous tree, like the banyan in its tendency to burrow back into the earth, and like the upas in its pestilent powers. The history of the Camorra is as remarkable as any fable, for the Camorristi during the misrule of the Bourbons were not only tolerated, but were actually permitted to ply their infamous trade, in the hope that this permission to plunder the people might influence them in favor of the government. The result was what might have been expected, for when Francis II., terrified at the measureless assurance of the society he had favored and fostered, attempted its suppression, the mem-

bers who escaped the wholesale capture and transportation decreed against them entered into alliance with the Garibaldians, and materially aided in the expulsion of King Bomba.

Meantime, and for many years, they had a festival time of it. Knowing that their exactions were winked at, they boldly presented themselves in the markets, at places of public amusement, and at the street spectacles by which the Neapolitan rulers tried to make their subjects forget the manner in which they were misgoverned. If a cab were engaged, the Camorra expected its share; if the fare were disputed, a hangdog-looking individual would step up and say with sinister quietness how much the signor ought to pay, and the coachman then knew that the Camorra had intervened, and would in due time render its account. Differences between men and masters were referred to the Camorristi — or taken to another tribunal at the risk of the recalcitrants regretting their rashness. The Camorristi extracted their percentage of whatever money passed from hand to hand in buying property or in making any open or even private purchase, for the Camorra was everywhere, and showed itself in the most unlikely quarters. Rents, wages, prizes in lotteries, winnings of gamblers — everything which could be taxed had, willy nilly, to contribute to the Camorrist treasury. There was nothing which the society could not accomplish, from the ruin of a minister to the dismissal of a laborer. For a consideration they undertook to convey smuggled goods to their destination, and if a *bravo* were required, the Camorra — for a consideration — would provide the stiletto.

Violence, robbery and murder were their machinery. Terrorism kept the members together, and so dreaded was their vengeance, that when thrown into gaol they would often succeed in exacting money from their fellow-prisoners, and even from the turnkeys, who dreaded the company committed to their charge. The "Camorra" has been repressed in Naples, but in Sicily it flourishes still, not so open and insolent as of yore, but yet potent.

Protean in form, it had many names or aliases also. In Ravenna and Bologna it was called the "Squadraccia," in Turin the "Gocca;" and those who have studied this strange cancer in the social life of Italy say that the Roman "Sicorii," the "Accoltella-

tori" of the Romagna district, and the Parmesan "Pugnalatori," were only the Neapolitan Camorristi under other names. It was a State within a State, and at the time when the government flattered itself that the organization was actually exterminated, there were upwards of 200,000 persons belonging to it, and addressing each other in a language unintelligible to more honest, or at least to less lawless, people. Recent revelations prove that if they are no longer able to weaken the power of the authorities, and to modify the operations of economic laws by exacting that

share of the national wealth of which they were deprived either by idleness or the badness of their rulers, they are not less a terror in certain strata of society, and a means of paralyzing confidence in the capability of the law to protect all classes equally.

As the branches of the banyan tree, hiding themselves in the earth, re-rooting, burrowing back into silence and shadow, are more remarkable than the original trunk or stem, so the Mafia, or Maffia, is more singular than the Camorra because more secretive and subtle.



A CAMORRISTIC TRAMP.

This society still flourishes in Sicily, and has branches in nearly every large city on this continent, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, New York, for example. But New Orleans especially, by reason of her

attractive Italian climate, has proved a magnet to Mafian emigrants.

New Orleans for many years has had a large Sicilian population, and for many years the police of the Crescent City have noticed odd coincidences of crime. If a Palermo man was found dead or dying with a stiletto stab near his heart or in his stomach, a favorite stabbing-place, a Messina man soon followed.

Sometimes the murder was committed in broad day, but when

the case came up for trial, the witnesses from the Sicilian quarter, where such things generally happened, seemed to experience an epidemic of stupidity, for the most searching questions failed to strike from their stony silence a scintilla of evidence that could light the way to a conviction for the crime. Out of the court the murderer strolled with a smile, rolling a brown paper cigarette.

In 1873 a characteristic case occurred. Two young Sicilians quarrelled in the French market; out flashed a knife, and one was completely disembowelled in a moment. His wife saw the horrible deed, and ran round and round shrieking, and pointing at the murderer whom the police, coming up, apprehended.

But two days later the woman swore in court that she could not tell who stabbed her husband. La Mafia had whispered in her ear, and she knew better than to know. A case occurred when the present writer lived in New Orleans more striking still.

A Sicilian lay in wait for another and fired at him an old blunderbuss loaded to the muzzle with nails, small stones, and buck-shot. The murderer was seized by the quick police with the weapon in his hand, and brought before the victim for still more certain identification.

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month, and during this time I often saw the boys follow the male passengers, when the half-penny boats came to the Adelphi stairs, i. e., the part of the river almost opposite the Adelphi Theatre.

I could not at first make out the meaning of this, but I soon found they generally had one or two handkerchiefs when the passengers left. At this time there was an old prison van in the Adelphi arches, without wheels, in which we used to sleep, and there we used to meet a man my companions called "Larry," who gave the boys almost what price he liked for the handkerchiefs.

My companions, all this time, had been very kind, sharing what they got with me, but often asking why I did not try my hand at the trade, till at last I was ashamed to live any longer upon the food they gave me without earning my share. So, when I gave expression to this rather natural, and as it seems to me, somewhat commendable feeling, one of the boys, Joe Muckraw, said to me, that when the next boat came in, if any man came out likely to carry a good handkerchief, he would let me have a chance at it.

Next day I saw an elderly gentleman step ashore, and a lady with him. They had a little dog, with a string attached to it, that they led along. Before Joe reminded me of my determination, he stole up and "fanned" the gentleman's pocket, i. e., felt it to be sure there was a handkerchief inside. Then he whispered "Now, Dick, have a try."

I went to the old gentleman's side, trembling all over, and Joe keeping close to me in the dark, encouraging me all the time, while the old gentleman was engaged with the little dog. Lifting up the tail — of the coat, not the dog, I mean — I took out a green "kingsman" (handkerchief), next in value to a black silk handkerchief.

I did it so quietly, quickly, and naturally, I might say, that the gentleman did not perceive his loss. We immediately went to the arches and entered the van where Larry was, and Joe said to him, "This is Dick's first trial, and you must give him a 'ray' for it," i. e., one shilling and sixpence. After a deal of pressing, Larry gave us a shilling.

After that I gained confidence, and in the course of a few weeks I was considered the cleverest of the little band, never missing one boat coming in, and getting one or two handkerchiefs each time. When we knew there were no boats coming we used to waste our money on sweets and fruits, and went often in the evenings to the Victoria Theatre and Bower Saloon, and other places. When we came out at twelve or half-past twelve at night, we went to the arches again and slept in the prison van. I led this life — and a jolly one it seemed to me then — for a year.

One day several men came to visit us, and they came again, telling us pleasant stories of high life and fine ladies whom they knew. I afterwards learned they were brought by "Larry" to study me, as he had been speaking of my cleverness at the "tail," i. e., stealing from the tails of gentlemen's coats. They used to make me presents and speak very kindly to me, but at that time they were not quite satisfied as to my abilities or capacity for taking higher rank in the order.

One day, having grown a little careless in my methods, I was seized by a gentleman who caught me with his handkerchief in my hand, and I was sentenced to Bridewell for two months. The day of my release I felt touched and honored to find at the gate a cab waiting for me, and two of the men standing by who had often made me presents and spoken to me in the arches. They took me to their own home. One of them had the first floor of a house, the other had the second, and both had wives, women exceedingly pretty, very kind-hearted, and, though you may not believe me, very refined.

I found out shortly afterwards that these men had lately had a boy with them, but he had been caught, sentenced, and transported to Australia about that time, though I did not know this then. They gave me plenty to eat, and one of the women, by name "Emily," washed and cleansed me — I was wonderfully dirty — and gave me new clothes to put on. For three days I was not asked to do anything, but in the meantime they had been talking to me of going with them and having no more to do with the boys at the Adelphi or with the "tail," but instead to try the finer, more difficult and aristocratic work of picking ladies' pockets.

I thought it more difficult at first, but found afterwards that it was more satisfactory to work on a woman's pocket than upon a man's, for this reason; more persons work together, and the boy is well surrounded by companions older than himself, and is shielded from the eyes of the passers-by. Besides, it pays better.

As this was my first essay in having anything to do in stealing from a woman, I believe they were nervous themselves, but they had well tutored me during the two or three days I had been out of prison. They had stood against me in the room while Emily walked to and fro, and I had practised on her by taking out sometimes a lady's clasp purse, termed a "portemonnaie," and other articles out of her pocket, and thus I was not quite ignorant of what was expected of me.

On the day of my first attempt one walked in front of me, one on my right hand, and the other in the rear, and I had the lady on my left hand. I immediately "fanned" her (felt her pocket), as she



stopped to look in at a hosier's window, then I took her purse and gave it to one of them, and we immediately went to a house in Giltspur Street. We there examined the purse and found about two sovereigns in it. The purse was thrown away, as is the general rule, and that afternoon I found four more purses and then we went home to a good supper, after which we laid aside entirely the cares of business and went to the theatre. I recollect how they praised me that night for my cleverness, and how my cheek glowed with pride at their praise.

The following day we reaped a still better harvest. It amounted to about 19£. (nearly \$100) each. These organized gangs always take care to allow the boy to see what is in the purse, and to give him his proper share, equal with the others, because he is their sole support. If they should lose him they would be unable to do anything until they got another. Out of my share, I bought a silver watch and a gold chain, and about this time I also bought an elegant little overcoat and carried it on my left arm to cover my movements.

But men devoted to monetary pursuits — even the most adroit and careful financiers, — for instance, think of Baring Brothers just lately — sometimes have their turns of ill-luck and get caught on the wrong side of an investment. My day came. I saw a gentleman stuff a roll of bank notes in his waistcoat pocket and, brushing up against him, I attempted to relieve him. It landed me in prison for three months. During that time, however, I did not grow thin on prison diet, but was kept on good rations supplied to me through the kindness of my comrades out of doors bribing the turnkeys.

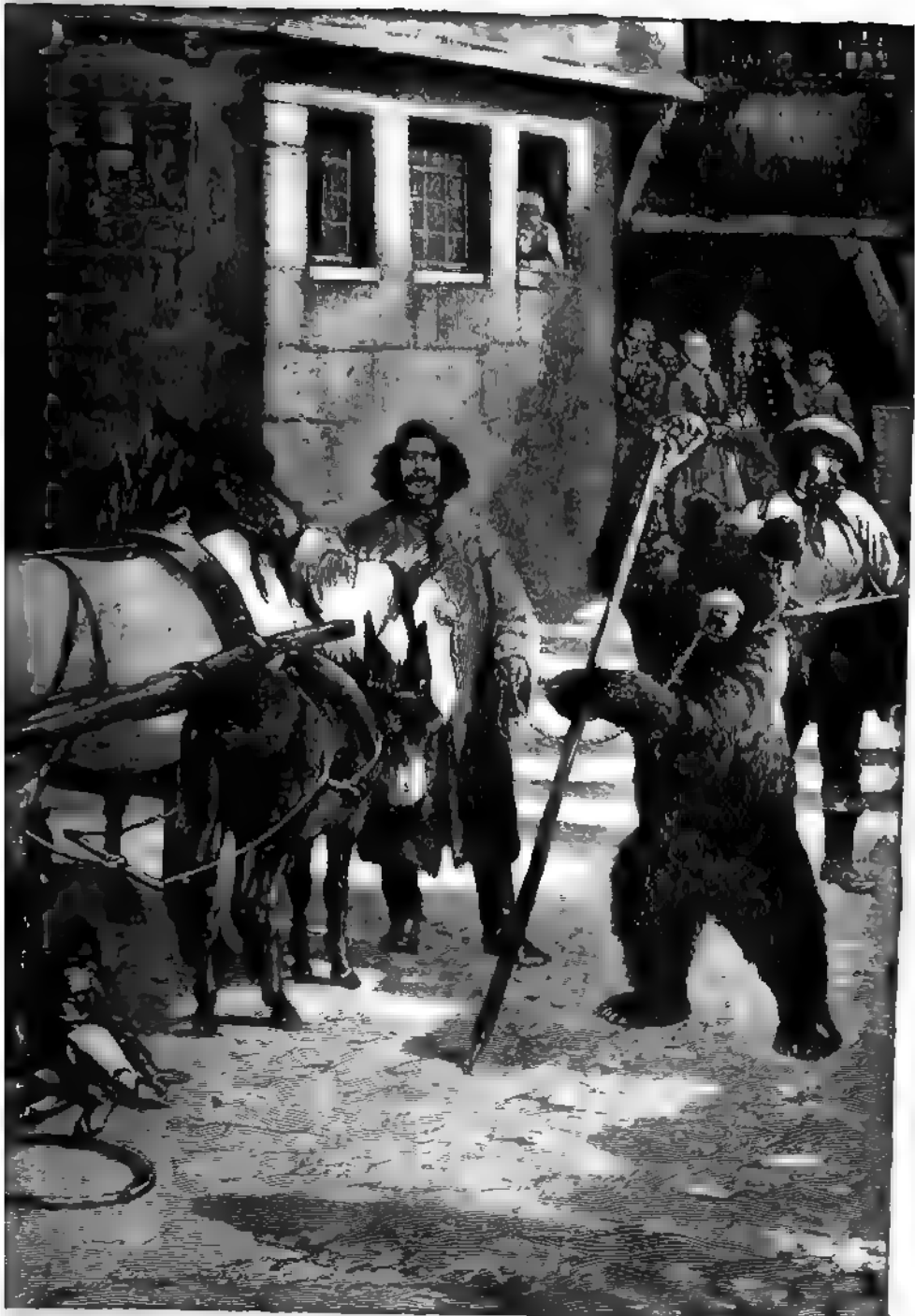
When I came out we began to attend the theatres professionally, and I have often taken as many as six or seven ladies' purses during the crowding, while they were coming out. We also used to go to the great races on business, and one day I was induced by my comrades, much against my will, for I thought it was too risky, to turn my hand upon two ladies as they were stepping into a carriage. I was detected by the ladies and there was immediately a tremendous outcry and rush for me, but I was got clear by two of my comrades, the other throwing himself in the way, and keeping the pursuers back; for which he was taken up on suspicion, committed for trial, and not being able to explain satisfactorily who he was and why he stumbled in the way of persons trying to seize a young pickpocket, my pal got four months imprisonment.

We got another man in his place and when his time expired, went down to meet him, and he did not go out hunting with us for some time afterwards — nearly a fortnight. After awhile one of the











men was seized with a decline, and died at Brompton, in the hospital. Like the other stalls, as men are called who help in a quiet way as the support while one thief plays the star part, he usually went well-dressed and had a good appearance. His chief work was to guard me and to get me out of difficulty when I was detected, as I was the mainstay of the band.

One time when I was caught, however, my imprisonment was so long that the band had to get another boy in my place, and when I came out I decided to go into business by myself. I went to live in Charles Street, Drury Lane, and I stopped there, working all alone for five or six months, till I got acquainted with a young woman, who has ever since been devoted to me. She was not a thief then, but soon after she got acquainted with me, she divined that I was. At first it troubled her terribly, but after awhile she accepted it as destiny and became one herself, even more expert than I, although she had not been regularly educated in stealing as I was when young. We married after the usual fashion of thieves — that is, for as long as we should agree. Then we took a couple of rooms and went to house-keeping. I soon got acquainted with some of the swell mob at the Seven Dials, and began working along with three of them upon the ladies' purses again.

We were frequently watched by the police and detectives, who followed our track, and were often in the same places of amusement with us. But we knew them as well as they knew us and often eluded them. Still their following us was sometimes the cause of our doing nothing on many of these occasions, as we knew their eye was upon us.

But whether I became too well known to the police, or whether in the course of time my hand lost some of its cunning, the fact stared me in the face that I got caught more frequently, and also the additional fact that my imprisonments broke down my health, so I decided to quit stealing and earn what I could as a street ballad singer. Sally, however, kept on stealing, which troubled me. So after trying to be honest for several months, I told her if she was not satisfied with what I was earning as a singer I would resume my former employment. I did this for a year, but was arrested three times. Each time the prosecutor did not appear and I was acquitted.

Such luck, I felt certain, could not happen a fourth time running, and I took it as a sign of my last chance to lead an honest life. I came home and told Sally I would never engage in stealing again, and I have kept my word. Had I been tried at this time, as there were so

many former convictions against me, I should very likely have been transported. I have since then got my living by singing in the streets. I earn my 2s. or 2s. 6d. in an hour or an hour and a half in the evening, and can make a shift. It's a poor calling, but it's honester than most vocations, isn't it, since I take only what people choose to give me?

For six or seven years, when engaged in business, I earned perhaps a larger amount of money than most of the pocket-picking profession. Our house expenses many weeks would average from 4£ to 5£, for we lived on the best fare, and besides we went to theatres, dressed well, and bought the best editions of the best authors. I was always very much interested in the attempts of writers to depict thieves. Very few of the popular novelists come anywhere near a knowledge of the natures of thieves, or can even give a fair description of the incidents of their lives. The truth is, a pickpocket, till he rises to the rank of a burglar, differs very little in his moral and mental makeup from your average merchant in any large city like London. Why so?

Well, I maintain that unless you give a man a full equivalent for what he gives you, you pick his pocket. To make a profit—to get something for nothing or to get more than you give—is it not stealing? When a pickpocket graduates into burglary, another element comes in,—the risk of life and limb is added—and the possibility, the probability of becoming a murderer, completes the criminal nature, and makes the man a man-wolf. Consider a moment. In my life, I have picked about four thousand pockets, mostly from people who could afford once in their lives to be thus taxed. Will you not admit that nearly every very great manufacturer or commercial speculator takes, under cover of law, more out of the pockets of the honest, hard-working, producing class in the course of his life than all the pickpockets of London put together could amass?

Or even take a burglar for the sake of argument. I don't aspire to be one, for I am timid and shrink at the thought of risking or of taking human life. But say that an industrious burglar in his business life kills two or three men. What does that amount to, compared with the thousands which my dear native country, England, has killed in Africa during this century just for the sake of extending her commerce? Indeed, I think I'd rather be the worst of London burglars than Napoleon the Great, if quantity as well as quality counts in a consideration of murder. Yes, pickpockets generally the world over know each other, for there's a kind of free masonry among thieves. I can pick out a thief as quick as a pocket, whenever I see him.

Pickpockets in any large city are generally well acquainted with each other, go visiting like ordinary people, and have their parties at which times they generally "sink the shop," and except for an occasional phrase you might not know their occupation. They help their comrades in difficulty. They frequently meet with the burglars but do not associate with them, unless they join them formally and give up pockets. Most of the women of pickpockets and burglars are shoplifters, as they often have to support themselves when their husbands are in prison. Then, too, a woman would not be considered a helpmeet or fair, square mate for a man, unless she were able to



THIEVES' DEN.

procure legal counsel for him when caught, and to keep him in clover for a few days after he gets out of prison, which she does by shoplifting or picking pockets. I have associated a good deal with the pick-pockets over London in different districts. You cannot easily calculate their weekly income, as it is so precarious, perhaps one day getting 20£ or 30£, and another day being totally unsuccessful. They are in general very superstitious, and if anything cross them, they will do nothing. If they see a person they have formerly robbed, they expect bad luck, and will not attempt anything that day.

They are very generous in helping each other, when they get into difficulty or trouble, but have no societies, as they could not be kept up. Many of them may be in prison five or six months of the year; some may get a long penal servitude, or transportation; or they may have the steel taken out of them, and give up this restless criminal life.

They do not generally find stealing gentlemen's watches so profitable as picking ladies' pockets, for this reason, that the purse can be thrown away, some of the coins changed, and they may set to work again immediately; whereas, when they take a watch, they must go immediately to the fence<sup>1</sup> with it; it is not safe to keep it on their person. A good silver watch will now bring little more than 25s., or 30s., even if the watch has cost 6£. A good gold watch will not fetch above 4£. I have worked for two or three hours, and have got, perhaps, six different purses during that time, throwing the purses away at once, so that the robbery might not be traced. Suppose you take a watch, and you place it in your pocket, while you have also your own watch. If you happen to be detected you are searched, and there being a second watch found on you, the evidence is complete.

The trousers-pockets are seldom picked, except in a crowd. It is almost impossible to do this on any other occasion, such as when walking in the street. The cleverest of the native London thieves, in general, are the Irish cockneys, that is, London children of Irish parentage.

I never learned any business or trade, and never did a hard day's work in my life except in prison. When men in my position take to an honest employment, they are sometimes pointed out by some of the police as having been formerly convicted thieves, and are often dismissed from service, and are driven back into criminal courses.

There is to some natures among us thieves, for we are not all alike, a certain zest in our criminal life, an intense pleasure in liberty because we do not know how long we may enjoy it. This cruel uncertainty strengthens very often the attachment between pickpockets and their women, who, I believe, have a stronger liking to each other, in many cases, than married people engaged in safer businesses.

Would I rather be honest than pick pockets? Yes, I think I would, though occasionally, when I see a fine silk handkerchief gently bulging out a gentleman's coat-tail-pocket, my fingers have a momentary twitch and itch that carries me back on memory's express train to the days of my boyhood when I slept in the dark arches of the Adelphi and was the cleverest of my gang at "the tail."

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<sup>1</sup>Their term for a receiver of stolen goods.

There is a language current amongst them that is to be met with in no popular dictionary. Probably not even the "slang dictionary" contains more than a few of the following instances that may be accepted as genuine. It will be seen that the prime essential of "Thieves' Latin" is brevity. By its use, much in one or two words may be conveyed to a comrade while rapidly passing him in the street, or, should opportunity serve, during a visit to him while in prison.

For instance, to erase the original name or number from a stolen watch and substitute one that is fictitious is called *christening Jack*. To take the works from one watch and case them in another, *churching Jack*. Poultry stealing is styled *beak hunting*. One who filches from a shopkeeper while pretending to effect an honest purchase is a *bouncer*.

One who entices another to play a game at which cheating rules, such as card or skittle sharpening, is a *buttoner*. The treadmill of a prison is named a *shin scraper*, possibly on account of the operator's liability, if he is not careful, to get his shins scraped by the ever-revolving wheel.

To commit burglary is to *crack a case or break a drum*. The van that conveys prisoners to jail is a *Black Maria*. A thief who robs cabs or carriages by climbing up behind, and cutting the straps that secure the luggage on the roof is a *dragsman*, while he who trains young thieves, like Fagin in "Oliver Twist," is a *kidsman*.

Breaking a square of glass is called *starring the glaze*. To be transported or sent to penal servitude is being *lagged*. Three years' imprisonment is a *stretch*, while by some defect in thieves' arithmetic a *half stretch* is only six months. A confederate in the practice of thimble-rigging is a *nobler*. To rob a till is to *pinch a bob*.

One who assists at a sham street row for the purpose of creating a mob and promoting robbery from the person is a *jolly*. A thief who secures goods in a shop while a confederate distracts the attention of the shopkeeper is entitled a *palmer*. A person or place marked for plunder is denominated a *plant*. Going out to steal linen that is drying in gardens is picturesquely phrased as *going snowing*. Stolen property generally is *swag*. To go



about half naked to excite compassion is to be *on the shallow*. Stealing lead from the roofs of houses is technically termed *flying the blue pigeon*. Coiners of bad money are *bit fakers*, while midnight prowlers who rob drunken men are facetiously nicknamed *bug hunters*. Entering a dwelling-house while the family have gone to church is *a dead lark*. When a man is convicted of thieving he is *in for a vamp*. A city missionary or Scripture reader is *a gospel grinder*. When hidden from the police a thief is said to be laid up *in lavender*. Forged banknotes are *queer screens*. To receive a whipping while in prison is called having *scrobby* or *claws for breakfast*. Long-fingered thieves, expert in emptying ladies' pockets, are *fine wirers*. The condemned cell is *the salt box*. The prison chaplain is rather aptly styled *Lady Green*. A boy thief, lithe and thin and daring, such a one as house-breakers hire for the purpose of entering a small window at the rear of a dwelling-house, is *a little snakesman*.

So pertinaciously do the inhabitants of criminal colonies stick to their "Latin," that a well-known writer suggests that special religious tracts, suiting their condition, should be printed in this language, as an almost certain method of securing their attention. But if an acquaintance with the thieves' quarters reveals to one the amazing subtlety and cleverness of the pilfering fraternity, it also teaches the guilty fear, the wretchedness, the moral guilt, and the fearful hardships that fall to the lot of the professional thief.

They are never safe for a moment, and this unceasing jeopardy produces a constant nervousness. Sometimes when visiting the sick, a minister who spent his life among them would gently lay his hand on the shoulder of one, who happened to be standing in the street. The man would "start like a guilty thing upon a fearful summons," and it would take him two or three minutes to recover his self-possession. The adage, "Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind," is painfully illustrated in the thieves' quarter by the faces of gray-haired criminals, whose hearts have been worn into hardness by the dishonoring chains of transportation. When, in the dusk, one speaks to a London thief in a low tone, the guilty start as the man bends forward, anxiously peering into the speaker's face, is a thing frightful to behold.

He is never at rest, the wretched professional thief. He goes

about with the tools of war perpetually in his hands, and with enemies in the front and the rear, to the right and the left of him. "Anybody, to hear 'em talk," a thief once remarked (he was a thief at that time in possession of liberty; not an incarcerated rogue plying "gammon" as the incarcerated rogue loves to ply it, for the sake of securing sympathy as a stepping-stone to something else), "anybody would think to hear 'em talk, that it was all sugar with us while we were free, and that our sufferin's did not begin until we were caught and 'put away. Them that think so know nothin' about it. Take a case, now, of a man who is in for gettin' his livin' 'on the cross,' and who has got a 'kid' or two, and their mother, at home. I don't say it is *my* case, but you can take it so if you like. *She* isn't a thief. Ask her what she knows about me and she'll tell you that, wuss luck, I've got in co. with some bad uns, and she wishes that I hadn't. She wishes that I hadn't, p'r'aps, — not out of any Goody-two shoes feelin', but because she loves me. That's the name of it; we haint got any other word for the feelin'; and she can't bear to think that I may, any hour, be dragged off for six months, or a year, p'r'aps. And them's my feelin's too, and no mistake, day after day, and Sundays as well as week days. She isn't fonder of me than I am of her, I'll go bail for that; and as for the kids, the girl especially, why, I'd skid a wagon wheel with my body rather than her precious skin should be grazed. Well, take my word for it, I never go out in the mornin', and the young un sez 'good-by,' but what I think 'good-by, — yes! p'r'aps it's good-by for a longer spell than you're dreamin' about, you poor little shaver!' And when I get out into the street, how long am I safe? Why, only for the straight length of that street, as far as I can see the coast clear. I may find a stopper at any turnin', or at any corner. And when you *do* feel the hand on your collar! I've often wondered what must be a chap's feelin's when the white cap is pulled over his peepers, and old Calcraft is pawin' about his throat to get the rope right. It must be a sight worse than the *other* feelin', you'll say. Well, if it is, I wonder how long the chap manages to hold up till he's let go!"

Many a thief is kept in reluctant bondage to crime from the difficulties he finds in obtaining honest employment and earning

honest bread, yet some thieves are fond of their criminal calling. They will tell you plainly that they do not intend to work hard for five dollars a week when they can easily earn five times as much by thieving, in less time, and live like gentlemen. But some are utterly weary of the hazard and disgrace. They were once pure, honest and industrious, and when sick, or in jail, they are frequently filled with bitter remorse, and make the strongest vows to have done with a guilty life.

Suppose a man of this sort in prison. His eyes are opened, and he sees before him the gulf of utter ruin into which he will soon be plunged. He knows well enough that the money earned by thieving goes as fast as it comes, and that there is no prospect of his ever being able to retire on his ill-gotten gains. He comes out of prison determined to reform. But where is he to go? What is he to do? How is he to live? Whatever may have been done for him in prison is of little or no avail, if as soon as he leaves the jail he must go into the world branded with crime, unprotected and unhelped.

The discharged prisoner must be friendly with some one, and he must live. His criminal friends will entertain him on the understood condition that they are to be repaid from the booty of his next depredation. Thus the first food he eats, and the first friendly chat he has, become the half-necessitating initiative of future crime. Frequently the newly discharged prisoner passes through a round of riot and drunkenness immediately on his release from a long incarceration, as any other man might do in similar circumstances who has no fixed principles to sustain him. And so by reason of the rebound of newly acquired liberty, and the influence of the old set, the man is again demoralized. The discharged prisoner may leave jail with good resolves but the moment he enters the world there arises before him the dark and spectral danger of being hunted down by the police, of being recognized and insulted, of being shunned and despised by his fellow-workmen, of being everywhere contemned and forsaken.

One cannot live amongst the thieves many months and study them closely, without discovering the fatal fact that they have no faith in the sincerity, honesty, or goodness of human nature;

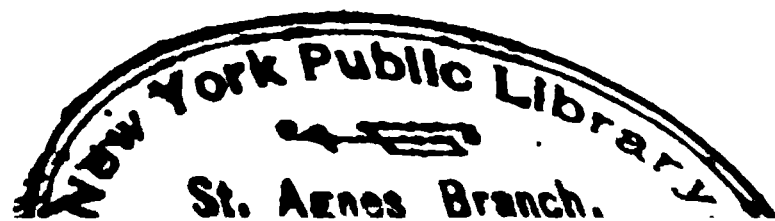
and that this last and saddest scepticism of the human heart is one of the most powerful influences at work in the continuation of crime. They believe people in general to be no better than themselves, and that most people will do a wrong thing if it serves their purpose. They consider themselves better than many "square" people who practise commercial frauds, and in this point, perhaps, they are nearly right.

Not having a spark of faith in human nature, their case is all but hopeless, and only those who have tried the experiment can tell how difficult it is to make a thief believe that you are really disinterested and mean him well. But thieves, the worst of them, speak gloomily of the prospects of the fraternity, just as a red Indian might complain of the dwindling of his tribe before the strong march of advancing civilization.

Although, as most people are aware, the great thief tribe reckons amongst its number an upper, a middle and a lower class, pretty much as corresponding grades of station are recognized amongst the honest community, it is doubtful, in the former case, if promotion from one stage to another may be gained by individual enterprise, talent and industry. The literature of the country is from time to time enriched by bragging autobiographies of confessed villains, as well as by the penitent revelations of reclaimed rogues, but it does not appear that perseverance in the humbler walks of crime leads to the highway of infamous prosperity.

This, indeed, seems to be an idea too preposterous even for the pages of Newgate romance, daring in their flights of fancy as are the authors affecting that delectable line. There is no sinister antithesis of the well-known honest boy Whittington, who tramped from Bristol to London with twopence-halfpenny, or five cents, in his pocket, and afterwards became lord mayor. No low-browed ragged little thief, who began his career by purloining a turnip from a costermonger's barrow, is immortalized in the pages of the Newgate Calendar as having finally arrived at the high distinction of wearing fine clothes and ranking as the first of swell mobsmen, or as a brilliant and fashionable burglar.

On the contrary it is a fatal fact, and should have weight with aspirants for the convict's mask and badge, that the poor, shabby,



hard-working thief so remains till the end of his days. There is no more chance of his carrying his shameful figure and miserable hangdog visage into the tip-top society of his order, than there is of a camel threading his way through the eye of a needle or a Jay Gould repenting and restoring his legalized plunder to the people.

Shocking enough is it to contemplate the white-haired tottering criminal holding on to the front of the dock because he dares not trust entirely his quaking legs, and with no more to urge in his defence than Fagin had when it came to the last, — “an old man, my lord, a very old man”; and we give him our pity ungrudgingly, because we are no longer troubled with fears of his hostility as regards the present or the future. It is all over with him or very nearly. The grave yawns for him, and we cannot help feeling that after all he has hurt himself much more than us.

No, it is not those who have run the length of their tether of crime that society has to fear, but those who by reason of their tender age are as yet but feeble toddlers on the road that leads to the hulks. It would be instructive as well as of great service to humanity, if reliable information could be obtained as to the beginning of the down-hill journey by our juvenile criminals. Without doubt it would be found that in a lamentably large number of cases the beginning did not arise in the present transgressors at all, but that they were bred and nurtured in it, inheriting it from their parents as certain forms of physical disease are inherited.

One thing, at least, is certain; it would come much *cheaper* to every country if these budding burglars and pickpockets were caught up, before their natures became too thoroughly pickled in the brine of rascality, and caged away from the community at large. Boy thieves are the most mischievous and wasteful. They will mount a house roof, and for the sake of appropriating the thirty cents' worth of lead that forms its gutter, cause such damage as only a builder's bill of a hundred dollars or so will set right.

The other day a boy stole a family Bible valued at twelve dollars, and after wrenching off the gilt clasps, threw the book into a sewer; the clasps he sold to a marine store dealer for five cents. It may be fairly assumed in the case of boy thieves, who are so

completely in the hands of others that, before they can "make" for themselves five dollars in cash, they must, as a rule, steal goods to the value of at least forty dollars, and sometimes double as much. But let us put the loss by exchange at its lowest, and say that the boy thief gets a fourth of the value of what he steals; before he can *earn by thieving* as much as fifty cents a day, he must rob to the amount of twelve dollars a week, — allowing him his Sundays off — or, in short, to live as decently as our common laborers, the boy must steal to the value of \$624 per annum. Now, whatever less sum than this it would cost the State to educate, clothe and teach him, the people at large would be in pocket.

Yet infinitely worse in its consequences than the petty larceny or the burglary that are the precarious professions of outlawed unfortunates in our great cities is the theft which goes on right under the noses of nearly every community in the way of commerce; the theft, and sometimes slow murder, which is called adulteration of food. Possibly this commercial robbery is not so common in this country as in England, but there is good ground for believing that in many places adulteration is systematic and increasing, and



A YOUNG LONDON THIEF.

recently a bill has been introduced in Congress for an extension of the Bureau of Agriculture by the appointment of food inspectors, whose duties should be the buying of food in different shops, and the having such specimens chemically analyzed.

In addition to the fact that bad bread made by private enterprise saps the national health, clothing made in tenement houses spreads fevers, and the poorly built, imperfectly ventilated houses in which the poor and the lower middle class live cause diseases from which occasionally the rich die as well as the poor victims of plutocratic greed or stupidity. We shall read in a later chapter about the Juggernaut of India, but it is merely a toy monster compared to the Juggernaut of Avarice and Ignorance, under whose

wheels the masses are being crushed in many nations that have the amazing effrontery to call themselves civilized. Even in free and supposedly prosperous America between the years 1850 and 1880, the percentage of criminals more than trebled, and the percentage of lunatics more than quadrupled. Does not this fact seem to imply that there is something wrong somewhere in our present industrial system? Why, in a land so blessed by nature, should such curses as these be on the increase? Will the reader study for a few moments these figures and facts from the last census, and then draw a just conclusion? Our population is about 64,000,000. Our national wealth is about \$65,000,000,000 — sixty-five billions.

This wealth is divided among three classes as follows:

182,000 rich families own . . . . .	\$43,000,000,000
1,200,000 middle-class families own . . .	7,500,000,000
11,620,000 working-class families own . .	11,200,000,000

Allowing five persons to a family, the usual method among statisticians, each rich person averages a having of \$47,253, each middle class man or woman owns on an average \$1,250, and each member of the toiling legion which composes the bulk of the population and produces the bulk of the wealth, possesses \$193.

These figures and calculations are not those of any wild-eyed, wide-mouthed demagogue, but are put forth by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, a New York millionaire. What do they mean? Do they not suggest a reasonable cause for the spread of pauperism, the rise of crime and the possibly near fall of our civilization, as many a splendid but unbalanced society has fallen — witness Babylon, Athens, and Rome! — into corruption and chaos?

Whatever politicians of any party may say, national wealth is not national health, unless it is well distributed. Let the reader ask himself not once, in reading these lines, but often in the future, two questions: Is there not something wrong somewhere, no matter how personally prosperous or successful I, *just this moment*, may be; and is not "this wrong something" our present industrial system which enriches the few at the expense of the many?



#### IV.



### Feudalistic Monarchy.

**T**HE kind of government of which the chief idea is embodied in the word feudalism, and which was once the prevalent form in Europe, as we see it to-day in Central and Western Africa, presents many features of intense interest. Roughly speaking, it is a government of chiefs with a sort of loose or elastic allegiance to a head chief or king.

European feudalism grew to be a much more elaborate system than that which Africa now exhibits, and an explanation of it will be found in a note to the chapter on constitutional monarchy ; but the essential marks are the same, the degree of allegiance to the central chief, that is, the power possessed by the king, varying considerably among the different tribes, probably according to the length of time of their divergence from the simple democracy of original tribal government as outlined in chapter first.

All the Central African governments, for instance, though feudal, are more or less despotic. Among the Manganja the country is divided up into a number of districts, each of which has under its control some villages ; but each of these districts, or "Rundos," as they are called, is independent of the other, not even acknowledging a common chief. Each village pays tribute to the Rundo, which in its turn protects and assists it in time of trouble. In fact, the system is not unlike that of the Swiss can-



tons, or the American states; "state rights," however, being rather further advanced in the Black-kingly Republic than in the European or Transatlantic democratic one. A woman may also be chief of a Rundo, and they are said to exercise their authority very judiciously.

The Banyai, a tribe on the southern bank of the Zambesi, elect their chiefs, but always out of one family, though they never select the immediate descendants of the late monarch, but always some relative, such as a nephew or brother. It is accounted etiquette for the newly elected chief to affect an air of modesty, and a seeming desire to decline the proffered honors as too great for a man of his rank, ability and ambition. In fact, he expects to be "thrice," or a greater number of times, offered the "kingly crown"; but, unlike his Roman prototype, there is no case on record in which the honor was eventually refused.

The new chief not only inherits the property, but also the wives and children of his predecessors, though often one of the sons of the former chief considers, quite naturally, that he is not to be kept in subservience to the new monarch, and attempts to set up as a petty chief for himself, an attempt which generally results in his having his village burnt about his ears, as a gentle hint that he had better receive his superior in a proper manner — viz., by clapping of hands, the common method of salutation among most of these African tribes.

Among the Banyai it is the custom for wealthy men to send their sons to be educated, under some man of eminence, in all the duties and accomplishments of Banyai gentlemen, just as in former times in Europe the sons of gentlemen were sent as pages and esquires to be trained in the laws of chivalry under some puissant knight.

Among the Wahumas a curious law prevails. If anyone becomes a slave — which it is unnecessary to say is always an involuntary act — he or she is put to death when caught again by their own people, because by so doing they have broken one of the laws of their country. Speke witnessed an instance in which some women were actually put to death by their own husbands.

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imprisonment in the stocks, often for months at a time. Let a man strike another with a stick, and he can expiate the offence by paying ten goats; but if a spear, or any other deadly weapon is used, then he is deprived of all his property — one half of the forfeit going to the crown, the other to the person assaulted.

In case of murder, the entire goods of the murderer are forfeited to the relatives of the slain. The laws against adultery are curiously at once both lax and severe. If a wife offend, she only loses an ear; if a slave, or the daughter of the chief, is the guilty party, both she and her paramour are executed.

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Unlike many women who attempt business, they can see that there are two sides to a bargain. The Banyai system of marriage is quite in keeping with this region of the strong-minded woman. Among them there is none of the barter of cows for wives as elsewhere.

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In other tribes — among the Karague people, for example — the place and mode of a man's burial are regulated by his rank. If low, his body is sunk in the lake near which they live; but if of noble caste (or as he is styled, a "Wahuma"), then a sacred island is the place of its deposit, and the vicinity of the place of sepulture marked by the symbol of two sticks, tied to a

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their site being marked by a number of long forked branches, carved, by way of ornament, with numerous notches and incisions, and having their points sharpened like horns.

The typical meaning of these stakes is unknown even to the natives, the assertion made by the traders, that each notch denotes an enemy killed in battle by the deceased, being denied by the Bongo themselves. The neighboring Mittoo and Madi adopt a similar style of sepulture, and the memorial urns erected over the graves of the Musgu remind the traveller of the pitchers on those of the Bongo.

When a funeral takes place, all the neighbors attend, and after being freely entertained with native beer, help to form the grave, rear the memorial urn, and erect the votive stakes. When the ceremony is finished, they shoot at the stakes with arrows, which they leave sticking in the wood.

The Dôrs, or Dyooris, of the White Nile arrange their graves close to their houses, and mark them by a circular mound three or four feet high, which in a few years is obliterated by the tropical rains, and is not renewed.

Among the cannibal Niam-Niam grief, as is frequent among the African and other tribes, is denoted by shaving the head. The corpse is ordinarily dyed with red wood and adorned with fine skins and feathers. Men of rank, after being attired with their common aprons, are interred either sitting on their benches or are enclosed in a kind of coffin made from a hollow tree.

Like the Bongo, the Niam-Niam bury their dead with a scrupulous regard to the points of the compass; but commonly enough they reverse the rule of the former tribe, the men being deposited with their faces towards the east, the women towards the west. After the grave has been well stamped down, a hut is erected over it, though, owing to its fragile character, it rarely long survives the weather or the annual burning of the steppe pasture.

A Wagogo chief, on dying, is washed, and his corpse placed in an upright position in a hollow tree, to which the people come daily to mourn and pour beer and ashes on the corpse, indulging themselves meanwhile in a kind of wake. This ritual goes on until the body is thoroughly decomposed, when it is placed on



a platform and exposed to the effects of the weather, that speedily reduces it to a heap of bones — which are then duly buried.

At one time slaves were sacrificed to heighten the dignity of such occasions; but in marked contrast with the elaborate rites attending a great man's sepulture, the bodies of commoners are thrown into the nearest jungle to be devoured by beasts of the field and fowls of the air.

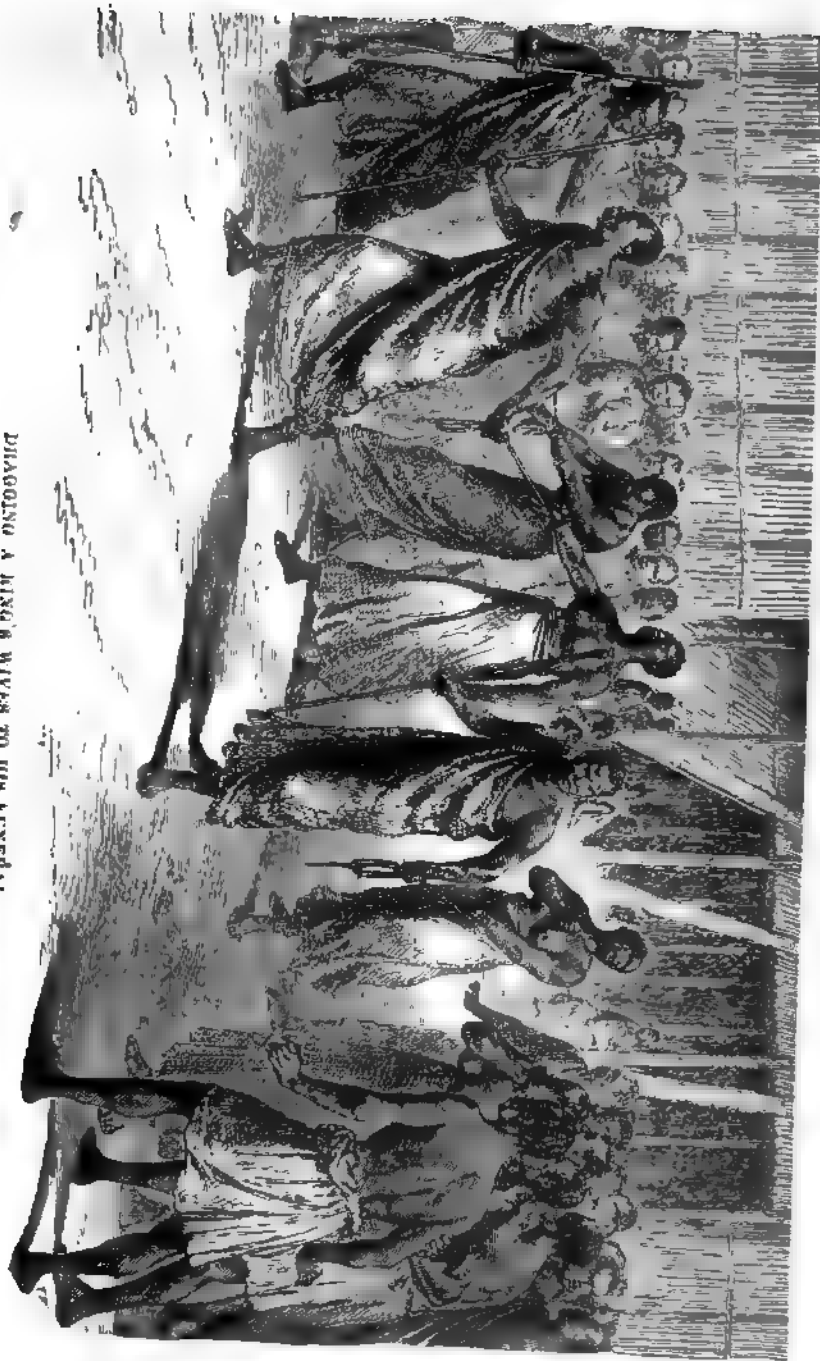
Among some tribes the first step taken when a king expires is to divert the course of a stream, and to dig an enormous pit in its bed. This cavern is then lined with living women. At one end a woman is placed on her hands and knees, and upon her back the corpse of the dead king, covered with beads and other ornaments, is seated, supported on each side by one of his wives, while his second wife sits at his feet.

The earth is then shovelled in over living and dead alike, all the women being buried alive except the second wife, who is graciously permitted the privilege of being slaughtered, instead, before the huge grave is filled in. Finally, forty or fifty slaves are killed, and their blood poured over the sepulchre, after which the river is allowed to resume its course.

A pitiable sight is the dragging of a king's wives to his funeral. They are generally stolid as cattle driven to the shambles, but in our illustration one can be noticed making an eloquent, though vain, appeal to a former sweetheart in the crowd to attempt her rescue. The man would like to, but he does not dare: the superstition of royalty is too strong.

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Eating, smoking, sleeping, fighting, dancing, gambling a little, and wrestling, may be said to form in outline the list of a Central African's amusements. Wrestling is about the only manly sport they care for, as hunting and fishing are their daily occupations, and therefore cannot be looked upon as amusements.



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Wrestling, however, is only practised among the more civilized races, such as the Birghami. So keenly do they contest in this, that it is not an unfrequent occurrence for one of the contestants to be left dead on the ground. Great men among this people will keep in their pay, or as slaves, powerful wrestlers, on whose prowess they highly pride themselves. A wrestler once beaten is looked upon as no good, and, if a slave, would be sold for a mere fraction of the price he was valued at before meeting with this reverse of fortune.

In addition, all the Birghami, particularly the women, are good dancers, being active and yet graceful in all their movements. Their dancing is a sort of acting in dumb show, and all the while they keep up a low plaintive song, which adds wondrously to the pleasant impression the scene makes on the onlooker. Music and dancing are passions throughout Africa.

Fighting, in a more or less disciplined manner, either to avenge some old feud, some recent wrong, or simply for the sake of plundering the cattle and other property of the weaker tribes, or to capture them for slaves, is to a great extent the normal state of most Central African kingdoms.

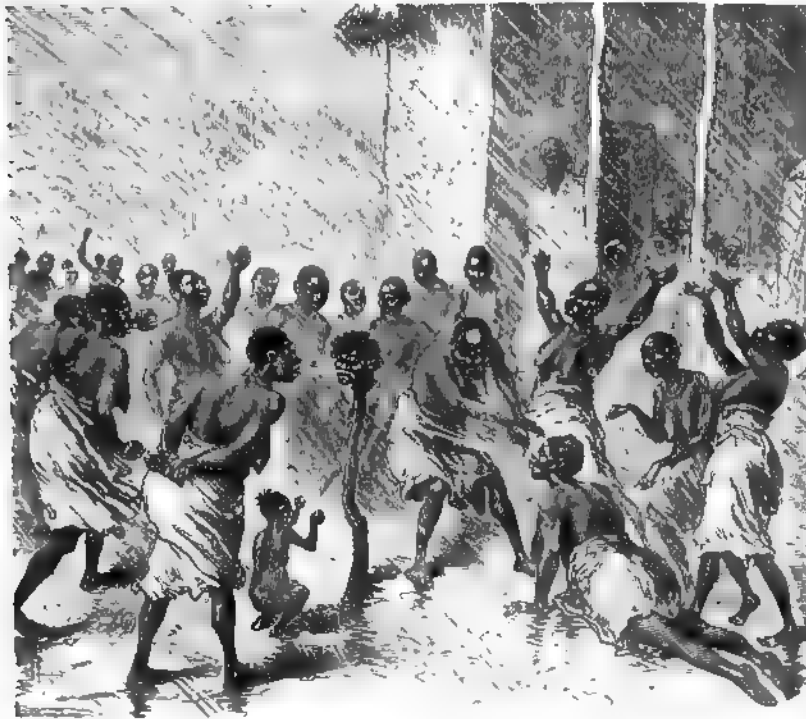
In dress and general appearance, the chief object of the African warriors seems to be to strike terror into the beholders. Want of courage is not a failing that can usually be ascribed to a savage, though a display of bravery, unless attended with a corresponding success, does not seem to be valued; nor, on the other hand, is a coward so despised as among civilized nations.

A monarch who "showed the white feather" in Europe, or even among the semi-civilized people of Asia, would forever incur the contempt of the meanest of his subjects. Not so in Africa, apparently. The kingdom of Unyoro, ruled by Kamrasi, was threatened with invasion. Instead of the king preparing to defend his kingdom as well as he could, his own brother counselled him to take refuge in flight.

Though fond of display and practical braggadocio—in this respect being not unlike the Chinese—yet, on occasion, the Central Africans have shown themselves, even in warfare against the Arab slave-robbers, a far from unworthy enemy—desperation giving them the courage and force which they might not naturally possess.

Of war as a science they know nothing. Indeed, they resort to most unstrategic methods of going about it—such, for instance, as the ridiculous habit of the Latookas in sounding a drum—or *nogāra*—before attacking a village, which can but give the enemy warning of the intended onslaught.

Captives in war are usually reserved for slaves. Among the Dôr tribes of the White Nile, the bleached skulls of slain foemen



MAKING A FETISH OF A FOEMAN'S HEAD.

are suspended to the branches of a great tree in the open space of the village, under which the huge *nogāras*, or war-drums, are placed to be ready for sounding as occasion may require. The conclusion of a successful fight is celebrated with a wild war-dance, differing but little in general character from those so common among other savages after their murderous forays, except that as in our illustration of a double rain-storm they sometimes make a

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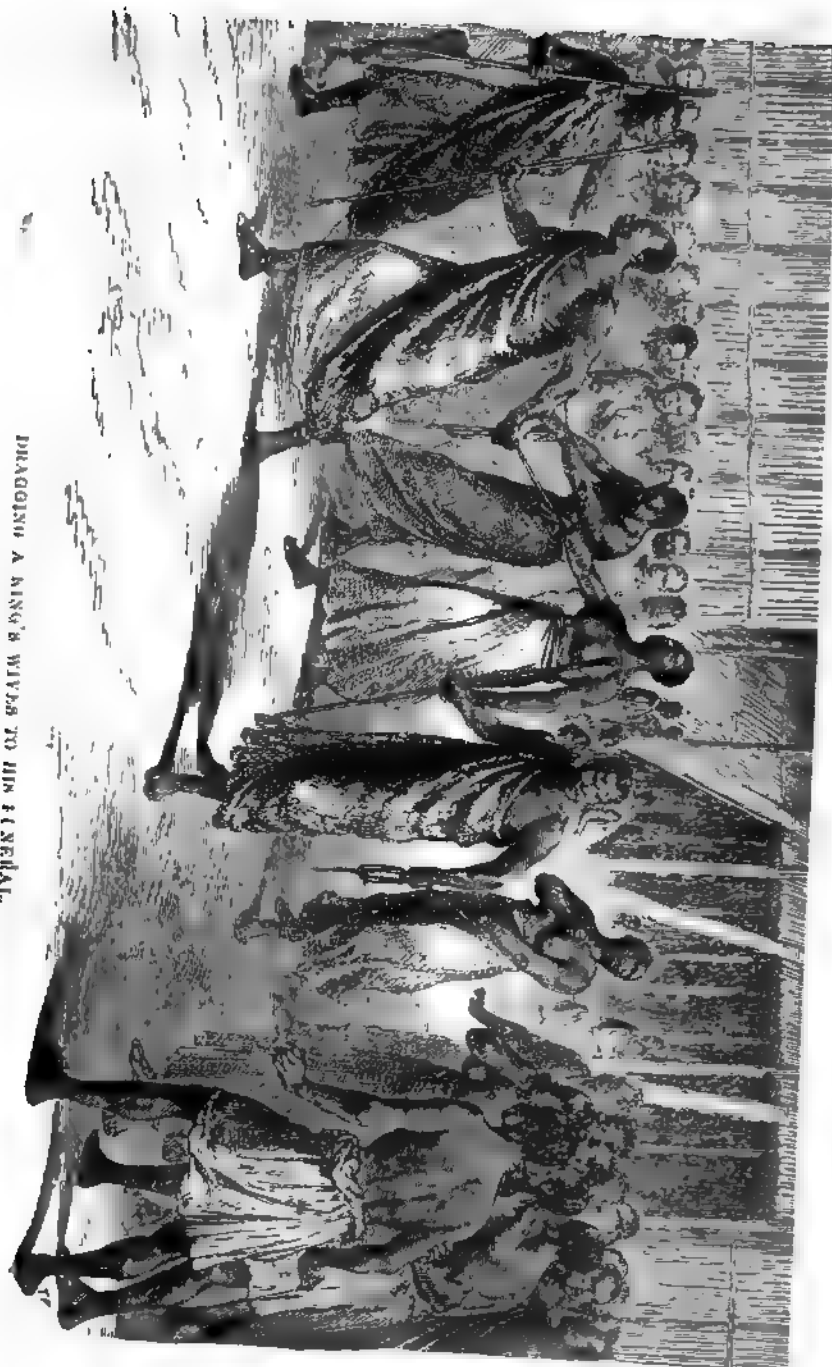
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DRAGGING A KING'S WIFE TO HIS FUNERAL.

Wrestling, however, is only practised among the more civilized races, such as the Birghami. So keenly do they contest in this, that it is not an unfrequent occurrence for one of the contestants to be left dead on the ground. Great men among this people will keep in their pay, or as slaves, powerful wrestlers, on whose prowess they highly pride themselves. A wrestler once beaten is looked upon as no good, and, if a slave, would be sold for a mere fraction of the price he was valued at before meeting with this reverse of fortune.

In addition, all the Birghami, particularly the women, are good dancers, being active and yet graceful in all their movements. Their dancing is a sort of acting in dumb show, and all the while they keep up a low plaintive song, which adds wondrously to the pleasant impression the scene makes on the onlooker. Music and dancing are passions throughout Africa.

Fighting, in a more or less disciplined manner, either to avenge some old feud, some recent wrong, or simply for the sake of plundering the cattle and other property of the weaker tribes, or to capture them for slaves, is to a great extent the normal state of most Central African kingdoms.

In dress and general appearance, the chief object of the African warriors seems to be to strike terror into the beholders. Want of courage is not a failing that can usually be ascribed to a savage, though a display of bravery, unless attended with a corresponding success, does not seem to be valued; nor, on the other hand, is a coward so despised as among civilized nations.

A monarch who "showed the white feather" in Europe, or even among the semi-civilized people of Asia, would forever incur the contempt of the meanest of his subjects. Not so in Africa, apparently. The kingdom of Unyoro, ruled by Kamrasi, was threatened with invasion. Instead of the king preparing to defend his kingdom as well as he could, his own brother counselled him to take refuge in flight.

Though fond of display and practical braggadocio—in this respect being not unlike the Chinese—yet, on occasion, the Central Africans have shown themselves, even in warfare against the Arab slave-robbers, a far from unworthy enemy—desperation giving them the courage and force which they might not naturally possess.

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Of war as a science they know nothing. Indeed, they resort to most unstrategic methods of going about it—such, for instance, as the ridiculous habit of the Latookas in sounding a drum—or *nogāra*—before attacking a village, which can but give the enemy warning of the intended onslaught.

Captives in war are usually reserved for slaves. Among the Dār tribes of the White Nile, the bleached skulls of slain foemen



MAKING A FETISH OF A FOEMAN'S HEAD.

are suspended to the branches of a great tree in the open space of the village, under which the huge *nogāras*, or war-drums, are placed to be ready for sounding as occasion may require. The conclusion of a successful fight is celebrated with a wild war-dance, differing but little in general character from those so common among other savages after their murderous forays, except that as in our illustration of a double rain-storm they sometimes make a

fetish of a foeman's head when he has displayed unusual bravery, by blowing water at it from their mouths.

With all the African tribes religion is superstition and superstition religion. Both are equally dark and gross, though in justice to the Central Africans it must be said that, so far as we have yet learned, neither their religious nor their superstitious deeds are disfigured by the abominations that abound in similar rites among the West Coast tribes.

Few of the Central African tribes believe that, psychologically, the black man and the white have anything in common. Christianity, they say, for instance, is good enough for the whites, but won't do for the blacks. Most of them believe in the immortality of the soul, as is proved by the fact that nearly all of the tribes — very strongly the Manganjas — hold that their relatives come and speak to them in their dreams.

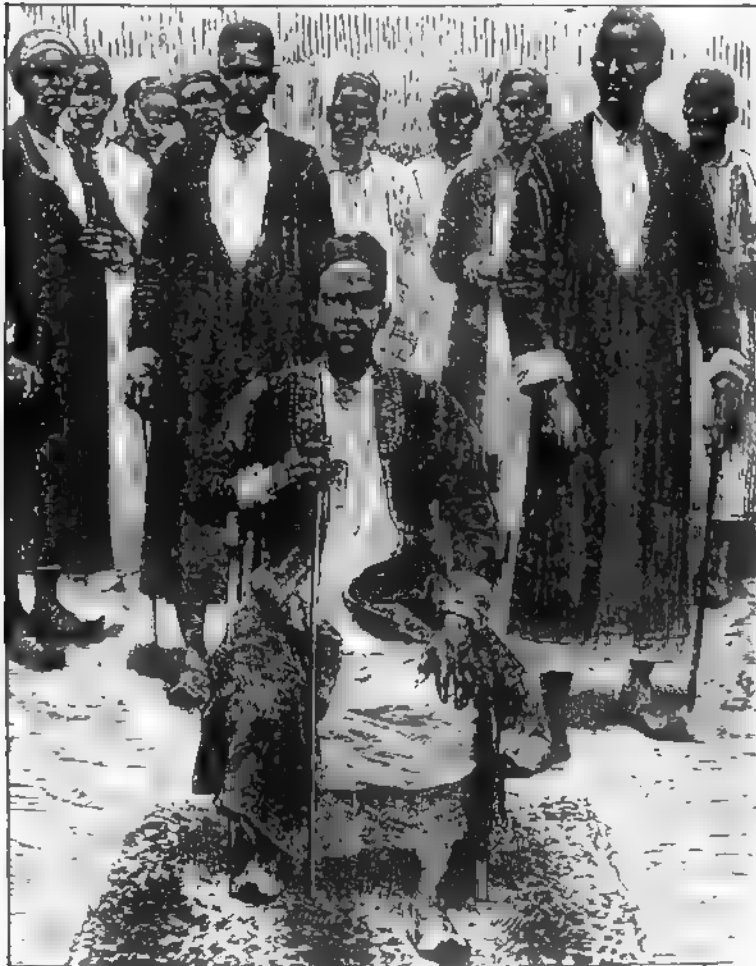
The spirits of the dead, they believe, can aid and protect them. Under this belief the Banyai people will, when hunting, pour out the contents of their snuff-boxes as an offering, which may have the effect of so far propitiating their dead friends as to induce them to render the hunting prosperous.

Unlike more irreverent people — savage and civilized — the Banyai relies quite as much upon his prayers and snuff, as hunting appliances, as upon his more physical weapons. A belief in a superintending Providence, or in other words in the gods ("Barima"), interfering in the affairs of mortals, is thus displayed.

Of the great wisdom of hyænas and other wild animals they possess the usual savage high estimate. A hyæna, for instance, heard "laughing" in the woods at night after an elephant is killed, is chuckling at the idea that the hunters will not be able to eat all the flesh, but must perforce leave some to them.

An idea, not widely different from the Polynesian custom of *taboo*, prevails among the Banyai. To guard property left in the woods, or some such unprotected place, a strip of palm leaf, smeared with some sticky substance, and decorated with roots, twigs, leaves, etc., is attached to the property, under the belief that no one could attempt to pilfer it without being seized with sickness resulting in speedy death.

Many of the tribes have no idols, and found their religious belief on a fear of evil spirits, which are, however, under the control of wizards, whose powers of exorcising them can be pur-



KING M'TEZA, A FRIEND OF STANLEY.

chased by a few goats, generally. If a person falls sick it is believed that he must have been bewitched. The punishment for this is death, and if the hyænas refuse to touch the body after execution, then it is believed that the sentence must have been



superlatively just. About nearly every animal they have the most extraordinary superstitions. The antelope bears the reputation of causing ulcers if its saliva but touches the skin, while the fingers and toes will fall off if its flesh is eaten.

Lynx and lion skins are a monopoly of the king; accordingly, no one but he can decorate his person or his dwelling with these royal peltries. The fat which is skimmed off the water in which a lion's flesh is boiled is looked upon as a valuable medicine, but no one must walk around the dead body of a lion, otherwise the spell which prevents these ferocious animals from entering villages would be broken.

Two men cement their friendship by making an incision in each other's body and mixing the blood which flows from the wound on a leaf with butter. The mixture is then rubbed into the wound, and the mixed blood and butter is supposed to make them brothers for life.

A *fetish* is, in African idea, almost anything to which supernatural qualities attach, or which is considered to bring good fortune or prevent evil. King M'tesa (who was a friend of Stanley) and his mother used to set apart certain days for consulting their fetishes, in order to see that nothing was amiss in the kingdom of Uganda.

It was something like an inquiry into the ecclesiastical condition of the country, and being a religious ceremony is appropriately gone into on the first day after the new moon appears. On the third moon by account the king and all the court shaved their heads, the king, however, retaining his "cock's comb," and the pages their double cockades, these being marks of their official ranks.

There are certain priests who preside over and direct the rites of religion — at least, in some cases. Such a one is the priest of the Nile, who lives in a hut decorated with many mystic symbols — amongst others a paddle, the badge of his high office — on an island in the lake which forms one of the Nile sources (Victoria Nyanza).

This ecclesiastic is only the deputy or familiar of M'gussa, the spirit who presides over the water, and his office is to interpret the secrets the spirit has to tell to the king. There is even a

tract of land dedicated in some mysterious manner to the gods, or to one of them.

It is a kind of "church estate," for although the king exercises authority over some of the people who live on it, others seem to be viewed in a sacred light, and to be exempt from the control of the civil power; neither has the king any right to dispose of the land. In this sacred territory there are villages only every fifth mile, and no roads run through it.

These priestly magicians (M'ganga) are a sad curse to African explorers, for so thorough is their hold on the minds of the people, that if they wish to hamper the movements of the traveller, all they need do is to prophesy all sorts of calamities — drought, famine, wars — as the consequence of his being allowed to proceed, and the credulously superstitious people will believe them, and do their best to avert such dire misfortunes by preventing the white man from ever setting his eyes on the soil likely to be so cursed by his presence.

Their implement of divination, simple as it may appear, is a cow's or antelope's horn (Uganga), which they stuff with magic powder, also called Uganga. Stuck into the ground in front of the village, it is supposed to ward off the attacks of an enemy.

By simply holding it in the hand the magician pretends he can discover anything that has been stolen or lost, and instances have been told of its dragging four men after it with irresistible impetus up to a thief, when it belabored the culprit and drove him out of his senses.

So imbued are the natives' minds with belief in the power of charmers, that they pay the magician for sticks, stones, or mud which he has doctored or fetished for them. They believe certain flowers held in the hand will conduct them to anything lost, as also the voices of certain wild animals, birds, or beasts, will ensure them good luck or warn them of danger.

They have many other and horrible devices. For instance, in times of tribulation, the magician, if he ascertains a war is projected by inspecting the blood and bones of a fowl which he has flayed for that purpose, flays a young child, and having laid it lengthwise on a path, directs all the warriors on proceeding to battle to step over his sacrifice and ensure themselves victory.

These extremes, however, are not often resorted to, for the natives are usually content with simpler means, such as flaying a goat, instead of a child; while, to prevent any evil approaching their dwellings, a squashed frog, or any such absurdity, when placed on the track, is considered a specific.

Human sacrifice, disgustingly common among the West Coast tribes, is, with the exceptions mentioned, rather a rare feature in the religious rites of the interior tribes. The Waganda, when they go to war, in addition to the sacrifice of a child for the purpose of the warriors stepping over its dead body, use also another and still more inhuman method of divination in which a child and a fowl bound together are smothered in the steam of pots, one inverted over the other.

The rain-maker is also another popular figure in Africa, but the office is rather a perilous one, for, if the rain-maker fail in his methods, his life is in danger. Baker's description of one of these rain-makers is very amusing. The hero was half chief, half magician, at Obbo, and, at the time the incident happened, old Katchiba, the individual in question, called on the famous explorer and remarked that there had been a dreadful drouth for a fortnight.

"Well," I replied, "you are the rain-maker, why don't you give your people rain?"

"Give my people rain!" said Katchiba; "I give them rain if they don't give me goats? You don't know my people; if I am fool enough to give them rain before they give me goats they would let me starve! No, no! let them wait; if they don't bring me supplies of corn, goats, fowls, yams, and all that I require, not one drop of rain shall ever fall again in Obbo. Impudent brutes are my people! Do you know they have positively threatened to kill me unless I bring the rain. They sha'n't have a drop; I will wither the crops, and bring a plague upon their flocks. I'll teach these rascals to insult me!"

With all this bluster I saw that Old Katchiba was in a great dilemma, and that he would give anything for a shower, but that he did not know how to get out of the scrape.

Suddenly altering his tone, he asked, "Have you any rain in your country?" I replied that we had every now and then. "How do you bring it? Are you a rain-maker?"

I told him no one believed in rain-makers in our country, but that we understood how to bottle lightning (meaning electricity).

"I don't keep mine in bottles; I have a houseful of thunder and lightning," he most coolly replied; "but if you can bottle lightning you must understand rain-making. What do you think of the weather to-day?"

I immediately saw the drift of the cunning Old Katchiba; he wanted professional advice. I replied that he must know all about it, as he was a regular rain-maker.

"Of course I do," he answered, "but I want to know what you think of it."

"Well," I said, "I don't think we shall have any steady rain, but I think we may have a heavy shower in about four days." (I said this as I had observed fleecy clouds gathering daily in the afternoon.)

"Just my opinion," said Katchiba, delighted, "in four, or perhaps in five days, I intend to give them one shower, just one shower; yes, I'll just step down to them now, and tell the rascals that if they will bring me some goats by this evening, and some corn to-morrow morning, I will give them, in four or five days, just one shower."

To give effect to this declaration he gave three toots on his magic whistle, inquiring: "Do you use whistles in your country?"

I only replied by giving so shrill and deafening a whistle on my fingers that Katchiba stopped his ears and, relapsing into a smile of admiration, took a glance at the sky from the doorway to see if any sudden effect had been produced.

"Whistle again," he said; and once more I performed like the whistle of a locomotive. "That will do; we shall have it," said the cunning old rain-maker, and proud of having so knowingly obtained "counsel's opinion" on his case, he toddled off to his impatient subjects.

In a few days a sudden storm of rain and violent thunder added to Katchiba's renown, and after the shower horns were blowing and *nogāras*, or drums, were beating in honor of their chief. *Entre nous*, my whistle he considered infallible.

Along the feverish coast of West Africa stretches a range of country about three hundred miles in length, from the Assinie River to the River Volta, or a little beyond, to the frontier of Dahomey. This is the "Gold Coast," low and sandy, bounded on the east by the dense malarious tropical jungle which rises gradually from the shore to the height of about fifteen hundred feet, the whole territory which goes by this attractive name being about two hundred miles in breadth.

Visited as early as 1364 by French adventurers from Rouen

and Dieppe, it is now ruled as a crown colony by Great Britain. The chief establishments for trade are at Cape Coast Castle, Elmina, and a few other places, Cape Coast being at present the seat of government. In the interior, and on both sides of the River Prah, which flows through it, are several tribes or nations of kindred race, speaking the same language, or dialect, and governed by native "kings" of a moral complexion scarcely less dusky than their skins.



TAKING A PRISONER FOR SLAVERY.

These are the Wassaws, Denkeras, Assin, Akem, Aquapims, Aquamo, Adangme, Krobo, and many other "nations," subdivided into different tribes. All of them are very familiar with Europeans, though they have gained little by this intercourse, except the vices of their visitors.

This coast was long, in common with that lying north and south of it, the active scene of the infamous slave trade. Under the stimulus of the riches or influence acquired through it, some of these petty kingdoms rose into importance, formed new combinations, or fell, as rapidly as they had risen, into obscurity, after the decay of the traffic in human flesh.

But by far the most important of all these kingdoms are those of the Fantis and Ashantis, separated from each other by the River Prah; the one, Fanti, lying on the coast, while the other is in the interior. Apparently one people, and speaking almost exactly the same language, they have, since the Europeans made their acquaintance, been politically separated, mortal enemies and rivals, and mainly owing to continued disputes in regard to a claim on the part of the Ashantis for free access to the coast, periodically at war with each other.

On two of these occasions the British government has been forced to protect the Fantis from their more warlike enemies, and at the same time to guard their own commercial interests, and thus the names of the Fantis and Ashantis have become familiar to us.

The Fantis are a lazy, good-for-nothing set at present, whatever they may have been before British influence. They live



TWO FANTI LADIES.

along the coast, and chiefly at Cape Coast Castle. They are well made, muscular, and are chocolate colored rather than black. Their dress is a cloth round the waist and another over their shoulders when outside their houses, the upper garment being taken off when a superior passes them.

The women are not good looking, but have fine figures, spoilt, however, by the "dress improver" or "cankey" (a name also applied to a loaf of bread), which they wear behind, and which is used as a sort of saddle for carrying their children. The cloth round her waist a woman allows to hang down in the form of a petticoat; and, if she is married, there is an end, or another piece, to cover her bosom.

She is mentally much superior to the man, being lively and keen with eyes, hands, and tongue. In the last Ashanti war the women did most of the porter work, or carrying of the baggage. Both sexes prefer as their "cloths" the gaudiest blue, yellow, or red striped calico. A girdle or string of beads, made of glass, clay, or gold, according to the wealth of the wearer, is always worn around the waist.

Their head dress is peculiar. The woolly hair, combed out with great patience until it may attain a maximum length of nine to ten inches, is then trained up in the form of a ridge, supported by means of a comb, and saturated with grease. Their skin is dry and rough, lips very thick, ears large, chin protruding, but the nose scarcely so flat as that of the typical negro.

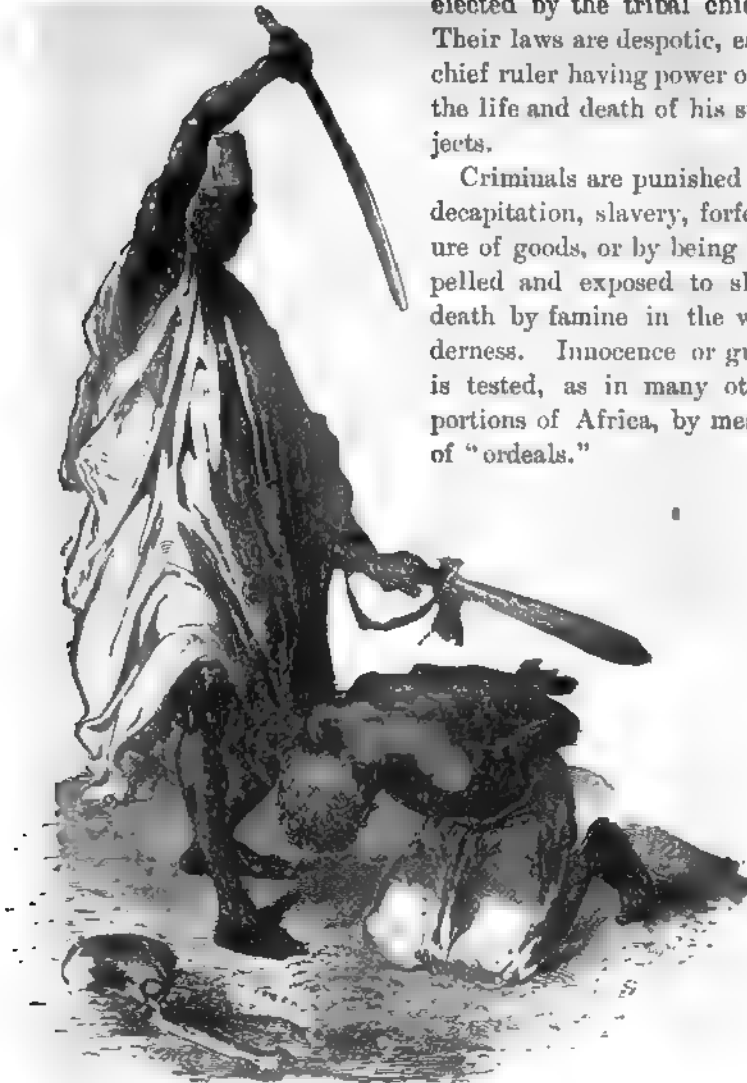
The head is round, but the face long, and ornamented with a very scanty beard, while the limbs are large-jointed, bony and muscular, and (if possible) the women are uglier than the men, that is, when they get old; and age among this people means some period near or very little over thirty.

When young, the girls are bright-eyed, lithe of limb and, after custom has familiarized the stranger with the blackness of their skin, are not absolutely displeasing. But when age comes, the face assumes a monkey look, the breasts become pendent, and the whole person extremely repulsive.

The Fanti territory is divided into four districts, stretching about thirty miles inland, and each of these districts is governed by a king, or sometimes by two joint kings. Succession to the

headship of the tribes is hereditary and has been in some cases held by women. The king, however, of the confederation of tribes is elected by the tribal chiefs. Their laws are despotic, each chief ruler having power over the life and death of his subjects.

Criminals are punished by decapitation, slavery, forfeiture of goods, or by being expelled and exposed to slow death by famine in the wilderness. Innocence or guilt is tested, as in many other portions of Africa, by means of "ordeals."



A CRIMINAL DECAPITATED.

For instance, a suspect is ordered to drink a decoction of some poisonous plant, or to chew a handful of dry rice, when his innocence or guilt is tested by the effect of the "ordeal" on his



stomach or his saliva. When the "ordeal" is a poison, he is considered innocent if his stomach rejects it, but guilty if it does not, and death, of course, happening in such cases, the man is considered properly punished. They have, however, one redeeming quality,— they provide for their aged parents.

As to morals among the Fanti, they have long mingled with Europeans, and European influence on the Gold Coast, as in other portions of black Africa, has been invariably corrupting. The slave trade was at one time almost the only branch of commerce; at best its influence on the native character was pernicious.

It has disappeared now, but has not been succeeded by any other branch of legitimate traffic that suffices to stimulate the possible latent industry of the people. Rum and other articles which tend to corrupt the morals of the people are almost the only articles of import.

In return for the *moral* loss sustained by the presence of the English, attempts have been made to administer an antidote to the vices introduced among them by traders, in the shape of large doses of missionary instruction. Probably no set of savages have ever been more vigorously plied with good advice at certain places, or entirely neglected at others, than have the Fantis. Certainly none have ever profited less by it.

But what they lack in religion, they make up in the quantity and quality of their superstitions, not the least astounding of which is their belief in a child "who has existed from the beginning of the world," and yet has neither eaten nor drunken during all this time, and of course cannot be expected to grow.

To represent this child they borrow a baby, when anyone is found rich enough to pay for the gratification of his curiosity, and the guardian of the sacred babe paints it with colored clays in such a style that it cannot be recognized as belonging to this world. This guardian is generally a hideous old woman, who must be quite cognizant of the swindle she is perpetrating, though, strange to say, Fantis of fair education have been known to believe in this ridiculous imposture.

*Cannibalism* does not now exist among the Fantis or Ashantis, though, when General Sir Charles Macarthy was killed in the first Ashanti war, his heart was eaten by the latter people in order

to give them a share of his courage. Human sacrifices, though very common among the Ashantis, have now fallen into disuse among those tribes living along the seaboard; there is, however, little doubt but that at one time they were as common among the Fantis as they are now among their ferocious neighbors, the Dahomans or Ashantis.

*Polygamy* is permitted, though, for financial reasons, is not often practised. The women, as the more intellectual and energetic sex of the Gold Coast, maintain the right of divorcing a husband if he shows cowardice in battle.

A Fanti lives to a good old age; white hair is nothing uncommon amongst them; but die he must in due course by rum, or the natural order of events. Great pomp is the rule on such occasions. Professional mourners — negro mutes — are hired for the ceremony; a sheep is killed for the funeral feast, and the shoulder blade laid on the grave, where it is permitted to remain for some time.

The man who buries another succeeds to his property, but he also succeeds to his debts. In the first case the heirs take very good care to put their deceased relative under ground, but with the defaulting debtor there is not the same stimulus on the part of his relatives to perform the funeral obsequies. Accordingly, in the vicinity of every Fanti village, corpses will be found lying exposed on a platform, merely covered with a cloth, nobody having been found financially courageous enough to bury them.

As on every other occasion of Fanti mirth, grief, or piety, insufferable noise accompanies the funeral rites. If the deceased has been a man of any note, all his friends — and the great man, as all the world over, has in Fanti land an infinitude of friends, even after he is dead — squat in front of the house and celebrate the inauspicious event by drinking, yelling, singing, smoking, and firing muskets.

A dog is sacrificed before the hut, after which the corpse is buried along with considerable sums of money, gold, and jewels of some value. The first thing an enemy does on entering the Fanti country is, accordingly, to rifle the graves, though, indeed, this is occasionally done by the relatives themselves, in spite of all the terrors of fetish and demon, for avarice is at times stronger than superstition.

The *amusements* of the Fantis are few. Yelling and dancing seem to be the only exertion. *Laziness* is the salient minor vice of the Fantis. In this they excel, nor can anything better be expected of them. They live under a tropical sun; they have an example of lassitude in the European community, and, above all, exertion can scarcely be expected of people whose only ambition is to provide for their daily wants.

Now on the Gold Coast a native can live luxuriously on two cents a day, and the exertion of a few hours per week will supply him with all he requires in the way of rum, gaudy Manchester goods, and tobacco. Even then, so runs Fanti logic, what necessity is there for his exerting himself to procure even that? *His wife* can do so. Accordingly in Fanti land there is an equitable division of labor, the wife *earns* the living and the husband *consumes* it.

Whatever the Fantis may have been, the Ashantis are now, at all events, a much superior people, intellectually, and, if courage is a virtue, morally also. Barbarous no doubt they are, but it is almost an abuse of the term to call them savage. In their government they display no little force and order, and a well-established system of political institutions, the history of which can be traced for at least two centuries.

Statesman-like ability and military skill are distinguishing marks of the aristocracy of the kingdom, and the common people display so much courage in battle there is little doubt but that within the Ashanti kingdom lies the element of a great African military empire, provided the people were efficiently trained and supplied with the appliances of modern warfare.

And among such strong-minded men there is hope that under moral influences, stronger than those they have yet come in contact with, the very superstitions — black and cruel though they be — which at present give them a pre-eminence over their neighbors, might be transmuted to something noble, pure, and sweet.

Though not so powerfully made as the Fanti, the Ashanti warriors are infinitely more courageous; and the women are much better looking than their Fanti sisters. But women are looked upon as a regular article of merchandise, and nothing astonished

the Ashanti warriors more than that, when the English captured in the late war a couple of women, they let them go free.

"What a curious people these white men are to send the women away! *Why, this is money!*" was their commentary. A woman among them is always worth at least twenty or thirty dollars, and a very attractive damsel may fetch as much as thirty-five in the matrimonial market.

Government among the Ashantis is more absolute or less feudalistic than among other tribes. The succession does not run



ASHANTI GIRLS PRODUCING FETISH.

in a direct line but to a brother or nephew, in which latter case the nephew is not the son of the king's brother, but of his sister, who (and this is a strange commentary on savage morals) need not be married, the only requisite being that the probable father be strong, good looking, and of reputable origin.

The reason they give for this departure from the direct line in the succession to the Ashanti crown is that one can never be sure that the king is the father of the queen's son, and that as, moreover, the queens are almost invariably of humble origin, making the son of the "princess royal" the heir secures that at least there should be some kingly blood in the occupant of the throne.

Failing the brother or the nephew, the son can occupy the throne; failing all three, the chief slave of the dead king. But the unwritten constitution of Ashanti, though allowing very summary powers to the sovereign, controls him in many ways.

The powers of the "Kotoko," or council, curb the tyranny of the king, for he is bound to consult them in all questions of foreign policy, and war or peace. He also voluntarily, in times of trouble, summons to his aid a few chosen councillors, whose advice he takes or rejects, as seems good to him.

His civil list is great; tribute is paid by the vassal princes, taxes are levied on all the villages, or "crooms," while tolls and custom dues make up the rest of the revenue. He has also in his own hands various gold mines, and levies a handsome percentage on all the gold found in his country, to which, indeed, he makes a formal claim, not, however, except in rare cases, enforced. All nuggets, however, strictly escheat to the king as his special property.

But where every man is a soldier, and the king is dependent on the good-will of his subjects — warlike though they be — before he can carry out any of his ambitious schemes, he is not very apt to unnecessarily irritate them.

From this point of view there is much to be said in favor of a feudal monarchy, such as that of Ashanti. Yet between the highest nobles and the king there is a wide gulf; as in Dahomey the prime minister, or even greatest general, will humble himself in the dust when entering the dread presence of royalty. A description of an Ashanti king, by a great African traveller, gives an excellent example of the richness of the kingdom as well as the barbaric pomp of a feudal sovereign: —

His manners, says Bowdich, were majestic, yet courteous, and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him for a moment of the composure of a monarch. He appeared about thirty-eight, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance; he wore a fillet of aggrs beads round his temple, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord suspending three sapphires cased in gold. His bracelets were the richest mixture of beads and gold, and his fingers were covered with rings; his cloth was a dark green silk; a pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white

on his forehead, also a pattern resembling an epaulet on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full-blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast; his knee-bands were of aggrgry beads, and his ankle-strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, swords, guns, and birds clustered together. His sandals, of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep-band with small gold and silver cases of sapphires; he was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold; and he had a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair were cased in gold, and covered with small jaw-bones of the same metal.

The elephants' tails, waving like a small cloud before him, were spangled with gold, and large plumes of feathers were flourished amid them. His eunuch presided over these attendants, wearing only one massive piece of gold about his neck; the royal stool, entirely cased in gold, was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, horns, and various musical instruments, cased in gold, about the thickness of cartridge paper.

Large circles of gold hung by scarlet cloth from the swords of state, the sheaths as well as the handles of which were also cased; hatchets of the same were inter-mixed with them; the breasts of the Ochras and various attendants were adorned with large stars, crescents, and gossamer-wings of solid gold.

The profusion of gold in this picture brings us to a consideration of the principal Ashanti industry, namely, the gold mines with which they allow no white man to interfere. When the Creator first made the world, according to their philosophy, He created a black man and a white man.

To the black man He offered a calabash of gold, rich soil, a mud hut, and all the fruits of the earth in abundance; but the white man preferred a quantity of paper, pens, and ink, and having got knowledge, prospered over the black man, who in his ignorance preferred the apparent natural riches. Yet having made their choice, they say, they intend sticking to it; let the white man keep to his ink and paper.

A license is exacted from every one in the kingdom of Ashanti wearing gold ornaments. Strictly speaking, all the gold found belongs to the king; and when a nobleman or rich man dies the gold he may leave behind him becomes his majesty's property.

Moreover, it is forbidden for anyone but the king's servants to sweep the market place at Coomassie, for among the sweepings may be found some particles of dust which have been dropped in the course of barter, gold dust being the ordinary commerce of the country.

When the king dies, his treasures are buried with him in the Bantama, or sepulchre of the Ashanti monarchs; and no doubt, had Sir Garnet Wolseley, as was originally his intention, destroyed this sacred enclosure, much of the treasure, the absence of which so disappointed the English soldiers, would have been found.

"Aggry beads" are ornaments highly prized by the Ashantis. Their origin is rather obscure, and though the artists of Birmingham have attempted to imitate them, they have hitherto failed to produce a sham which will impose upon the art connoisseurs of the Gold Coast.

It is probable that they are glass mosaics, and of Egyptian or Phœnician manufacture. The Egyptians or Phœnicians might have sold their goods to the Berbers, and by them the aggry beads, among other manufactures of these ingenious dwellers in Tyre or on the Nile banks, might have been passed from tribe to tribe until they reached far away Ashanti.

By Ashanti law if an aggry bead is broken in a scuffle, seven slaves must be paid to the owner, or in other words, upwards of \$225. They are usually found at some distance from the sea, and though only picked up now and then by accident, are yet plentiful, proving that during the times these beads reached the Ashantis, in far away ages, the trade of the Gold Coast must have been flourishing.

The Ashanti method of extracting the gold from the soil is very primitive. A quantity of the earth, sand, and gravel through which the scales and little bits of gold are scattered, is dug up by means of a hoe, and washed in a calabash by a sharp rotary movement, which gradually tosses off the earth and sand, and allows the heavier gold to remain at the bottom of the vessel.

It is, in fact, exactly the same method of washing gold as that known in California as "panning out," a plan only adopted in that country for the purpose of testing the richness of a "placer"

or gold deposit. The gold saved by this method of washing is then put into quills for safe keeping.

So thickly impregnated is the soil with gold that even by this rude mode of extraction great quantities are obtained. After every shower of rain the streams carry down sand laden with the precious metal, which on their subsiding is found mixed up with the alluvium left behind on the banks.

With the improved appliances now used in gold washing immense quantities might, no doubt, be obtained; an experienced Ashanti gold washer calculates that in the course of a year he will obtain about twenty "minkali," in value two slaves, or about \$80.00.

Gold-buying on the west coast of Africa is not a trade that an inexperienced hand need take up. The weights are black seeds called "telekessi," and each buyer has his own weights and scales, so it is a pitched battle between seller and purchaser as to who can cheat the other.

"Bogus dust" is manufactured by preparing nuggets of copper and silver mixed, and the fine dust gold is simulated by copper filings and red coral powder. The "telekessi" weights are soaked in butter to make them heavier, and imitation ones of pebble are even put in their place, from which it is evident that some of the business devices of our modern industrial system are in vogue among the savages.

Mr. Skertchly mentions that in a small factory on the Gold Coast he has seen as much as three hundred ounces of gold taken in a single day. At all the factories there are professed "gold-takers," whose duty it is to assay all the gold before it passes into the trader's hand, so as to detect and reject the "Brummagem nuggets" which are continually offered them.

A half naked savage will arrive in the factory with gold dust to exchange for guns, powder, or cloth. The dust is carefully tied up in small pieces of paper in one corner of his waist cloth, or often enough concealed in the intricate mazes of his wool. The small packet is opened, and the gold-taker empties it into a copper blow pan, shaped like a banker's shovel without a handle, and with a dexterous movement of the wrist separates the large from the small particles.



With a feather-tip he then picks out all the suspicious particles and bits of dust, and with a wonderfully regulated puff blows off the specks of mica and pyrites which would otherwise have escaped unnoticed. The blown gold is then weighed and handed over to the trader.

The wages of a good gold-taker are very high, and some over-acute, but penny-wise-and-pound-foolish persons, who have dispensed with the services of these gold-takers, and have relied upon the efficiency of aquafortis and touchstone, have found, on conveying the gold dust to England, that they have been buying silver gilt, or even gold dust made in Birmingham itself.

The dress of the Ashantis consists of a tunic of colored calico or some other cloth, while for higher occasions, or for the clothes of rich men, silk woven in the native looms is substituted. Ornaments of gold, silver, and "aggry beads" are worn, either as decorations or as charms against illness, witchcraft, or other misfortune.

The grandees, when in full uniform, add "jujus," or breast-plates of gold, and other glittering ornaments, and cover their heads with horned helmets of an extraordinary shape, and waving feather plumes. They frequently decorate their faces with delicately painted patterns in green or white paint on the cheeks and forehead. They have several musical instruments, and are fond of dancing, mimicry, story-telling, songs, and all sorts of fun.

Each nobleman has his own band of minstrels and heralds, who used to patrol the city at stated hours of certain days, playing the tunes which belong to their respective masters. Feudalism is apt in all countries to have the same belongings, and hence we see in Africa much which will remind the reader of similar scenes in Europe during the sway of the mediæval chivalry.

The industries of the Ashantis, apart from mining, though limited, are interesting. Their looms are formed on the same principle as ours. Their cloths, in fineness, brilliancy, and size, are, when we consider the appliances by which they have been produced, and the innate laziness of the native African, admirable. They also paint, with great ease and rapidity, white cloths, and excel in pottery and goldsmith's work.

Their weights are very neat brass casts of almost every animal, fruit, and vegetable known to them, though the original ones in the shape of seeds are still occasionally used, and universally so on the coast for weighing gold. They also do good work in iron, tan leather, and are skilful carpenters.

The Ashanti army is recruited from all able-bodied men, and is very numerous. Bowdich calculated that there were 150,000 ready forces, and 204,000 fit to bear arms. The number has been calculated somewhat higher since his day, viz., at 300,000.

Looking at the Ashanti army, as compared with the fierce rabbles which go under that name in other portions of Africa, it is almost in a state of discipline. War is begun, if not with all the forms, yet with much of the craft, diplomatic duplicity, and wholesale lying prevalent in more civilized communities.

When the Ashanti monarch proposes to invade another tribe or nation, he despatches envoys, laden with rich presents, to the neighboring powers, appealing with one hand to their sense of justice, by pointing out how great has been the provocation, and what a "just and holy war" is the systematic murder in which he is about to engage; and with the other, while assuring them of his friendship and affection, he takes care to point out how they can be benefited, if not by helping, at least by not impeding him in his proposed operations.

He has generals, if he does not command himself, who are accomplished in all the tactics of savage warfare, ambuscade, flanking attacks, and feigned retreats. The craft of the diplomatists in the council is equalled by the courage of the troops in the field.

Every man knows his place, and as soon as war is declared he accoutres himself with musket and cartouch box, and provisioning himself for a time with a few kalo nuts and a little maize meal, joins the company to which he belongs.

The enemy will supply the rest of his commissariat, for, like Stonewall Jackson, his motto is "Always forage on the enemy." As soon as the army is on the march, the women, daubing themselves with white clay, and stripping themselves, march through the towns, beating the drum and belaboring any wight who may have remained at home.

Carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artisans accompany the army, sutlers sell provisions and cheat like sutlers the world over, while money lenders advance cash to impecunious soldiers at an interest of 120 to 300 per cent. Lastly, in the van follow the women bearing pots, calabashes, and other cooking utensils.

In battle the women stand behind their husbands, supply them with powder, and animate them with songs. When the battle begins skirmishers advance ; these are slaves whose lives are of little value. The secondary captains fight in the front ranks, while the great nobles and the king sit behind on stools, shaded by the huge umbrellas which denote their rank.

They are like the officers in some Spanish-American republics, who, after the battle has commenced, take to the rear of their troops, and shout valiant commands to them, inculcating in sonorous language how glorious it is to fight, or even, if necessary, to die for one's country, while they at the same time are preparing to falsify their maxim by flight.

Hence they are called "encouragers" by the cynical soldiery. In the same manner the Ashanti encouragers remain in the rear, surrounded by young men who cut down those who attempt to retreat. "It is," says the Ashanti soldier, "just as well to die fighting, for if we attempt to escape we are killed anyhow."

The commander-in-chief, while the battle is raging, sits on his stool playing some kind of musical instrument, as if to impress the bystanders that he is so confident of victory as to be perfectly easy as to the result. In case of defeat, the captains are expected to commit suicide.

When the day is lost they seat themselves calmly on casks of gunpowder, and blow themselves up into the air, that the Ashanti proverb may be fulfilled, "It is shame which causes the chief to die." If victorious, they never pursue the enemy when it is near sunset.

During the active part of the campaign the army is forbidden all other food except meal, a quantity of which each soldier carries in the bag by his side, and mixes with the first water he finds. No fires are allowed to be lit.

They eat a little bit of the heart of the first enemy slain, and

wear ornaments of his teeth and bones. The whole feudal system of Ashanti is favorable to military discipline, and at the same time conducive to fostering the war spirit and the greed of military glory and gain.

The people are a nation of soldiers as well disciplined as a barbarous army can be. To the neighboring powers they were, until their late reverse at the hands of the British, a name of



A FETISH TEMPLE.

terror. The Fantis considered it useless to oppose them; the very name of "Shanti" was almost sufficient to make them run.

But though the Ashantis could conquer, they could not govern, and one tribe after another has revolted from their rule, and either asserted their pristine independence, or formed a new combination fatal to their conquerors. Since the monarchy sustained its last shock, at the hands of the British, several other tributaries have revolted from under its sway, though they are likely, before long, to be reconquered.

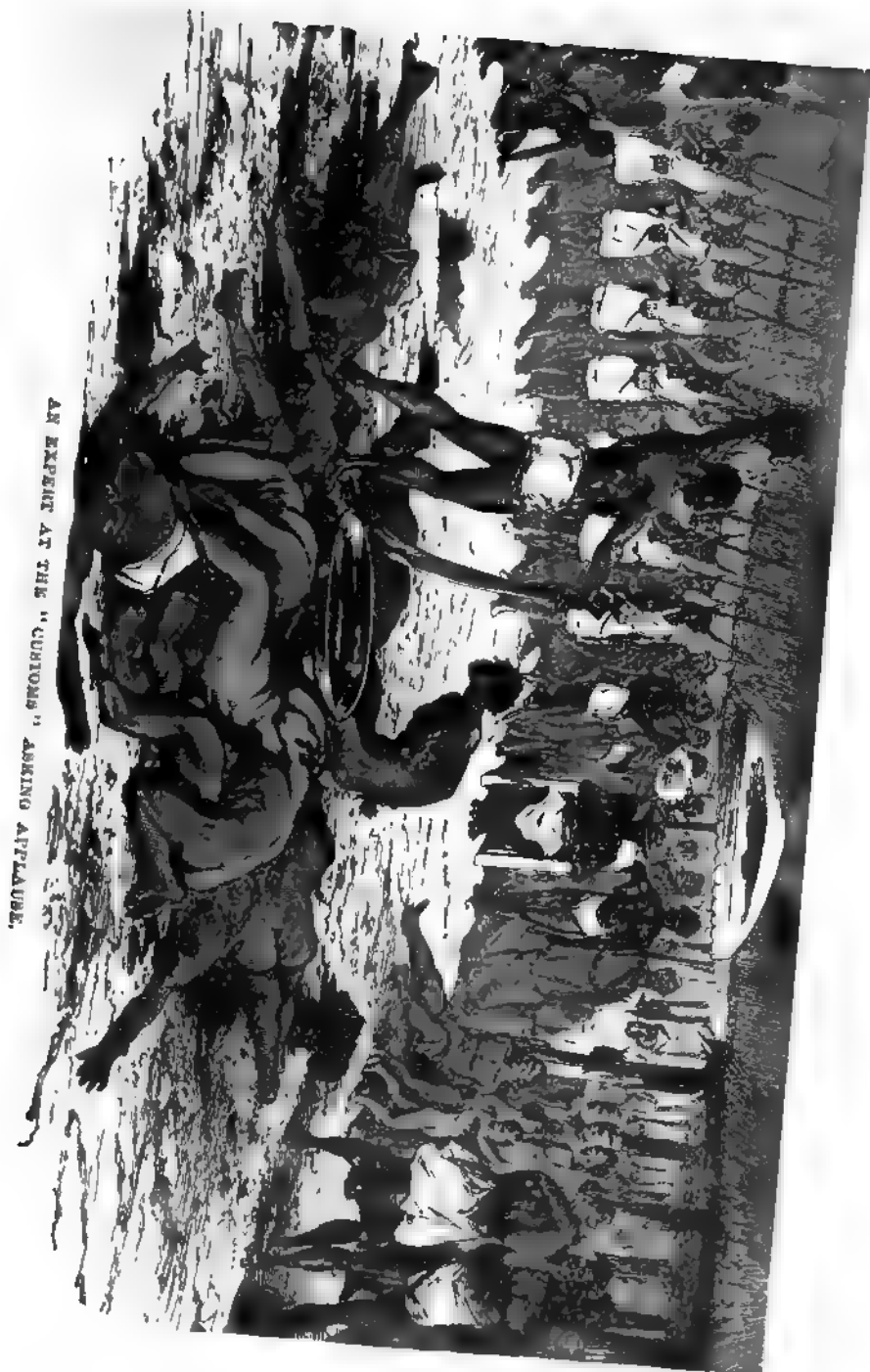
Police regulations are strictly followed out in Coomassie, the capital of this feudal kingdom; none, except with the sanction of the king, can go out of doors at night, and policemen — wild-looking beings with heads half shaved, long hair falling over their foreheads, and with lances in their hands — patrol the streets to see that this tyrannical regulation, apparently a bit of military despotism to prevent the chance of plots or revolts, is carried out with relentless rigor.

Another curious regulation, which shows that the Ashanti laws are not the portentous growth of mere wantonness uncontrolled by the people, or undirected by some sound underlying principle, is that the king must attend all fires. This is a wise provision, though in a town where fires must be common, a severe tax upon such a luxurious monarch, for under the eye of the royal dispenser of life and death the acting firemen will not be apt to be dilatory in their duties when the fire horn is blown.

When an Ashanti dies his body is buried, and along with it a quantity of the gold he may have possessed; a similar custom to one prevalent among the Fantis. The Bantama is the mausoleum of the kings, as well as a place of human sacrifice, and the great spiritual stronghold of the priests. In this sacred place is kept the skull of Governor Sir Charles Macarthy, who was killed in the first war. "By Wednesday and Macarthy" is a sacred Ashanti oath.

This skull the Ashanti kings have converted into a drinking cup, out of which, on solemn occasions, they quaff their rum. Into this Bantama no stranger is allowed to set his profane foot. A trusty chief and a powerful guard watch it day and night. It is, according to the varying accounts, from half a mile to a mile and a half from Coomassie, and is connected with the capital by a broad road.

On the decease of any person of rank, numerous human lives are sacrificed, the number being proportionate to the dignity of the deceased. On the death of the mother of the king who ruled the country in Bowdich's time, no less than three thousand human beings were butchered; and on his own death, though we have no certain information, most probably the number was doubled.



AN EXPERT AT THE "CUSTOMS" ASKING APPLAUSE.

The funeral rites of a great captain are often repeated regularly every week for two or three months at a stretch, and on each occasion about two hundred persons sacrificed. These victims are usually slaves or culprits, and principally females, but it is usual to "wet the grave" with the blood of a freeman of respectability.

Among the rites of the Ashanti and Dahomey nations few are more familiar in name to the most cursory reader of books of West African travel than the so-called murderous ceremonies known as the *customs*.

The word is an Anglicized or corrupted form of the French *coutume*, a general habit—the "general habit" in this case both in Dahomey and Ashanti—being the slaughter, in a more or less cruel manner, and accompanied with immense pomp and state ceremonial, of vast numbers of people, chiefly slaves and criminals, at certain seasons of the year. Long habit has rendered the performance of these ceremonies imperative.

Abominable though they are, they have even met a faint, half-hearted defence or apology from white men as political necessities, for they say that in Ashanti or Dahomey the abolition of human sacrifice would deprive the people of one of their great annual spectacles, and thereby endanger the very monarchy itself. A parallel piece of political management is to be found in the bloody gladiatorial shows with which the Roman despots appeased the passions of the populace. The ruling idea throughout seems to be to send messengers to the dead or to the gods in the persons of those who are killed. They believe that the body contains a spirit or ghost which exists after death, and which flits about the neighborhood of the grave, and even revisits its old home, and holds converse with those it formerly loved, or plays pranks on those it disliked; is, in fact, an ethereal, disembodied human being, subject to all the passions and whims of such a one in the flesh.

By the grave of the dead man are accordingly placed food that he may eat, or rather that he may eat the "spirit" of the food, and vessels that he may cook it.

For food and vessels, in fact all objects animate or inanimate, have equally souls or spirits which live in an after world, and which can accompany their spirit master on his journeys to and from that shadowy land. They also believe in a *hades*, a country

below the ground where the "dead dwell in a life that shall have no end."

In the other world only kings, princes, and nobles enjoy all voluptuous delights; the poorer people wait on them and share a little in their pleasures. Not only in this hades, or heaven — for what its exact character is, is somewhat dubious even in their own philosophy — do men come to life and revel in palm wine and wives, but they also believe that all garments a man has worn out will then come to life again — *a resurrection of old clothes*.

Besides this, his relations display their affection by giving him an outfit of weapons, ornaments, new cloth, crockery ware, etc., so that, like the son of a modern rich man, he may go to the devil like a gentleman. But who is to carry these things and look after them? Evidently his wives and slaves. Therefore, a number of these are killed to keep him company, and often a slave is killed some time after his death to take him a message, or as an addition to his household.

In Dahomey this custom of sending messengers is organized into a system. Thus originated human sacrifice which is, granting the truth of the theory on which it is based, a most rational custom. Death is disagreeable to us because we do not know where we are going, but to the widow of an African chieftain it is merely a surgical operation and a change of existence. That explains why Africans submit to death so quietly.

A woman at Akropong selected for the sacrifice was stripped according to custom, but only stunned, not killed by the blows. She recovered her senses and found herself lying on the ground surrounded by dead bodies. She rose, went into the town where the elders were seated in council, and told them she had been to the "Lord of the Dead," and had been sent back, *because she was naked; the elders must dress her finely and kill her over again*. This was accordingly done.

But there is another kind of human sacrifice, the slaying of men and women as *gifts to the gods*. In Ashanti the first form of sacrifice is practised. When one of the royal family dies, slaves are killed by the hundred. Horrible as it may seem that such a thing should still exist, yet it is true that human sacrifices have become in Ashanti, as in Dahomey, public entertainments.



The sight of an executioner, in a shaggy cap of black monkey skin, the same kind that is used for ladies' muffs, chopping off the head of a slave, is to the Ashantis what the sports of the amphitheatre were to the Romans, or bull fights to the Spaniards of the present day.

Public executions in all countries draw large crowds of spectators, and in Ashanti this *penchant* of the multitude has been cultivated and developed into an artistic feeling. Decapitation has become with them an art as various as music. There are two movements in vogue, the *allegro*, in which the head is twisted away by a sharp knife with a dexterous turn of the wrist and the *adagio*, in which the head is sawn off in slow time.

So common had this spectacle become in the days prior to the fall of Coomassie, that when the little son of one of the German missionaries — who was freed by King Coffee on the approach of the English troops — was angry at anyone, he would exclaim, "Your head will fall to-morrow!"

Slicing off heads had been one of the most common sights that the child had seen, and was in his eyes the punishment for the most trifling offence. The place where the bodies are cast is a swampy place near the town, and when the English troops visited it the effluvia from swollen, putrefying bodies filled the air with a carrion stench.

The whole of the blood-stained town had the odor of death, and every breeze that was wafted over it bore on it the smell of decaying humanity, while piles of skulls and human bones testified to the long continuance of these horrible sacrifices. In Ashanti the two great seasons of sacrifice are the *Yam* and the *Adai* customs.

The *Yam* custom occurs in the beginning of September, at the season when the yams are ripe, and is the greatest of the two customs; it consists in the sacrifice, with much ceremony and many rites, of large numbers of human beings before the yams are allowed to be gathered.

The *Adai* customs, divided into the "Great" and "Little," are celebrated every three weeks, though with less expenditure of life each time than during the *Yam* celebration. In November, 1881, a report reached Europe that Mansah, King of Ashanti — a brother of Koffee, who was deposed by his irate subjects — had slain two

hundred girls in order to mix their blood with the "swish," or clay, for his new palace.

The story proved unfounded, though quite in accord with Ashanti ideas and customs, and a widespread superstition of all countries and ages. In Polynesia, for example, the foundations of some of the temples were laid amid human bodies; under the gates of Mandalay "spirit watchers" were buried, and not long ago a panic pervaded the native quarter of Madras out of the rumor that the English government were about to ensure the safety of the new harbor works by sacrificing a number of human beings.

The *religion* of the Ashantis<sup>1</sup> is as rude as their rites in honor of it are bloody. "Nyonmo" is their Supreme Being, and nearly every heavenly or terrestrial phenomenon is one of his manifestations. They worship the earth and the sky as separate deities, which exercise their influence over mankind; while trees and rivers, which are also manifestations of their gods, can only exercise a limited power over particular towns, districts, or men.

"Kra," or the soul of man, existed, in their belief, before the body, and is transmitted from one man to another, so that the soul which left the body of an old man may have entered the body of the child just born. The priest will augur in regard to the destiny of the babe yet unborn, by asking its future Kra to tell one as to its fortune in life.

This Kra is distinct from the body, and can give advice, either good or bad, according to its sex (for there are male and female Kras), to the body which it inhabits. Evil spirits and ghosts are, however, what the Ashantis, like the other West Africans, mostly fear; and to avert their displeasure, resort is had to charms or fetishes, which may be anything, from a human sacrifice to a pot of filth compounded by the fetish priest.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Reade who lived long among the Ashantis says : It is a mistake to suppose that these Africans are a stupid people because they have no books, and do not wear many clothes. The children do not go to school, but they sit round the fire at night, or beneath the town tree in the day, and listen to their elders, who discuss politics, and matters relating to government, law, and religion. Every man in a tribe, and every slave belonging to a tribe, has learned at an early age the constitution by which he is governed, and the policy pursued towards foreign tribes. In such a land as Ashanti the kings and chiefs are profoundly skilled in the arts of diplomacy. Their weapon of offence is treachery ; the weapon of defence, suspicion. They have no scruples and no delusions. They never hesitate to betray, and always hesitate to believe.

At the entrance of towns, dwellings, and all places of public resort, are fetishes to avert evil; and the pathway of the English army, all the way from the Prah to Coomassie, was strewn and littered with fetishes to avert calamity to the nation, and to prevent the sacred city being reached by them.

A fetish is indeed something which is popularly supposed to combine in itself the god or his attributes. Fetishism is defined by Lubbock as "the stage in which man supposes he can force the Deity to comply with his desires," and Comte has used it to express a general theory of primitive religion, in which external objects are regarded "as animated by a life analogous to man's."

Fetishism thus includes the worship of "stocks and stones," and thence passes by an imperceptible gradation into idolatry. A bit of rag, the claw of some animal, peculiarly shaped stones or roots, bones, birds' beaks, anything, constitutes a fetish, and "making fetish" consists mainly in yelling or dancing.

The government of Dahome or Dahomey, as it is usually spelled, presents some very singular points. The monarchy is absolute within certain limits, yet a wise king always takes care not to run counter to the wishes of his subjects in any matter of national importance, or when the public sentiment has been firmly and unmistakably expressed.

But the curiousness lies in the fact that the monarchy is of a dual character, the authority of the real sovereign being theoretically supposed to be shared by a "bush-king," an idea which was the offspring of the brain of Gézu, the eighth king of the present line.

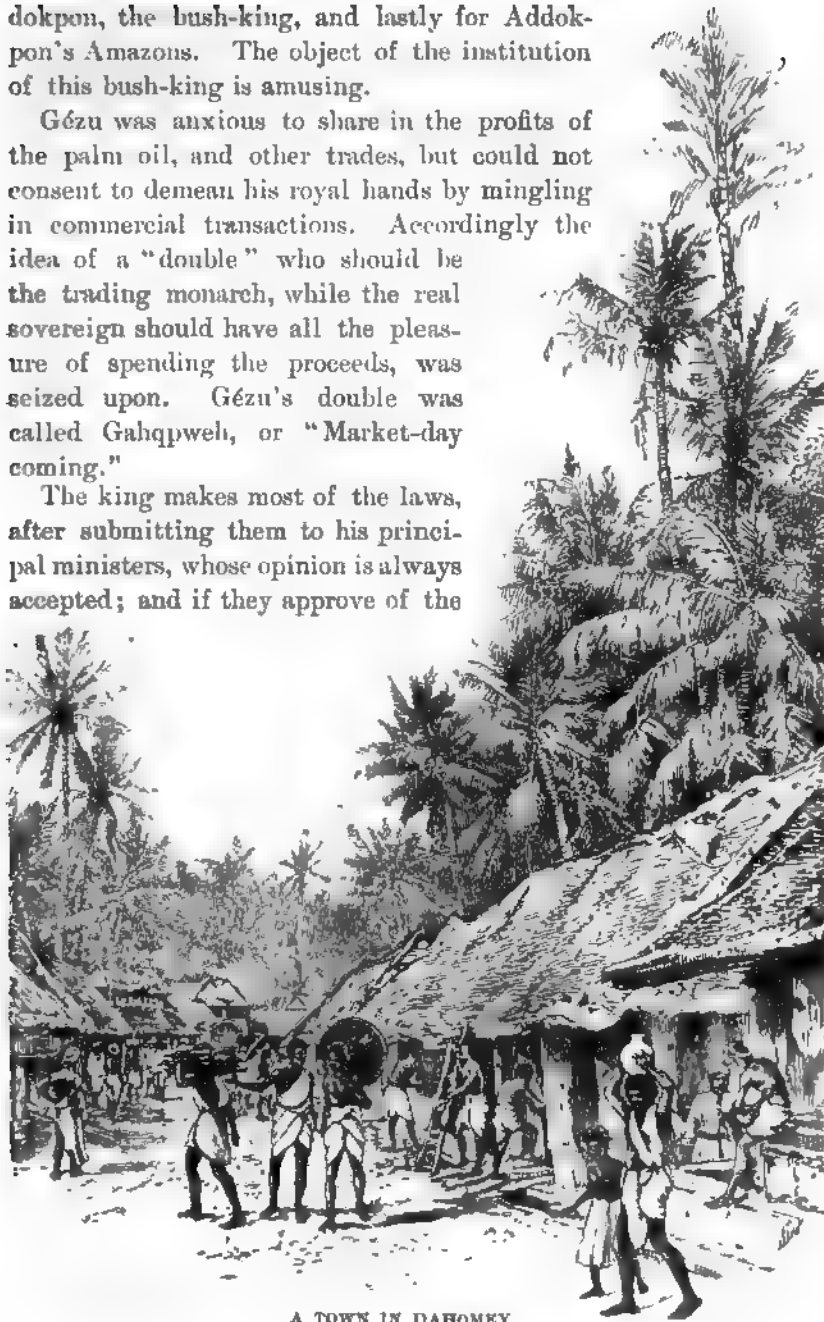
This bush-king, though a mythical personage, has all the honors, privileges, and appurtenances of a regular sovereign, and the annual "customs" are prolonged to nearly double their former length in order to do him honor. He has a palace where looms are at work, making cloth for his household, pipes, and other manufactures, a monopoly of which is granted by the king to the landlord or keeper of the palace of this shadowy being. In addition, he has his officers of state.

In a word, he is the "*double*" of the real king or "akhosu"; and whatever is done for the king in public has to be thrice repeated; once for the Amazons, or female guards, then for Ad-

dokpon, the bush-king, and lastly for Addokpon's Amazons. The object of the institution of this bush-king is amusing.

Gézu was anxious to share in the profits of the palm oil, and other trades, but could not consent to demean his royal hands by mingling in commercial transactions. Accordingly the idea of a "double" who should be the trading monarch, while the real sovereign should have all the pleasure of spending the proceeds, was seized upon. Gézu's double was called Gahqpweli, or "Market-day coming."

The king makes most of the laws, after submitting them to his principal ministers, whose opinion is always accepted; and if they approve of the



A TOWN IN DAHOMEY

"Act of Parliament," heralds are sent around and proclaim it to the people. The people have, however, the privilege of proposing an amendment on an old law, when the *pros* and *cons* are discussed fully in public, without any fear of offence. So on the whole, the legislative element is in rather a high state of perfection in the kingdom of Dahomey. Minor offences are judged by the caboceers, or nobles, but all crimes involving capital punishment are heard by the king, who alone has the power of life or death. Many of the laws are very just and appropriate to the kingdom, but others are mere caprices of a despotic and whimsical monarch.

Take a few examples:—No person is allowed to marry a wife until he has first asked permission of the king, who can, if he likes, enlist her in the Amazonian corps; no subject is allowed to sit on a chair in public, to wear shoes, or to ride in a hammock; no goods landed at Whydah can be reshipped; no Dahomey woman is permitted to leave the country, and so on.

Every man is liable to serve as a soldier, and consequently each individual in the country is esteemed according to his military rank, and the position which that rank entitles him to hold in the different wings of the army, these being of unequal honor in public esteem.

The "Ningan" is the prime minister and commander-in-chief of the kingdom, in addition to being chief magistrate, superintendent of police, and principal executioner. No visitors, unless they are created war captains, can hold any conversation with him; and though prime minister, he has no dealings with civil business.

All such contemptible affairs as trade palavers and diplomacy are beneath the dignity of an official whose sole business in life is death. He alone, of all the Dahoman subjects, can address the king with the prefix "Asah," a word supposed to resemble a lion's roar. Like all the high dignitaries, he performs most of his duties by deputies, who are, however, men of mark.

The second minister of the realm is the "Meu," whose duties are onerous and multifarious. All the visitors to the court are placed under his care. He is the executioner of all the bush-king's victims at the annual customs, and collector of the



A BOY'S HEAD—PART AFRICAN, PART ARAB—OF THE LOWER NILE. 183

revenue. Next to the Meu is the Avogan or Viceroy of Whydah. In addition, there are several other officials whose positions do not seem to be very settled and who perform various offices.

The eunuchs rank next to the ministers. They superintend the Amazons' quarters, and have many privileges not accorded to other subjects. The night guards of the palace, and the town police, are also officials of high rank. The trade captains, or "Akhisin," inspect, if at Whydah, all ships' cargoes, and receive the customs' duties. Last of all come the commanders of the various towns, who form about one fifth of the whole army.

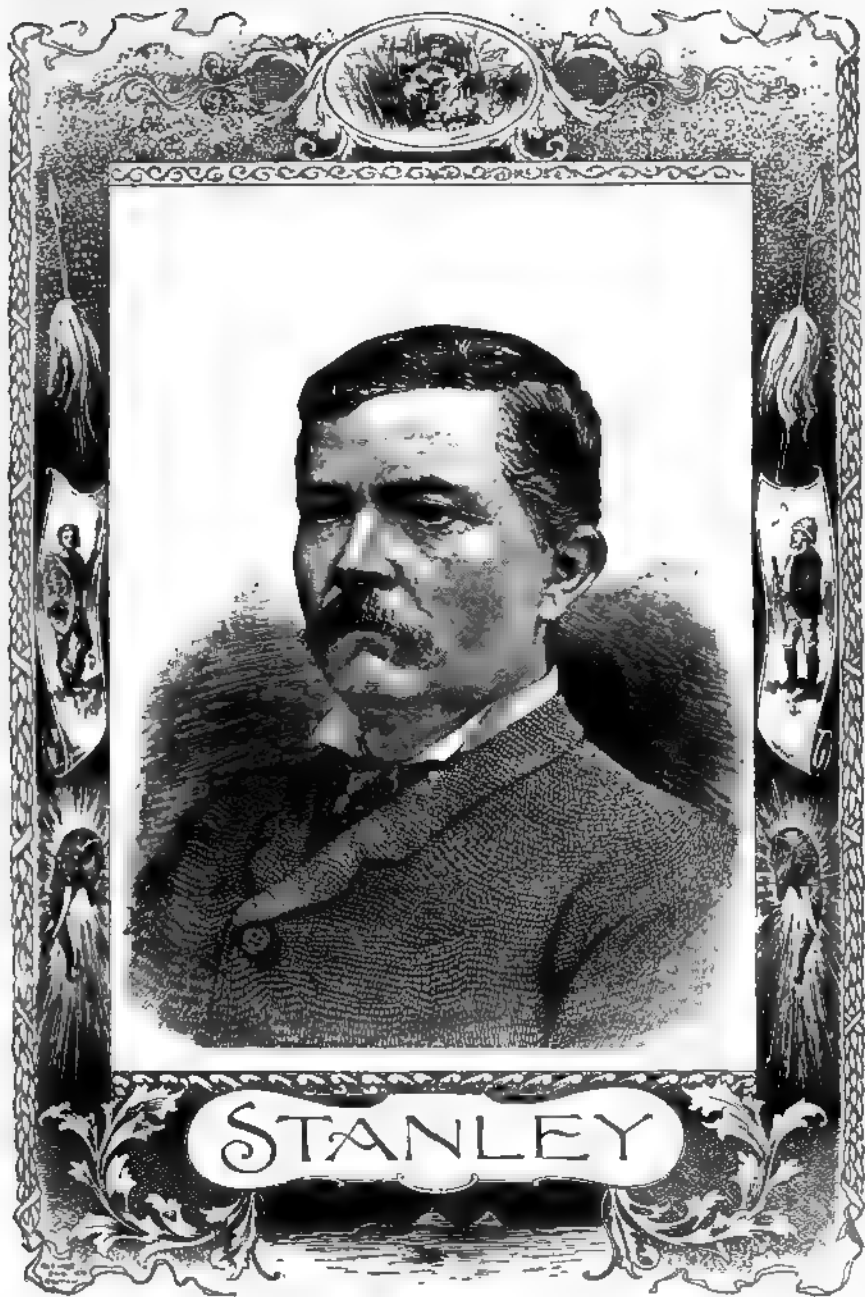
The soldiers are divided into several corps, distinguished by different uniforms. Each soldier is equipped at the government expense, but they receive neither pay nor rations, and on the march are expected either to carry their own provisions, to purchase them, or to forage for them upon the enemy's country. Fresh elephant steaks on such marches are frequently eaten raw, being supposed to impart cunning as well as courage.

Every soldier is expected to bring back a head or a prisoner; and at the conclusion of the campaign the prisoners and heads are delivered over to the king, who pays each man a fixed price for his human plunder. Sometimes, in war time, the king will, at his own charge, ransom captives of his people taken by the enemy.

Surprise is the chief tactic practised in war, and so secret is everything kept that, on the declaration of hostilities, it is rare that the king tells even his first minister which town he intends to attack first. The army marches in silence, not along the regular coast, but by pathways cut in the bush; no fires are lit; and all stragglers are taken prisoners.

In the dead of night the town is surrounded, and just before daybreak, when all is quiet, the town is assailed, and all the inhabitants, if possible, captured, the object of all such attacks being not to kill, but to take prisoners, who are either reserved for the annual customs, or sent as slaves to different parts of the kingdom, or enlisted in the Dahoman army, where the highest offices are open to them.

The women are made servants to the Amazons, and reside within the precincts of the palace. The town itself is usually destroyed, with all its other living inhabitants. If resistance is





attempted, then the struggle is bloody, but short, for African aboriginal courage is but a spasmodic quality; once let it evaporate, it never returns in time to enable the scattered army to rally. The first repulse is the last.

Disease and hardship decimate the army while on these slave-hunting expeditions more than the sword. If small-pox breaks out the mortality is something dreadful; three out of the nine kings of the present dynasty have fallen victims to this disease.

Perhaps the most extraordinary feature in Dahoman economy is the corps of Amazons or female warriors. This word long ago got incorporated from the Greek into our language as expressing a masculine woman, but what these Amazons really are is not so generally known. Their origin among the Africans dates from 1728, when the exigencies of war compelled the then king to organize a regiment of women, with whom he attacked and defeated the old Whydahs. Since then they have been a marked feature in the military establishment of the Dahoman kingdom.

Under Gèzu the corps attained its maximum of greatness. With that acuteness which distinguished him he raised the Amazonian body from being merely a subordinate establishment to an equal level with the male soldiers, and created female officers, so that, by surrounding himself with a band of viragos, bound to him by all the ties of gratitude and interest, he could at once put a check on too ambitious subjects, and nip in the bud the first signs of rebellion.

On a certain day, once in three years, every subject must present himself, with his daughters above a certain age, before the king. The most promising of those belonging to the higher classes he selects as officers, the poorer ones being chosen as soldiers, while the children of slaves become the servants of the Amazons who reside within the palace.

This done, the other daughters are returned to their parents to be disposed of as they may find proper. Some of the selected girls are "dashed" or presented to the most meritorious soldiers as wives, and all the female children of these Amazonian wives are Amazons by birth-right. The king, too, takes several Amazons as concubines, under the name of "leopard wives," who enjoy many privileges.

With these exceptions, every Amazon is a celibate; but as military discipline is not always equal to preventing the little god Cupid from his mischievous work, a fetish—called the Demen—is erected over one of the palace gates, which by its power at once discovers any Amazon who is unfaithful to her military oath in the matter of celibacy.

The informers also—who in these cases are generally jealous of the culprits—are never backward in causing the misdemeanor of the erring soldieress to reach the ears of the king, and her fears being worked on, she almost invariably confesses the name of her lover. The result is that both are punished, he assuredly by a cruel death, and she in all likelihood by blows from the hands of her comrades.

Though the flower of this corps of female soldiers perished under the walls of Abeokeuta in 1864, their number may be yet about four thousand. They are divided into three brigades, each of which has a peculiar head dress or method of dressing the hair.

Each of these brigades is commanded by female officers and sub-officers, and is again divided into Agbaraya, or Blunderbuss women, the veterans of the army only called into action in case of urgent need; the Gbeto, or Elephant-huntresses, one of the most celebrated corps in the army, who on hunting expeditions are exposed to great danger from the infuriated animals; the Nyekpleh-hentoh, or Razor women, of whom there are only a few to each wing.

Their special object of attack is the king of the enemy, and the huge razors which they carry are especially intended for the decapitation of this monarch. Lastly, there are the Gulonentoh, or Musketeers, and the Gohento, or Archeresses, who are all young girls, and more of a show corps, their weapons being of comparatively little use in active warfare.

In addition there are troops of camp-followers, hewers of wood, and drawers of water. Even they enjoy certain privileges. If met with in the pathway, headed by a beldame ringing a bell, every man, unless bearing the “king’s stick” as insignium of rank, must instantly disappear to the right or left. To look upon them would be a crime. Accordingly they are exceedingly self-important and arrogantly jealous of their prerogatives.

All the corps of Amazons, with the exception of the Arch-eresses, are armed with muskets or blunderbusses, kept scrupulously clean, but though these female warriors are brave to ferocity, they are poor markswomen, hitting a haystack being about the sum of their rifle accomplishments.

The bush-king has also his Amazons, and every official, high and low, has also his "double" among them. If an officer is elevated to a higher rank, an Amazon within the palace also gets a similar title. The mothers and wives of deceased kings have also their representatives among the Amazons, who are called Akhosusi (king's wives or Mino, mothers).

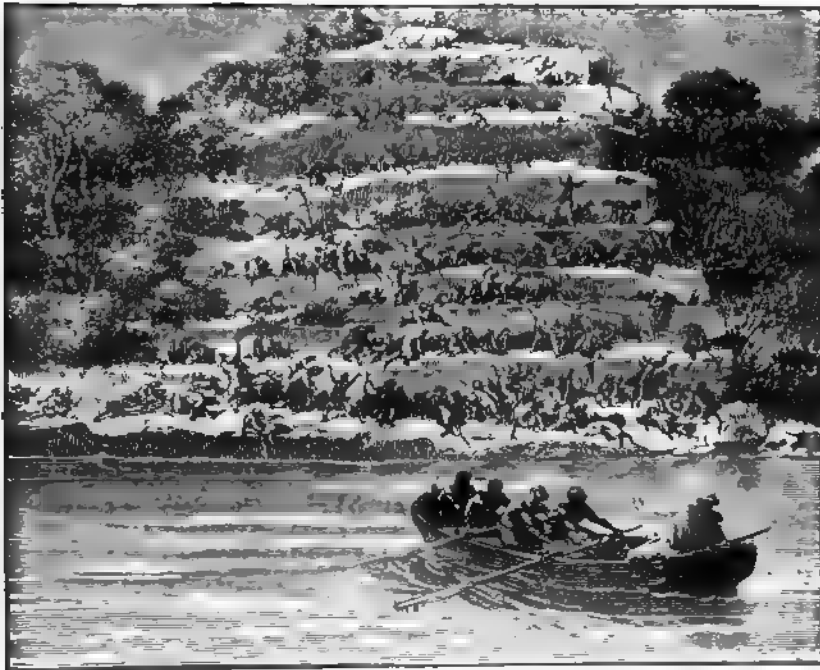
The term "mother" in Dahomey is, however, a term of respect, and does not mean a maternal relative. Though the value of the Amazonian corps has been justly celebrated as winning victories for the Dahoman king, yet at the same time we must remember that its existence is one of the causes of the slow decadence of that kingdom. The proportion of celibates is too great for the population, being somewhere about three to one.

Four thousand women represent twelve thousand children, the greater number of whom are lost to the State, which cannot afford such a drain. This, combined with the losses by disease and war, is one of the fertile sources of the national loss of prestige, which is only too true; and ere long, unless there is a change, Dahomey will be classed among the nations of the past. A special decoration is reserved for Amazons who have slain enemies in battle. This is a cowry, glued by the blood of the slain man to the butt of the musket, one cowry for each enemy slain.

Until Burton's time we knew almost nothing of the fetishism which constitutes the religion of the Dahomans. The traders in charge of the "factories" on the coast could tell little. Their talk was of oil, dust, and ivory, and they were more concerned about how much was to be made, honestly or dishonestly, out of the "black ivory," than what their religion or customs were. So though for two centuries we have had intercourse with Dahomey, we are still much in the dark in regard to the nature of their deities and forms of worship. This we know, however, that they believe in a Supreme Being, and in a host of minor deities.

Mau, the Supreme Being, resides in a wonderful dwelling above

the sky, and is of so exalted a nature as to care very little for men and their trials. To obtain his aid, special invocation must be directed to him. Even then he commits the care of human beings to monkeys, who in one place frequent a naturally terraced river-bluff to which pilgrimages are made and which is called the Hill of the Holy Monkeys. Guardianship of human beings is also entrusted to leopards, snakes, locusts, alligators, and inanimate



THE HILL OF THE HOLY MONKEYS.

objects—stones, rags, cowries, leaves of certain trees—in a word, to anything and everything.

Mau's assistant keeps a record of the good and evil deeds of every person by means of notches on a stick; and when anyone dies his body is judged according to the records on this moral tally. If his good deeds predominate he joins his spirit in Kuto-men or the "Dead-land"; but if, on the contrary, his evil deeds preponderate, then his body is entirely destroyed, and a new one created for the habitation of his spirit or soul.

In this belief the spirit has no concern with the body; it is released, whether the deeds of the person have been good or evil, immediately after; and whatever is the social condition of a person when he leaves this world, the same will be his social condition in the next.

The slave on earth is the slave in the spirit land; the king is still the monarch there. The ghosts of parents or relations take great interest in the affairs of their kin on the earth, advising them as to their conduct and affairs out of the depth of knowledge which their residence in the spirit world has given them. If, however, the misconduct of those on earth is great, then this protection may be taken from them and given to entire strangers.

The "customs" are compliments paid to these guardian spirits, and to stop them would be to insult these all-powerful and useful beings. When the Dahoman monarch requires special advice, he applies to the Bassajeh or holy women, who consult the oracle and obtain an answer. The common people in the same way apply to a fetish priest, who will act as a medium between the gods and men.

To every man is assigned at birth a certain number of deeds, good and bad. He is not to blame for those bad deeds allotted to him, but he can avoid committing them by making certain offerings to the deity through the medium of the fetish priest. The Dahoman is thus an eminently religious man. Every action of his life is mixed up with his religious ideas, and is mingled with the desire of obtaining a status in eternity.

Certain priests pretend to have seen this far away land of Kutomen; and if a person is dying he will often pay a handsome fee to the priest to pay a visit to Kutomen, with a view to beg the spectral ancestor to excuse the sick man attending the summons. If the patient recovers, the priest gets the credit of persuading the ghost to prolong his residence on the earth; but if not, then he has always the excuse that the spirit will accept of no subterfuge, and commands immediate presence.

Upon one occasion, says Mr. Skertchly, I saw a priest who was about to depart on a visit to Hades. He received his fee beforehand, cautious fellow, and went into an empty shed near the patient's

house. He then drew a circle on the ground, and took out of his "possible sack" a number of charms, all tied up in blood-stained rags.

Squatting down in the centre of this magic circle, and bidding us on no account to step within it, he covered himself with a large square of grey baft, profusely and elaborately ornamented. In a few minutes he commenced to mutter some unintelligible sounds in a low voice, his body and limbs quivering like an aspen. Half an hour of this farce ensued, when the fetisher uncovered himself and prepared to deliver the message.

He said that he had found considerable difficulty in obtaining access to the ghost who had summoned the patient, as when he knew that a priest was coming he hid in the bush. He said that the ghost was that of Nuage (one of the sick man's dead uncles), and that he was much offended by this summons not being answered in person; but in consideration of certain sacrifices offered to Guh, he would think over the matter. Rather an ambiguous answer, but just in the prevaricating manner affected by all priests, whether in Japan or on the Yellowstone.

From the statement of these priests it appears that life in the other world is much the same as in this — wars, palavers, feasts, dances, and other incidents going on in the same way as on earth. It appears that the clothes in which the deceased is buried accompany him to Kuto-men, for sometimes a priest will bring back with him a necklace, bead, or other small article known to have been buried with the corpse of the person who summons the sick man.

Sir Richard Burton mentions the case of a priest who, "after returning with a declaration that he had left a marked coin in Dead-land, dropped it from his waistcloth at the feet of the payer while drinking rum." A singular belief is that a spirit may be in more places than one at the same time. Hence it is believed that a spirit may remain in spirit land, and yet be in the person of a newly born infant.

Thus all the king's children are inhabited by the transmigrated spirits of former kings, their ancestors. The African cannot grasp the idea of a deity omniscient and omnipresent; accordingly he has a number of media between himself and Mau, the Supreme Being.

The Dahoman denies that his Supreme Being has bodily form, but yet he ascribes to him human passions; a strange medley of contradictions. They are not polytheists; they worship but one

god, who is approached, not through minor deities, but through go-betweens, viz., fetishes. These are, in a word, like the saints or angels of Christendom, "beings who have powerful influence for good or evil with Mau."

The most powerful fetish is *Danh-gbwe*, the tutelary saint of Whydah, which is personified by the harmless snake so named. Its worship was introduced into Dahomey when the kingdom of Whydah was conquered and annexed. In Whydah, hidden from eyes profane by a thick grove of fig trees, is the famed *Danh-lweh*, or fetish snake-house.

This is nothing more than a circular swish hut, the very model of the Parian inkstand to be seen in every toyshop. From the roof depend pieces of cotton yarn, and on the floor, which, in common with the walls, is whitewashed, are several pots of water. The pythons, to the number of twenty-two, are coiled on the top of the wall, or twined around the rafters. All these hideous reptiles are sacred.

To slay one, even by accident — for to do so purposely would not be dreamt of — used to entail instant sacrifice to the gods, and confiscation of all the offender's property to the fetish priests. Nowadays his punishment is not so severe, but still exemplary enough. The offender, after a meeting of all the fetishers of the neighborhood is convened, is seated within a hut of stick, thatched with dry grass, and built in the enclosure in front of the snake-house. His clothes and body are well daubed with palm-oil, mixed with the fat of the murdered snake god.

At a given signal the hut is fired, and the materials being like tinder, the unfortunate offender against the majesty of the snake is enveloped in flames. In excruciating torture he rushes out of the flames, his clothes on fire, to the nearest water, pursued by the infuriated priests, who belabor him with sticks, stones, and all sorts of rubbish.

If he reaches the water he is free, and should he survive has expiated his crime. Few are able to run the gauntlet, and generally expire before reaching the cooling water, clubbed to death by the fetishmen, the *Danh-gbwe-no*, or snake-mothers, as they are called.

As the door of the snake temple is always open, the snakes fre-

quently wander out after nightfall. If any person meets one, he must prostrate himself before it, carrying it tenderly in his arms to the temple, where his humanity to the snake-god is rewarded by his being fined for meeting the snake; and, if he cannot or will not pay, he is imprisoned until the uttermost cowry<sup>1</sup> is extracted from him.

Ordinary snakes may be killed with impunity, but woe to him who injures the *Danh-gbwe*! The snake priests have various neophytes or pupils, who are instructed in the mysteries pertaining to ophiological theology.

These neophytes are recruited in the following way: If a child is touched by one of these snakes in his nocturnal excursions, it is devoted ever

after to the priesthood of the snake, and its parents are forced to pay large fees for its lengthy instruction in the rites of the fetish after which he is allowed to practise for himself.

Snake worship is one of the most widespread forms of animal worship known, having been practised by most of the nations of



BANYAI HUTS.

<sup>1</sup>The use of cowries, or shells, as media of exchange, or money, has been practised by many savage nations. The Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth found the common "hard-shell clam," or *quahog* (*Venus mercenaria*), in use among the neighboring Indians as an article of exchange. They made *wampum* from the dark-colored or purple portion, while from the axis of a species of *Pyruia* or conch the "white wampum" was manufactured. The settlers themselves used it. For instance, in 1671, John Higginson had £160 voted him "in country produce," which he was glad to exchange for £120 solid cash. Solid cash included beaver skins, black and white wampum, beads, and musket-balls, value one farthing. *Wampum* was also made of the whelk-shell (*Buccinum*). In New Mexico the ear-shell (*Haliotis rufescens*), the common Californian "Abalone," is used as money. The Indians who resided in the vicinity of the old Russian settlement of Bolega, on the northern coast of California, used at one time pieces of a clam-shell (*Saxidomus aratus*, Gld.) as money. To return to the African cowry. It is the *Cypræa moneta* of naturalists, a native of the Indian Pacific waters. It is utilized as money by the natives of some parts of Hindostan, and is exported for barter with the West African tribes. In former time it was extensively used in Hindostan. Reeve mentions that a gentleman residing at Cuttack is said to have paid for the erection of his bungalow entirely in these cowries. The building cost about 4,000 *rupees slova* (£400 sterling); and as sixty-four of these shells are equivalent in value to one *pie*, he paid for it with over 16,000,000 of these shells. Tons are annually sent out from Liverpool to the Coast of Africa for trading purposes, and employed in the manner described.



antiquity, and at the present time by many barbarous or savage tribes.

Sir John Lubbock considers that the widespread worship of snakes points us to the fact of the worship having originated spontaneously in many different places and at different times, and that the worship of the serpent-god commenced originally as a malevolent being, who was flattered, as cruel rulers ever are, but that in process of time this flattery, at first only an expression of fear, came to be an article of faith.

In ancient times Mr. Fergusson shows that serpent worship prevailed in Egypt, India, Phœnicia, Babylonia, Greece, and, to a smaller extent, in Italy. In more modern times traces have been found in Persia, Cashmere, Cambodia, Thibet, India, China, Ceylon, America, and among the Kalmucks. In Africa serpents were adored among the Abyssinians, and in Upper Egypt. All along the Gold and Slave Coasts, viz., Guinea, this snake-worship prevailed at one time.

Bosman, an old writer on Guinea, mentions that some English sailors who had killed one of these serpents, which they found in their house, were attacked and killed by the natives. Not to enumerate other instances, even among the Mahomedan, Foulahs, and Mandingoes, and among the Christianized people of Sierra Leone, traces of ophiolatry are said to exist.

The given reason why the snake is so revered in Whydah is because, during an attack on Ardra, it appeared to the army, and so stimulated it that the victory was secured. It is still looked upon with equal veneration, notwithstanding the fact that it did not avail against the conquering Dahomans, into whose kingdom Whydah is now incorporated.

Frequently young women who are ill are taken to the snake temple to be cured and high fees are exacted for this service. In Astley's "Collection of Voyages and Travels" is figured "Agoye an Idol of Whiddah," the "God of Councils," in the form of a human being with serpents and lizards coming out of the top of its head.

Though nowadays the snake is looked upon as equally powerful in obtaining favors for its worshippers, yet in Whydah, at least, it has no visible representation in the shape of an image, its worship

being confined to an adoration of the living snakes kept in the snake-houses in all the principal towns, and which, wandering about at night, are a perfect nuisance to all who dwell in the vicinity of the snake-temples.

The Danhsi, or snake-priests ("snake-mothers" and "snake-wives" they are also called), number upwards of one thousand, and are of both sexes, married and single. They generally commence with a course of preliminary instruction at Whydah, and finish off at the great fetish town of Somorne.

Another deity, almost as important, is Atin-bodun, personified by various trees, but who resides in some curious specimen of ceramic ware, such as an upturned pot, or red cullender. He is worshipped by offerings of water poured into the little pot, and is especially powerful in averting and curing diseases, especially fevers. He also inhabits any tall tree, such as the Loko or poison tree, a decoction of the leaves of which is used to detect any hidden crime. Atin-bodun is served by almost as many priests as the snakes, but they are not of such high rank.

Another deity is Hu, "the Dahoman Neptune," who has the sea at Whydah in his charge. Canoe men worship and offer up donations of food to him to induce him to save them from the rolling surf. Formerly the king was accustomed to send a man dressed as a caboceer, with umbrella, stool, beads, and other insignia of his rank, to the beach, where he was placed in a canoe by the Huno [priest], and, after sundry offerings and prayers, carried out to sea and thrown overboard. This practice is now happily discontinued.

Khevyosoh, the thunder-god, is the last of the four principal Dahoman deities. He is the Slave Coast Jupiter, who presides over the weather, and slays all who offend him with his thunderbolts, *i. e.*, *abi*, the lightning.

In considering such governments as those of Ashanti and Dahomey with their dreadful religious rites, and their curious, appalling superstitions, one is tempted to wonder, when taking into account the vast sums which have been subscribed in the last hundred years for missionary purposes, why Christianity has made so little impression on the African mind.

We see in this country that the gentle and beautiful teachings

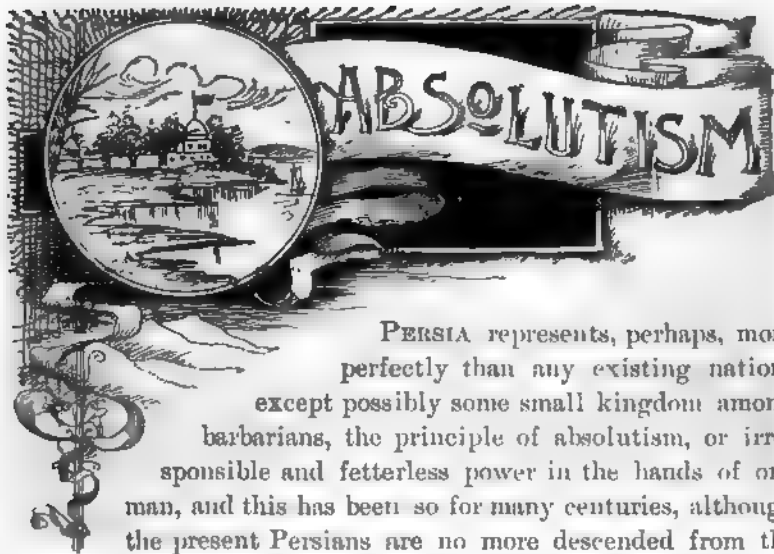
of Him who was born on the wood of a manger and died on the wood of a cross — the carpenter's son of Galilee — have from the earliest days of slavery been peculiarly attractive to the natures of our colored brethren, and that since the abolition of slavery Christianity has been a most potent factor in the gradual elevation of that race which politicians have been wont to regard as furnishing the most perplexing problem of our American attempt at civilization.

Why, then, have so much noble endeavor and so much wealth been wasted in Africa? Why has the missionary business been a most pathetic failure? The practical man answers these questions by affirming that the African aborigines must be commercially transformed and held under the dominion or at least the protectorate of some European power, before any efforts to plant Christianity can be crowned with a satisfactory harvest.

The French are engaged at present in attempting to convert Behanzin, the King of Dahomey, by force of arms, to certain commercial views which they think he ought to hold, and this has been the English method with all African tribes. As one brilliant writer puts it, commercialization or extermination are the only stepping-stones to civilization in interior Africa and, indeed, while the Christian powers of Europe, for the sake of extending commerce or acquiring territory, maintain a martial attitude towards the unfortunate natives, there would seem to be slight chance for the successful dissemination of the doctrines of the Prince of Peace.

Is it not then probable that those ministers are quite right who in the recent meetings of missionary societies have counselled the expenditure of less money for foreign missions and more for the improvement of the environment of the less picturesque but equally needy heathen in our great cities? If the churches all over the country would club together and coöperate in abolishing the tenement-house rookeries or the sweating shops of just one city every year, it would not be long before the foundations of the Temple of Universal Brotherhood would be fairly and firmly laid.

V.



PERSIA represents, perhaps, more perfectly than any existing nation, except possibly some small kingdom among barbarians, the principle of absolutism, or irresponsible and fetterless power in the hands of one man, and this has been so for many centuries, although the present Persians are no more descended from the famous Medes and Persians, or from the race who defeated Xenophon and his ten thousand, than the present inhabitants of our cosmopolitan country are from the men who sketched an outline of practical socialistic government in the cabin of the Mayflower.

Persia has been so often invaded, and so many races have contributed to the empire, that it is now difficult, if not impossible, to trace the original elements. Rivers flow into the sea; you may trace their currents for a little way, but soon they blend with the ocean and their elements defy a chemic analysis.

So with nearly all ancient realms. There has been a blending of numerous nationalities; yet the philologist and ethnologist may now and then detect them in certain eddies of the empire, where they have kept more unmixed than elsewhere, by a turn



of speech, or a cast of countenance. In no province of the country is the population wholly Persian; everywhere there are alien elements.

The ancient Persians were celebrated for their handsome persons, rather tall stature, and the beauty of their women. The modern race, or "Tadjiks," as they call themselves, have a fair share of good looks; their features are regular, their countenances oval, hair glossy and luxuriant, and their eyes dark and soft. Witty, cheerful, frivolous, idle, luxurious, and fond of dress and display is the character which has been given them, an opinion that is rather too sweeping to be true.

A people made up of such diverse elements is difficult to characterize without making so many exceptions that the rule is *not* proved, except to have no existence. However, in progress of time, notwithstanding the original differences of the people, some few general characteristics will be found to have become common.

These we may briefly sketch. There are two great classes, the fixed and the wandering; but the nomad tribes have little voice in the country, and it is from the fixed inhabitants of the cities and country seats that the ruling classes and those who properly constitute the stronghold of the country are selected.

We may, for convenience, divide them into (1) the civil and military functionaries, including those connected with the court, (2) the inhabitants of the towns, such as the merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, members of the religious orders, men of learning, and of all kinds of business; (3) the agriculturists or cultivators of the soil; and lastly (4) there may be added the wild wanderers or "Eeliauts."

The Persian court is a perfect type of despotism. Every officer owes his elevation to the favor or caprice of the monarch, and is liable at any moment to dismissal without a chance of appeal either to his superiors, to a court of law, or to that greater public opinion which controls tyranny and injustice in other countries.

Treated in a capricious manner by his sovereign, he, in his turn, rides roughshod over all his inferiors. Knowing that he may fall as suddenly as he was raised by the whim of the monarch, he endeavors, during his uncertain tenure of office, to amass, by every means known in a country where justice and right



THE SHAH.

are merely high sounding words for poets to mouth, enough wealth to support the extravagance which his position necessarily entails, to bribe his enemies when his evil day arrives, or to retire upon to a quiet corner of the empire if he be fortunate enough to escape the bowstring in the hour of his fall.

Deceitful, treacherous, venal, arrogant, dishonest and overbearing, the Persian courtier possesses the art of concealing his true character under a polished manner, and a lively, courteous, and mild countenance which rarely betrays the workings of his mind.

Add to this, he is often an acute diplomatist, well informed, and skilful in business. A court so constituted cannot but be hated by all the poorer classes, who are the chief sufferers by it, and its pernicious example spreads the contagion of venality, petty rascality, and other evils throughout the community.

But all the high officers of State are not selected from the class of nobles. No doubt, as in most countries, the "upper classes" have more than their fair share of power and place; yet many of the public functionaries and ministers in Persia belong to the order of Mirzas, secretaries, or "men of business."

For the policy of the monarchs is to select some of their officers from the humblest class of life, under the idea that men thus raised to dignity by the favor of the king alone will be, through gratitude, more attached to his person than a military noble, whose rank would, as much as his sovereign's favor, have obtained for him power, and who, at the beck of ambition or offended pride, might summon to his aid a host of warlike retainers and plunge the country into civil war.

These Mirzas, though the equals of the nobles in treachery and immorality, are yet in general more accomplished than they, being well versed in all state-craft, mild and subdued in their address, and differing from the nobles in not indulging in martial or athletic exercises, and wearing, instead of a sword or dagger, a *culumdaun*, or ink horn, attached to their girdle.

Any person can get access to the king to lay his complaint before him; but, unless there be a desire to push the affair, the complaint only is heard. However, it is treasured up to be brought forth in due time when the functionary complained of gets into disgrace, and an excuse is desired for his degradation.

The office of collector of public revenue is a poor one. The people, knowing that the taxation only goes to enrich the court and pays for no work of public utility, are unwilling to satisfy the just demands of the collector, and frequently even threaten to take his life. This unwillingness to meet their public obligations is intensified by the fact that taxation falls chiefly on the toilers.

The great nobles, foreigners and wealthy native merchants are exempt from contributions to the Shah's exchequer, though the first and last named are subject to irregular extortions which are sometimes even less bearable than the systematic bleeding of the collector.

On the other hand, the rapacious officials at the capital do everything in their power to extort more taxes, and frequently threaten the collector with punishment on the plea that he has withheld taxes, so as to induce him to "squeeze" the population still more thoroughly.

Thus, between the rebellious people at large who object to being bled, and the officials close to the Shah who have a thirst for the silver sweat and golden blood of a people (which is commonly called taxes), it is easy to see that a revenue collector in Persia needs the stubbornness of a mule, the persistency of a gadfly, and the nine lives of a cat.

Such, however, is the accursed thirst for gold — so intense, although it is an artificial or accidental and not an innate passion, so insanely intense is the desire to acquire property — that, even in the most dangerous districts of the Shah's dominion, this post of danger is eagerly sought.

Many anecdotes are current in Persia concerning the collector, his cunning, and the ill luck that often attends him like a shadow. Yet, although the Prince of Shiraz once in irony ordered a notorious thief to be punished by being made manager of the revenue of a district, as he could conceive of no crime for which that appointment would not be an adequate punishment, there is little doubt that between the people and the public treasury not a little of the public cash clings to the fingers of the collector, and that many of them accumulate great wealth.

Notwithstanding the power of the nobles, the people, either through a naturally high spirit, not effaced by long oppression, or



more probably owing to long custom which allows them to do so with impunity, loudly proclaim their wrongs at court, if they consider themselves injured; yet, on account of the difficulty and expense of travelling, this is denied to the residents in the more distant parts of the country. The common people are frugal and industrious. Few are in actual want, and many of the trading class amass considerable wealth, which by cunning and deceit they manage to save from the hands of the rapacious courtiers.

"Every one," says Sir John Malcolm, "complains of poverty, but this complaint as often proceeds from a desire to avoid oppression as from its actual privations." The government officials are paid wretchedly small salaries, and even these payments are most unpunctually made. To meet his daily expenses money has to be borrowed at a high rate of interest, debts accumulate, and in a few years a government servant, if honest, would be ruined.

No position can be more ignominious than that of a Persian courtier in disgrace. Should he incur his master's displeasure, without the slightest warning he is deprived of his property, offices, dignities and honors. His slaves are sold or handed over to the favorite of the hour, his wives and children are insulted or even exposed to the brutality of his grooms and guards, while he himself is beaten with a stick or mutilated by the executioner's knife. The new favorite is often a mere boy, as in our picture.

Yet these reverses of fortune are not final. They are philosophically accepted as accidents which must always happen to one who embraces the precarious life of a courtier, and by the Oriental, who considers every misfortune as pre-ordained by fate and impossible to be prevented, are viewed in a way not widely different from that in which a European Secretary of State might regard an official announcement that his sovereign had been pleased to dispense with his services, or an unfavorable expression of public opinion in the shape of a severe newspaper article on his policy.

Indeed, though Persian sovereigns express very savagely their displeasure at the policy of a minister, he may, after experiencing the infelicity of being disgraced, be received again into royal favor. His family in such a case is sent back to him, with as many of his slaves as can be recovered; and his property, pruned of all danger-

BARRACKS OF THE GHOLAMS.




ous exuberance, is returned. A bath mollifies his bruised feet, a cap conceals his cropped ears, and the white-washed culprit is often reinstated in the very government he has lost, perhaps carrying with him a sentence of disgrace to his successor to whose intrigues he owed his temporary fall.

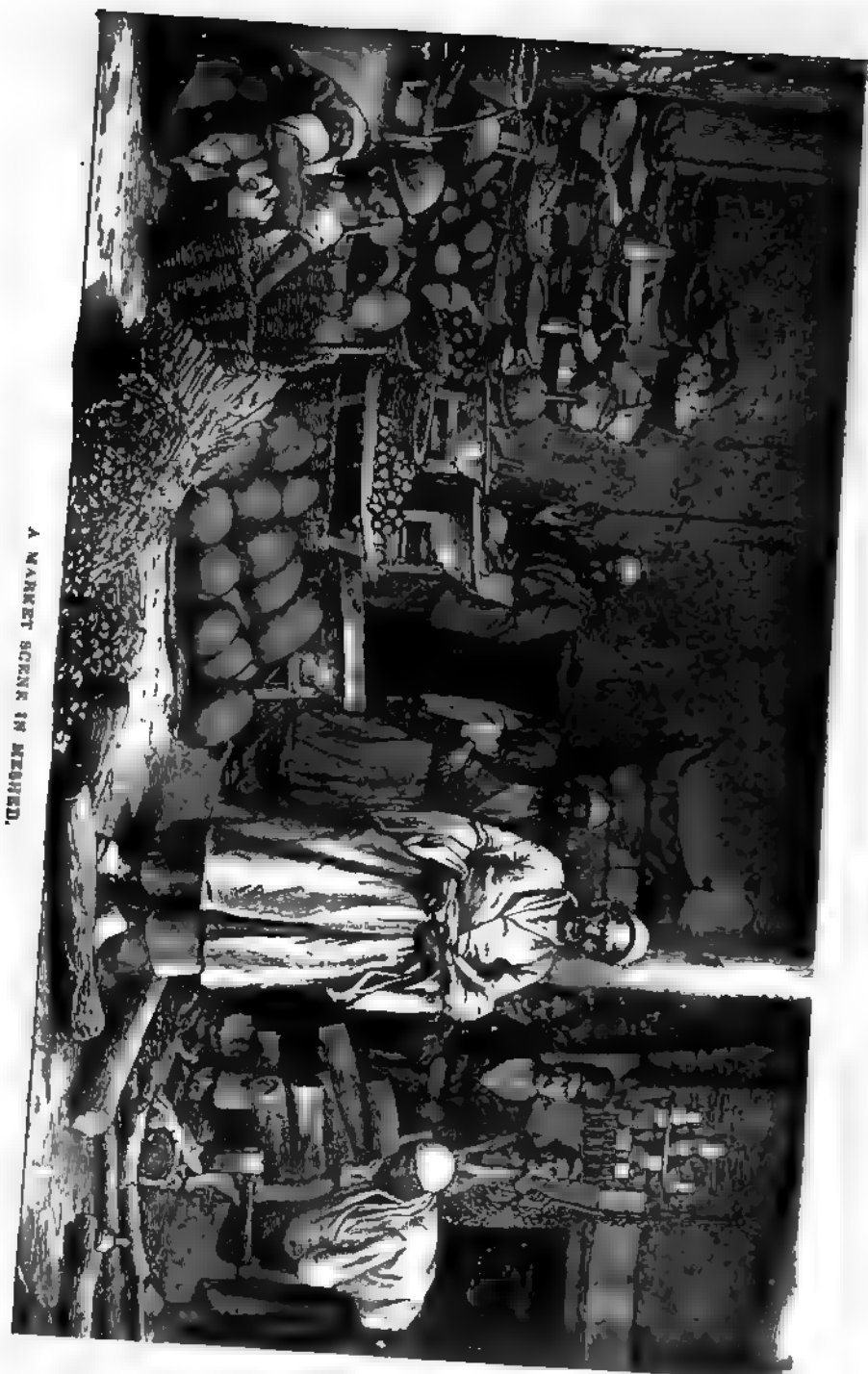
It is indeed surprising how carelessly the king and his ministers bestow situations of confidence on strangers, or on men who, from having been the sufferers of great injustice, might be dreaded as their bitterest enemies; yet the management of a conquered state is frequently intrusted to the khan or prince who before possessed it in his own right. The pardoned rebel of one province is appointed to the supreme command in another; and the disgraced noble or governor is sent to take charge of a district where the utmost fidelity and zeal are required.

No official, however high, can be sure of his life; it lies in the hands of the king as much as does the life of the meanest subject. The death of an official is determined, the warrant for his execution is made out, and an officer is despatched to execute it. The man rides as fast as horses pressed into his service can carry him until he arrives at the city where the doomed man lives. He exhibits his mandate to the governor or chief man of the city, and commands him to assist him. As soon as the door of the victim's house is opened, the executioner rushes in, and, drawing his scimitar, falls on the unfortunate man with the exclamation, "It is the king's command," cuts him down, and strikes off his head. Rarely is any resistance offered.

Cases have been known in which a powerful man has attempted to waylay the messenger on the road, when he knew his errand, and, depriving him of the warrant, has delayed his fate until another could be got, or until he has had time to obtain pardon.

But usually, such is the awe of the king's name that no attempt is made by the victim to escape his fate. He calmly submits. "It is the decree of Allah — it is fate — Allah be praised!" As for his nearest kin, they fly from him as from a thing accursed. The dependents whom an hour ago he could have made happy with a smile desert him as one whose touch would defile. He is like an infected creature. "All nature seems to be roused against him," are the words of an ancient writer in Persia.





A MARKET SCENE IN MESHED.

The Gholams are the king's guards, and are composed of young men held in favor by him. Generally they are young Circassian or Georgian captives, and accordingly their condition is that of slaves, though, the position being one of honor and emolument, the sons of the highest noblemen may be found there.

The Gholam Corps numbers three thousand or four thousand men, and, in addition to acting as escorts to the king and guards to his palaces, they are often despatched on delicate missions, such as that we have described in relation to the execution of a disgraced official. In the execution of these errands they often amass large sums by extortion; and the surest proof of the invidious character which they bear is the fact that their very name carries terror. The arrival of a *gholam e shahee* is enough to throw a whole district into alarm; it has even depopulated a village for a time.

The inhabitants of different districts differ considerably in character, and in their reputation for courage or cowardice. The inhabitants of the towns, or *Shehereés*, are even more mixed than those of the country districts. In general, though by no means to be held up as models for young men, they are of a better character than the higher classes, and are, as a rule, industrious, polite, sociable, good servants and indulgent masters, though largely imbued with deceit and greed.

The merchants are often wealthy, and in general are intelligent and cultivated. The small shopkeepers are more distinguished for insincerity and cunning, both vices, though inherent in the race, being fostered by their constant dread of the caprice of their superiors. The merchants, on the other hand, are, as all through the East, held in more consideration, being looked upon not only as a source of revenue, but also as a useful medium for maintaining friendly relations with foreign states.

The ecclesiastical law is administered by a numerous body of priests of all grades, from the Sudder al Suddoor down to the lowest of the mollahs. The mooshteheds are the highest order, and are the supreme pontiffs of the kingdom, who, subject to the approbation of the sovereign, nominate all the principal judges. They usually number three or four, and are elected by the people on account of their acknowledged sanctity.



AN ELOCUTIONIST IN THE HAREM.

The Sheik al Islam, or ruler of the faith, ranks next to the mooshteheds. He is a salaried judge, his duty being to administer the written law. He is often a man of quite as great influence as the mooshteheds, his official superiors. The other ecclesiastical officials are those connected with the mosques.

Every mosque, except the very insignificant ones, has a staff of three, viz., the mostwulla, who manages its temporal affairs, and who may be said to be a kind of churchwarden; the muezzin, or caller to prayers (the "beadle"), and the mollah, or priest proper, who conducts the ceremonial of the Mohammedan religion. They also preach a sort of sermon on texts from the Koran — the Mohammedan Bible.

Besides these, there are in every city, and connected with all seminaries of learning, a crowd of mollahs, who live by their arts, and have little of the priest but the name. They practise astrology, write letters and contracts for those who are ignorant of penmanship, and thus contrive to prolong a miserable life.

Nothing can be lower than the character of these people. Their hypocrisy, profligacy and want of principle, are the subjects of stories, epigrams, and proverbs without end. "Take care," says one adage, "of the face of a woman and the heels of a mule; but with a mollah be on your guard at all points." "To hate like a mollah," and "to cheat like a mollah" are sayings of frequency in the mouth of a Persian.

It is not the mollahs alone who are the subject of Persian jocularity. All classes who are concerned in the administration of the law or Mohammedan religious ceremonies are proverbial for their dishonesty and trickery. Chief among these are the seyeds, or descendants of the prophet, who are accounted rogues by nature, but after they have made a pilgrimage to Mecca, to the birthplace of Mohammed, are considered to have graduated in all dishonesty and rascality. In the repertory of Persian jests, nine tenths hinge upon what a mollah or a hadji (Mecca pilgrim) did, and the anecdotes are told with a grave humor peculiarly characteristic of the East. The *cultivators of the soil*, in Persia, though oppressed, are hospitable, active, and intelligent, and are more comfortable in their lives than the average workman in any of our overgrown cities.

*Persian women*, like those of all other Mohammedan countries, are not looked upon as the equals of the men. They are by some Moslem priests even believed not to have souls, and in every case are mere slaves who minister to the pleasure of their haughty lords. In many cases, however, their sharp wit enables them to gain an ascendancy over their more lethargic husbands, and even to sway the affairs of the court at their own sweet will.

An Eastern seraglio is yet a "gilded cage," tenanted by uneducated women, whose only thoughts are to please their master and amuse their aimless existence. Intrigue, discontent and crime are the natural sequence of such a state of matters. The harem life has been often described, but by none, it is said by those acquainted with the subject, in more faithful colors than by the French writer Chardin.

The seraglio of the king, says M. Chardin, is most commonly a perpetual prison, from whence scarce one female in six or seven has the good fortune to escape, for women who have become the mothers of living children are provided with a small establishment within the walls, and are never suffered to leave them. But privation of liberty is by no means the worst evil that exists in these melancholy abodes.

Except to that wife so fortunate as to produce the firstborn son, to become a mother is the most dreaded event that can happen to the wretched favorites of the king. When this occurs, not only do the mothers see their last chance of liberty and marriage cut off, but they live in the dreadful anticipation of seeing their children deprived of life or sight, when the death of their lord shall call a new tyrant, in the person of his son, the brother of their offspring, to the throne.

Should they escape having children, by an assiduous court paid to the king's mother, or to the mother of his eldest son, it sometimes happens that they obtain the good fortune of being bestowed upon some of the officers about the court; for the ministers and grandees, who are always intriguing with these influential ladies, seldom fail of soliciting a female of the royal harem either for themselves or their sons.

Indeed, it is no uncommon thing for the king himself to bestow one of these fair captives upon one of his favorites, or his courtiers; and sometimes, when the harem gets crowded, this is done to a great extent as a measure of economical expediency. Happy the woman thus freed from her prison, for she at once exchanges the situation of a slave for



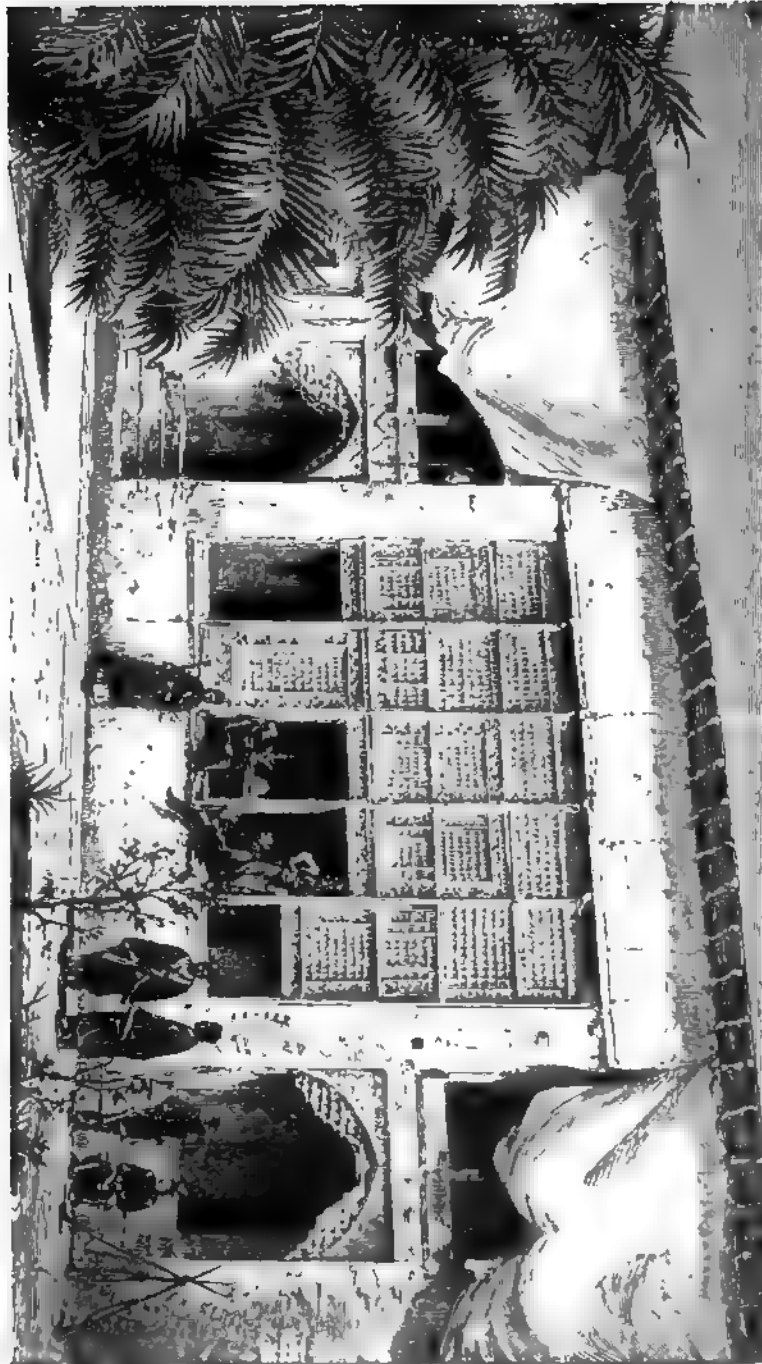
more probably owing to long custom which allows them to do so with impunity, loudly proclaim their wrongs at court, if they consider themselves injured; yet, on account of the difficulty and expense of travelling, this is denied to the residents in the more distant parts of the country. The common people are frugal and industrious. Few are in actual want, and many of the trading class amass considerable wealth, which by cunning and deceit they manage to save from the hands of the rapacious courtiers.

"Every one," says Sir John Malcolm, "complains of poverty, but this complaint as often proceeds from a desire to avoid oppression as from its actual privations." The government officials are paid wretchedly small salaries, and even these payments are most unpunctually made. To meet his daily expenses money has to be borrowed at a high rate of interest, debts accumulate, and in a few years a government servant, if honest, would be ruined.

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Yet these reverses of fortune are not final. They are philosophically accepted as accidents which must always happen to one who embraces the precarious life of a courtier, and by the Oriental, who considers every misfortune as pre-ordained by fate and impossible to be prevented, are viewed in a way not widely different from that in which a European Secretary of State might regard an official announcement that his sovereign had been pleased to dispense with his services, or an unfavorable expression of public opinion in the shape of a severe newspaper article on his policy.

Indeed, though Persian sovereigns express very savagely their displeasure at the policy of a minister, he may, after experiencing the infelicity of being disgraced, be received again into royal favor. His family in such a case is sent back to him, with as many of his slaves as can be recovered; and his property, pruned of all danger-



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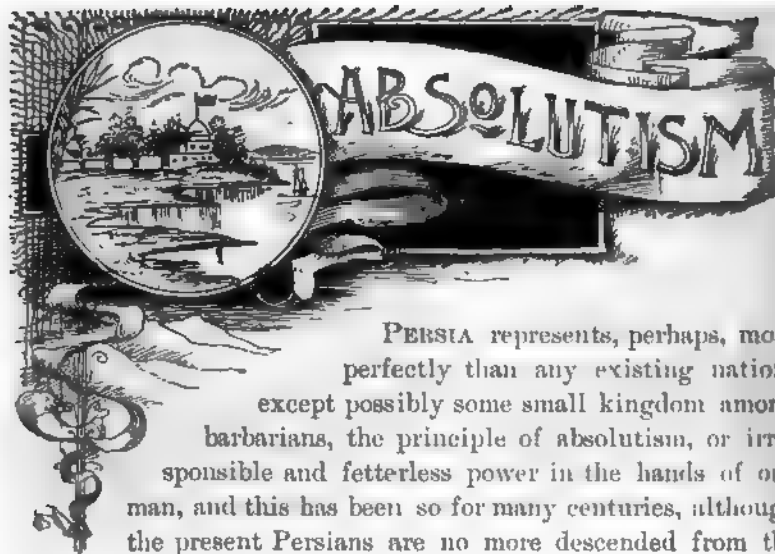
of Him who was born on the wood of a manger and died on the wood of a cross — the carpenter's son of Galilee — have from the earliest days of slavery been peculiarly attractive to the natures of our colored brethren, and that since the abolition of slavery Christianity has been a most potent factor in the gradual elevation of that race which politicians have been wont to regard as furnishing the most perplexing problem of our American attempt at civilization.

Why, then, have so much noble endeavor and so much wealth been wasted in Africa? Why has the missionary business been a most pathetic failure? The practical man answers these questions by affirming that the African aborigines must be commercially transformed and held under the dominion or at least the protectorate of some European power, before any efforts to plant Christianity can be crowned with a satisfactory harvest.

The French are engaged at present in attempting to convert Behanzin, the King of Dahomey, by force of arms, to certain commercial views which they think he ought to hold, and this has been the English method with all African tribes. As one brilliant writer puts it, commercialization or extermination are the only stepping-stones to civilization in interior Africa and, indeed, while the Christian powers of Europe, for the sake of extending commerce or acquiring territory, maintain a martial attitude towards the unfortunate natives, there would seem to be slight chance for the successful dissemination of the doctrines of the Prince of Peace.

Is it not then probable that those ministers are quite right who in the recent meetings of missionary societies have counselled the expenditure of less money for foreign missions and more for the improvement of the environment of the less picturesque but equally needy heathen in our great cities? If the churches all over the country would club together and coöperate in abolishing the tenement-house rookeries or the sweating shops of just one city every year, it would not be long before the foundations of the Temple of Universal Brotherhood would be fairly and firmly laid.

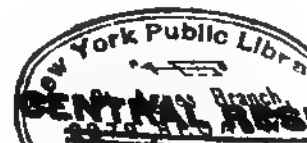
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PERSIA represents, perhaps, more perfectly than any existing nation, except possibly some small kingdom among barbarians, the principle of absolutism, or irresponsible and fetterless power in the hands of one man, and this has been so for many centuries, although the present Persians are no more descended from the famous Medes and Persians, or from the race who defeated Xenophon and his ten thousand, than the present inhabitants of our cosmopolitan country are from the men who sketched an outline of practical socialistic government in the cabin of the Mayflower.

Persia has been so often invaded, and so many races have contributed to the empire, that it is now difficult, if not impossible, to trace the original elements. Rivers flow into the sea; you may trace their currents for a little way, but soon they blend with the ocean and their elements defy a chemic analysis.

So with nearly all ancient realms. There has been a blending of numerous nationalities; yet the philologist and ethnologist may now and then detect them in certain eddies of the empire, where they have kept more unmixed than elsewhere, by a turn



of speech, or a cast of countenance. In no province of the country is the population wholly Persian; everywhere there are alien elements.

The ancient Persians were celebrated for their handsome persons, rather tall stature, and the beauty of their women. The modern race, or "Tadjiks," as they call themselves, have a fair share of good looks; their features are regular, their countenances oval, hair glossy and luxuriant, and their eyes dark and soft. Witty, cheerful, frivolous, idle, luxurious, and fond of dress and display is the character which has been given them, an opinion that is rather too sweeping to be true.

A people made up of such diverse elements is difficult to characterize without making so many exceptions that the rule is *not* proved, except to have no existence. However, in progress of time, notwithstanding the original differences of the people, some few general characteristics will be found to have become common.

These we may briefly sketch. There are two great classes, the fixed and the wandering; but the nomad tribes have little voice in the country, and it is from the fixed inhabitants of the cities and country seats that the ruling classes and those who properly constitute the stronghold of the country are selected.

We may, for convenience, divide them into (1) the civil and military functionaries, including those connected with the court, (2) the inhabitants of the towns, such as the merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, members of the religious orders, men of learning, and of all kinds of business; (3) the agriculturists or cultivators of the soil; and lastly (4) there may be added the wild wanderers or "Eeliauts."

The Persian court is a perfect type of despotism. Every officer owes his elevation to the favor or caprice of the monarch, and is liable at any moment to dismissal without a chance of appeal either to his superiors, to a court of law, or to that greater public opinion which controls tyranny and injustice in other countries.

Treated in a capricious manner by his sovereign, he, in his turn, rides roughshod over all his inferiors. Knowing that he may fall as suddenly as he was raised by the whim of the monarch, he endeavors, during his uncertain tenure of office, to amass, by every means known in a country where justice and right



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THE GENERAL



are merely high sounding words for poets to mouth, enough wealth to support the extravagance which his position necessarily entails, to bribe his enemies when his evil day arrives, or to retire upon to a quiet corner of the empire if he be fortunate enough to escape the bowstring in the hour of his fall.

Deceitful, treacherous, venal, arrogant, dishonest and overbearing, the Persian courtier possesses the art of concealing his true character under a polished manner, and a lively, courteous, and mild countenance which rarely betrays the workings of his mind.

Add to this, he is often an acute diplomatist, well informed, and skilful in business. A court so constituted cannot but be hated by all the poorer classes, who are the chief sufferers by it, and its pernicious example spreads the contagion of venality, petty rascality, and other evils throughout the community.

But all the high officers of State are not selected from the class of nobles. No doubt, as in most countries, the "upper classes" have more than their fair share of power and place; yet many of the public functionaries and ministers in Persia belong to the order of Mirzas, secretaries, or "men of business."

For the policy of the monarchs is to select some of their officers from the humblest class of life, under the idea that men thus raised to dignity by the favor of the king alone will be, through gratitude, more attached to his person than a military noble, whose rank would, as much as his sovereign's favor, have obtained for him power, and who, at the beck of ambition or offended pride, might summon to his aid a host of warlike retainers and plunge the country into civil war.

These Mirzas, though the equals of the nobles in treachery and immorality, are yet in general more accomplished than they, being well versed in all state-craft, mild and subdued in their address, and differing from the nobles in not indulging in martial or athletic exercises, and wearing, instead of a sword or dagger, a *culumdaun*, or ink horn, attached to their girdle.

Any person can get access to the king to lay his complaint before him; but, unless there be a desire to push the affair, the complaint only is heard. However, it is treasured up to be brought forth in due time when the functionary complained of gets into disgrace, and an excuse is desired for his degradation.

The office of collector of public revenue is a poor one. The people, knowing that the taxation only goes to enrich the court and pays for no work of public utility, are unwilling to satisfy the just demands of the collector, and frequently even threaten to take his life. This unwillingness to meet their public obligations is intensified by the fact that taxation falls chiefly on the toilers.

The great nobles, foreigners and wealthy native merchants are exempt from contributions to the Shah's exchequer, though the first and last named are subject to irregular extortions which are sometimes even less bearable than the systematic bleeding of the collector.

On the other hand, the rapacious officials at the capital do everything in their power to extort more taxes, and frequently threaten the collector with punishment on the plea that he has withheld taxes, so as to induce him to "squeeze" the population still more thoroughly.

Thus, between the rebellious people at large who object to being bled, and the officials close to the Shah who have a thirst for the silver sweat and golden blood of a people (which is commonly called taxes), it is easy to see that a revenue collector in Persia needs the stubbornness of a mule, the persistency of a gadfly, and the nine lives of a cat.

Such, however, is the accursed thirst for gold — so intense, although it is an artificial or accidental and not an innate passion, so insanely intense is the desire to acquire property — that, even in the most dangerous districts of the Shah's dominion, this post of danger is eagerly sought.

Many anecdotes are current in Persia concerning the collector, his cunning, and the ill luck that often attends him like a shadow. Yet, although the Prince of Shiraz once in irony ordered a notorious thief to be punished by being made manager of the revenue of a district, as he could conceive of no crime for which that appointment would not be an adequate punishment, there is little doubt that between the people and the public treasury not a little of the public cash clings to the fingers of the collector, and that many of them accumulate great wealth.

Notwithstanding the power of the nobles, the people, either through a naturally high spirit, not effaced by long oppression, or

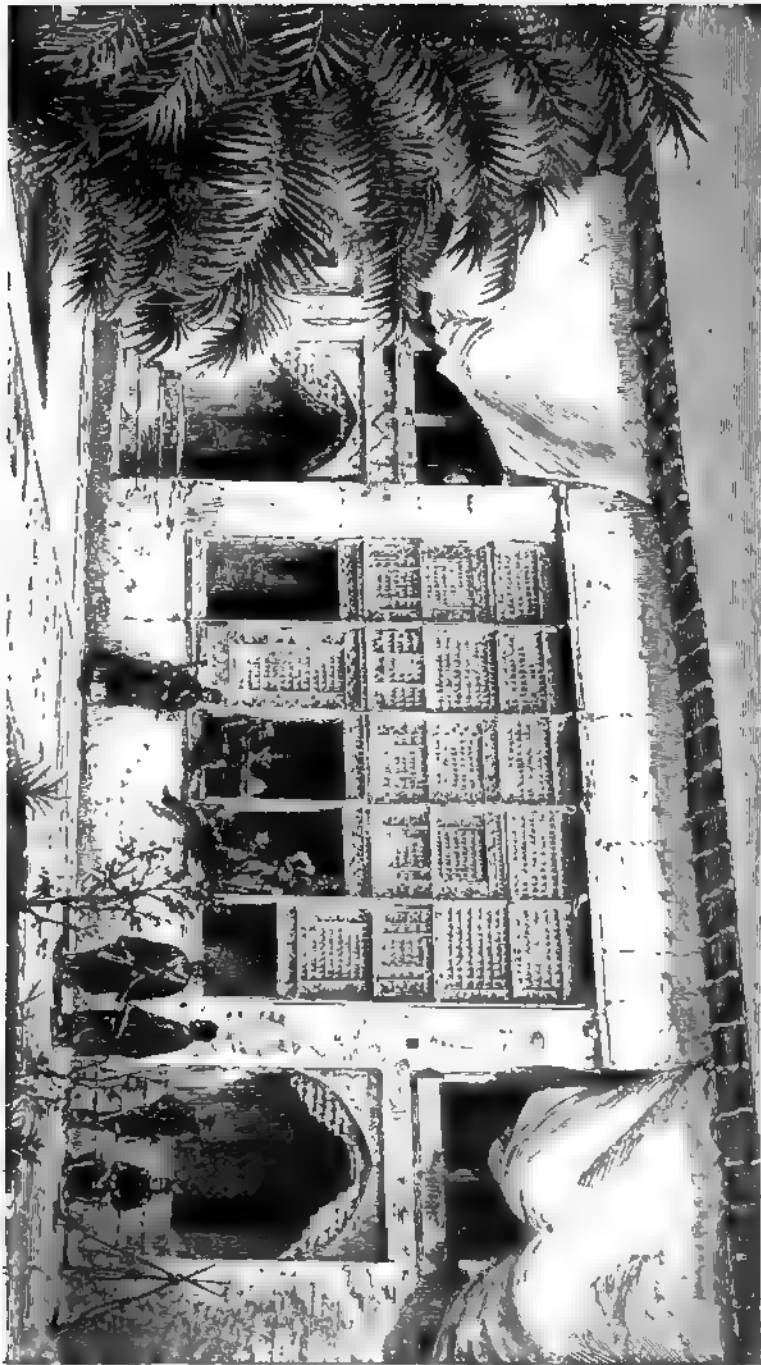
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BARRACKS OF THE GHORIAKS.

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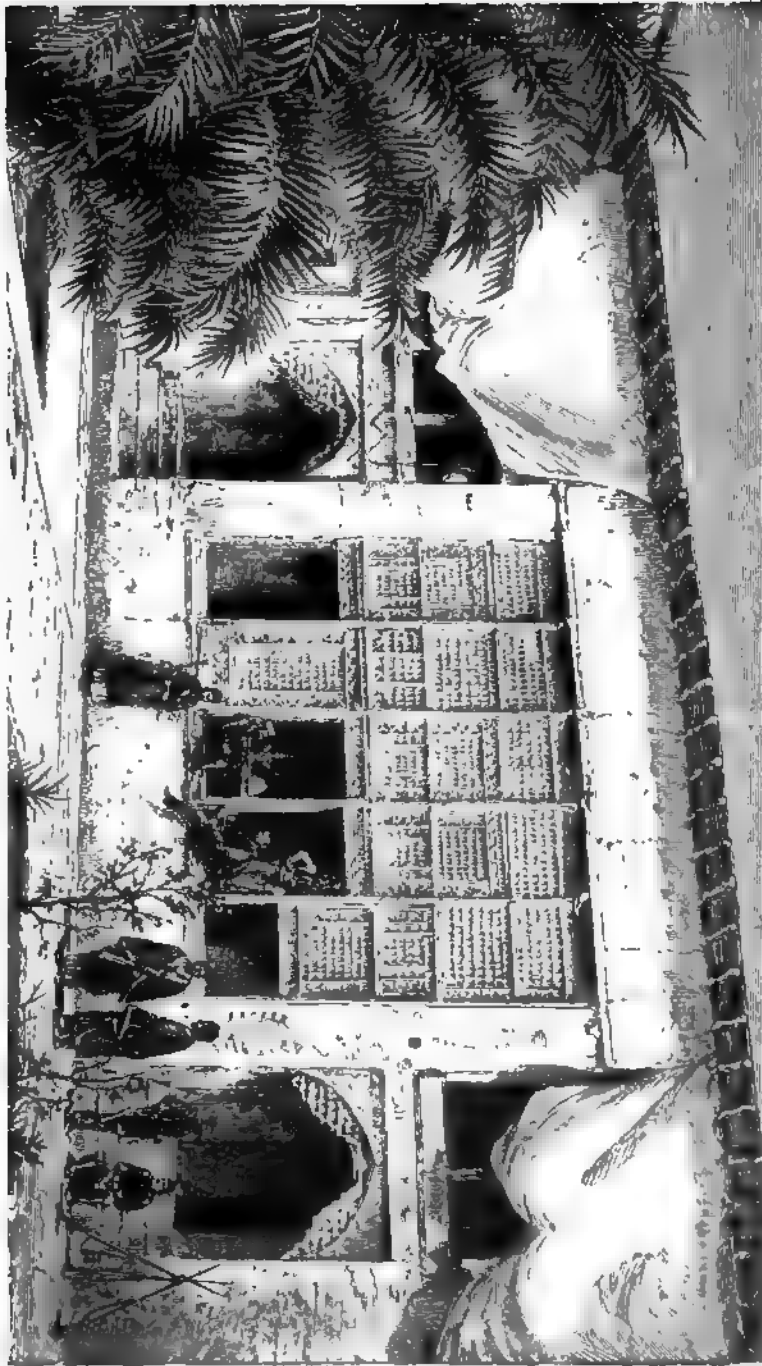
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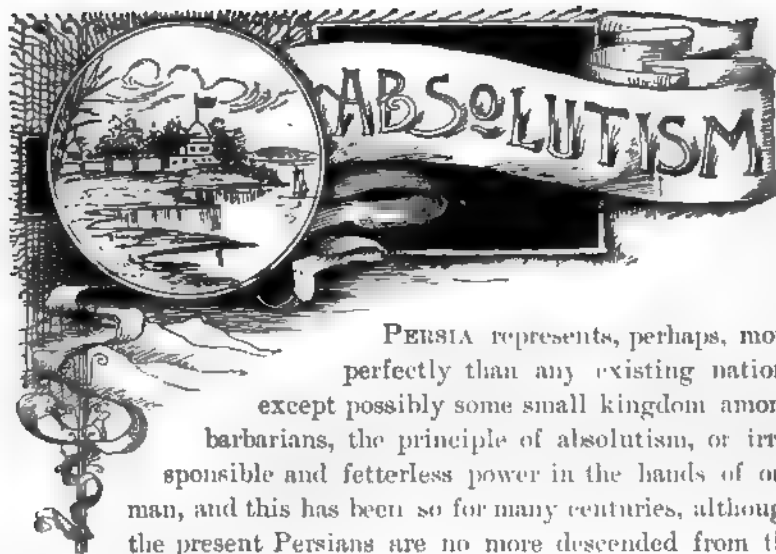
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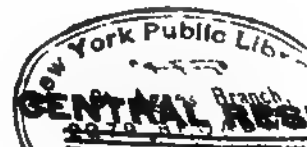
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Any person can get access to the king to lay his complaint before him; but, unless there be a desire to push the affair, the complaint only is heard. However, it is treasured up to be brought forth in due time when the functionary complained of gets into disgrace, and an excuse is desired for his degradation.

The office of collector of public revenue is a poor one. The people, knowing that the taxation only goes to enrich the court and pays for no work of public utility, are unwilling to satisfy the just demands of the collector, and frequently even threaten to take his life. This unwillingness to meet their public obligations is intensified by the fact that taxation falls chiefly on the toilers.

The great nobles, foreigners and wealthy native merchants are exempt from contributions to the Shah's exchequer, though the first and last named are subject to irregular extortions which are sometimes even less bearable than the systematic bleeding of the collector.

On the other hand, the rapacious officials at the capital do everything in their power to extort more taxes, and frequently threaten the collector with punishment on the plea that he has withheld taxes, so as to induce him to "squeeze" the population still more thoroughly.

Thus, between the rebellious people at large who object to being bled, and the officials close to the Shah who have a thirst for the silver sweat and golden blood of a people (which is commonly called taxes), it is easy to see that a revenue collector in Persia needs the stubbornness of a mule, the persistency of a gadfly, and the nine lives of a cat.

Such, however, is the accursed thirst for gold — so intense, although it is an artificial or accidental and not an innate passion, so insanely intense is the desire to acquire property — that, even in the most dangerous districts of the Shah's dominion, this post of danger is eagerly sought.

Many anecdotes are current in Persia concerning the collector, his cunning, and the ill luck that often attends him like a shadow. Yet, although the Prince of Shiraz once in irony ordered a notorious thief to be punished by being made manager of the revenue of a district, as he could conceive of no crime for which that appointment would not be an adequate punishment, there is little doubt that between the people and the public treasury not a little of the public cash clings to the fingers of the collector, and that many of them accumulate great wealth.

Notwithstanding the power of the nobles, the people, either through a naturally high spirit, not effaced by long oppression, or

more probably owing to long custom which allows them to do so with impunity, loudly proclaim their wrongs at court, if they consider themselves injured; yet, on account of the difficulty and expense of travelling, this is denied to the residents in the more distant parts of the country. The common people are frugal and industrious. Few are in actual want, and many of the trading class amass considerable wealth, which by cunning and deceit they manage to save from the hands of the rapacious courtiers.

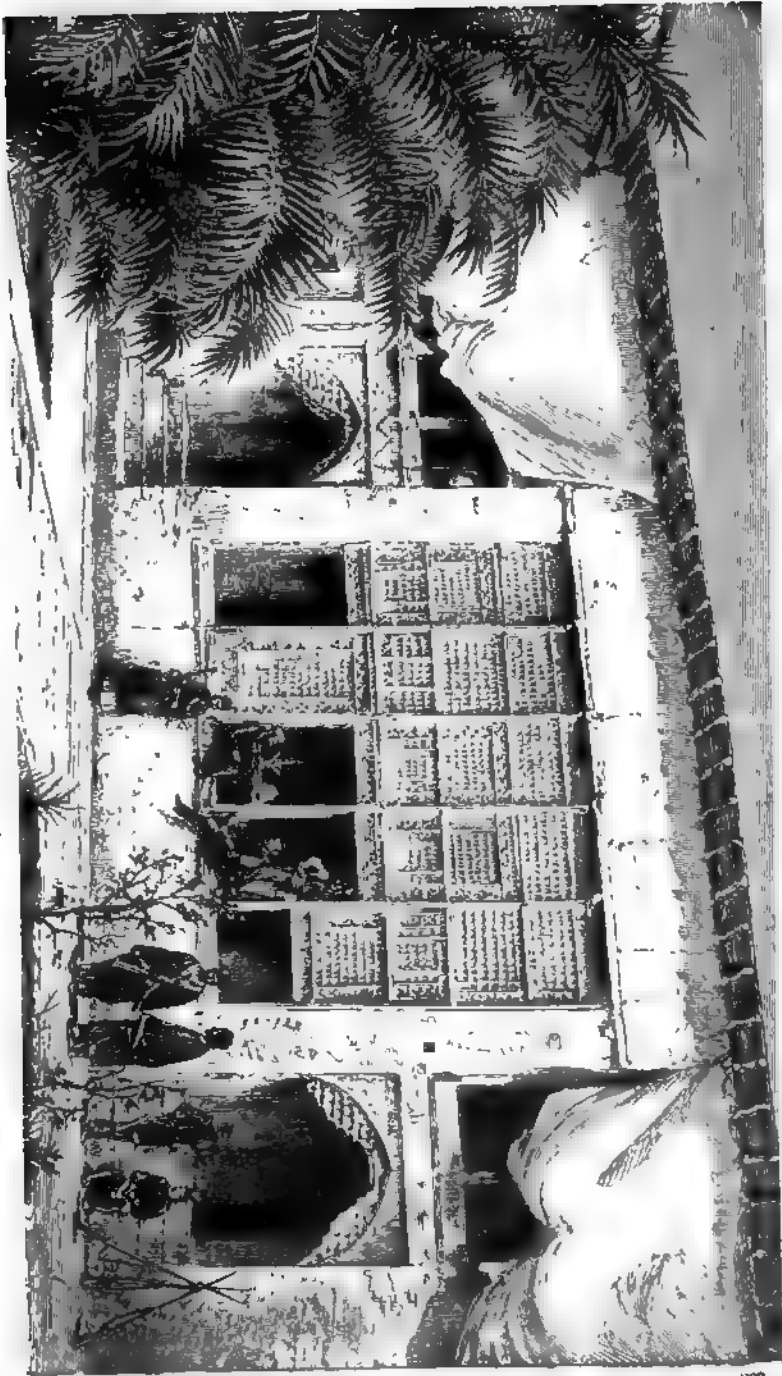
"Every one," says Sir John Malcolm, "complains of poverty, but this complaint as often proceeds from a desire to avoid oppression as from its actual privations." The government officials are paid wretchedly small salaries, and even these payments are most unpunctually made. To meet his daily expenses money has to be borrowed at a high rate of interest, debts accumulate, and in a few years a government servant, if honest, would be ruined.

No position can be more ignominious than that of a Persian courtier in disgrace. Should he incur his master's displeasure, without the slightest warning he is deprived of his property, offices, dignities and honors. His slaves are sold or handed over to the favorite of the hour, his wives and children are insulted or even exposed to the brutality of his grooms and guards, while he himself is beaten with a stick or mutilated by the executioner's knife. The new favorite is often a mere boy, as in our picture.

Yet these reverses of fortune are not final. They are philosophically accepted as accidents which must always happen to one who embraces the precarious life of a courtier, and by the Oriental, who considers every misfortune as pre-ordained by fate and impossible to be prevented, are viewed in a way not widely different from that in which a European Secretary of State might regard an official announcement that his sovereign had been pleased to dispense with his services, or an unfavorable expression of public opinion in the shape of a severe newspaper article on his policy.

Indeed, though Persian sovereigns express very savagely their displeasure at the policy of a minister, he may, after experiencing the infelicity of being disgraced, be received again into royal favor. His family in such a case is sent back to him, with as many of his slaves as can be recovered; and his property, pruned of all danger-

BARRACKS OF THE GHOLAKS.



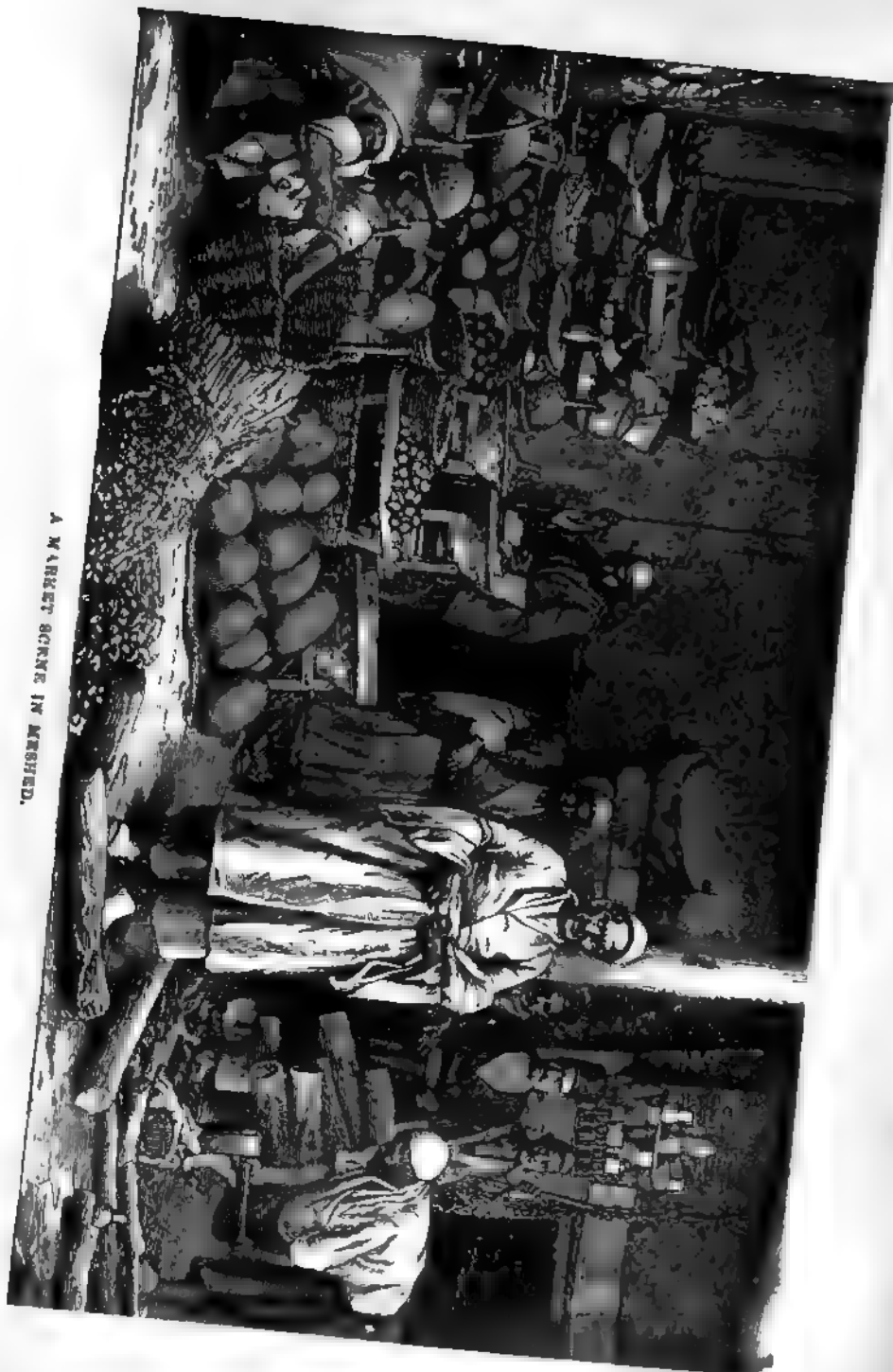
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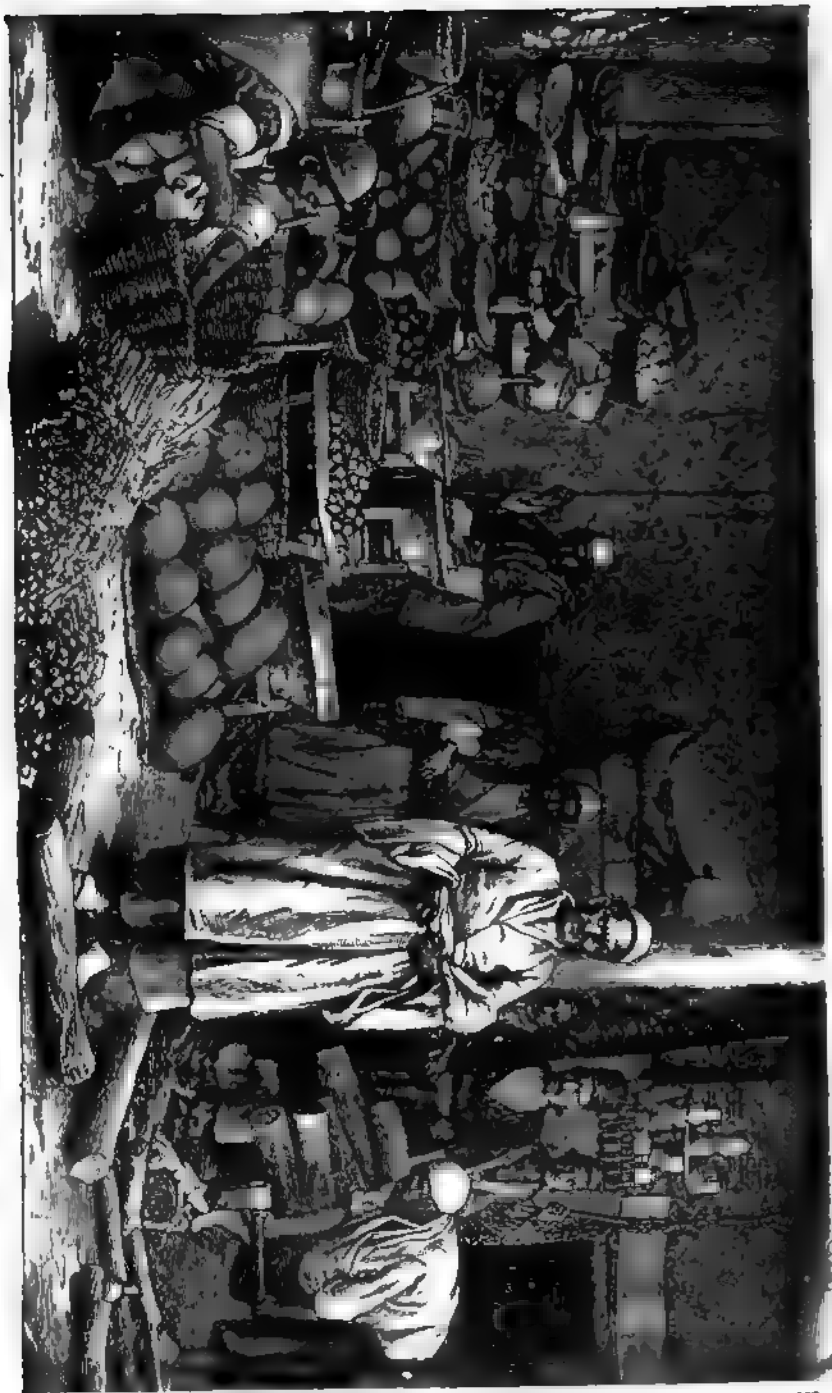
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under the chin. On the shawl were fastened strings of large pearls and diamond sprigs. Her arms were covered with handsome bracelets, and her neck with a variety of costly necklaces. Her hair was in bands and hung down under the shawl in a multitude of small plaits.

She wore no shoes, her feet being covered with cashmere stockings. The palms of her hands and the tips of her fingers were dyed red with an herb called henna, and the edges of the inner part of the eyelids were colored with antimony. All the Kajars [the Tartar tribe to which the present dynasty belongs] have naturally large arched eyebrows, but not satisfied with this, the women enlarge them with great streaks of antimony. Her cheeks were well rouged, as is the invariable custom among Persian women of all classes. In fact, like their contemporaries in Europe, the Persian ladies

“ With curious arts dim charms revive,  
And triumph in the bloom of fifty-five. ”

Ignorant, sensual, frivolous, with no intellectual resources to fall back upon, except the occasional introduction of some feminine elocutionist or story-teller, the conversation of a harem party is wearisome in the extreme.

All that delicacy which we associate with a woman is absent from their discourse; scandal and gossip are the only subjects of conversation, and on every topic they express themselves with the most disgusting grossness. A friendly *tête-à-tête* is every now and then broken up by a violent quarrel among the beauties, when invective and abuse, the indecency of which would bar their repetition almost in a police court or the pages of some of our “progressive” daily papers, are said to flow from their Eastern tongues with a fluency which long practice and a freedom from anything like shamefacedness can only supply.

The *marriage ceremonies* are elaborate and peculiar. Like all other Mohammedans, they are not allowed more than four legal wives, but they can have as many concubines as they can purchase. A girl is often betrothed to her future husband in infancy, and never sees him until they stand before the priest to complete the bargain. She has, however, the option of refusing to do so; but this is a privilege so hedged round with difficulties as to be practically useless. Of late, however, it has become customary to allow the future husband and wife to see each other, but only “under the

MUSICIANS IN ISPAHAN SALUTING THE SUNRISE.





rose." The marriage can be witnessed by two men, or by one man and two women. The certificate is carefully preserved by the woman, for in case there be a divorce, the possession of it is the only means by which she can recover her dowry.

Great rejoicings take place at every marriage, and in the case of even the middle classes are accompanied by an expenditure so profuse as to be often almost ruinous. The feasting will last from three to forty days, according to the rank of the contracting parties; three, at least, are necessary. On the first, the company assembles; on the second, the bride's hands are stained with henna; on the third, the rite takes place, with much ceremony and not a little humor. This brief account of the conclusion of a wedding by an eye-witness is full of curious points. The bride has retired to her room.

The husband, who in this case is a middle-aged widower, makes his appearance, and a looking-glass is immediately held up in such a position as to reflect the face of his bride, whom he now for the first time sees unveiled. It is a critical and anxious moment, for it is that in which the fidelity of his agents is to be proved, and the charms of his beloved to be compared with those pictured to him by his ardent imagination, while the young ladies in attendance, as well as the gossiping old ones, are eager to catch the first glimpse, and communicate to all the world their opinion of her claims to beauty.

Then the bridegroom takes a bit of sugar-candy, and biting it in two eats one half himself, and presents the other to his bride, a custom apparently traceable to the ancient *confarreatio*, or "eating together," a portion of the marriage ceremony in an early state of society, of which the modern bridecake is a remnant. On the present occasion he had no teeth to bite with, and so he broke the sugar with his fingers, which offended the young woman so much that she cast her portion away. He then took her stockings, threw one over his left shoulder, placed the other under his right foot, and ordered all the spectators to withdraw. They retired accordingly and the happy couple were left alone.

One passage in this description illustrates a feature in the Persian women that we have not yet mentioned, namely, that, though little better than slaves, they exert their rights in a manner sometimes far from agreeable. Of ungovernable temper, and with no moral training which would teach them to restrain their pas-

sions, they exert their will in a most pronounced manner, go in and out of the harem when it pleases them (that is, the harems of the middle classes), and when their desires are thwarted, will not unfrequently give forcible expression to their opinion with the sharp point of their slipper on their husband's body. Slaves, generally Circassians and Georgians, are sometimes so far admitted to their master's good graces as to become inmates of the harem; but slavery in Persia is of an exceedingly mild character. In all Persian families of consequence, the major domo, or person in



A MARRIAGE PROCESSION.

trust — the house steward in fact — will generally be found to be a *khanezadeh*, or slave born in the house — the offspring of domestic slaves, bought when young, and reared and married under their owner's auspices.

The third mode of union noticeable in Persia is accounted disreputable in most Moslem countries, namely, that of a woman living with a man as his wife for a specified period. This institution, peculiar to Persia, is not looked upon even there as commendable in the highest degree. Only men of rank make these limited marriages and, practically, such marriages are for life, the contract being for ninety years, and the children of such marriages enjoying all the privileges of those of the regular wives.

Divorce, however, can be at any time had by the man, yet most husbands hesitate to adopt this mode of disposing of a bad matrimonial bargain. The scandal, and, above all, the necessity of returning her dowry, are motives which effectually restrain him.

If the wife, through ill-usage or other cause, sues for divorce and obtains it, she forfeits all right to receive back any part of her dowry, and cases, as might be expected, are not unknown in which the baser sort have taken advantage of this law to force, by continued ill-usage, the wife to demand a divorce. Bad temper, extravagance, and such like, are the usual pleas brought forward as grounds for a divorce. Adultery is never one of these, for if this were proved to have been committed, capital punishment, without recourse to legal proceedings, would be the fate of the unhappy delinquent.

Harassed by repeated invasions, plunderings, and long ages of misrule, Persia has fallen from the position she once occupied as the granary of the world. Her irrigation works, and other means by which the arid ground was made to blossom with heavy crops, have been long allowed to fall into decay.

Famine is often a visitor in the land. Few manufactures flourish, and a country which has great capabilities is allowed to lie half waste, a few miserable cultivators, or petty artisans, being the only source from which the taxes to supply the luxury and extravagance of the court can be extracted. In modern Persia there is no more a Darius or a Xerxes than there are the hosts whom they led to victory or to spoil. No longer do the Medean cohorts advance, "all gleaming in purple and gold."

There are scarcely any roads in the country fitted for wheeled carriages, and nearly all the goods are borne on the backs of horses, mules, or camels; accordingly, the drawbacks of bad government put one side, it is hardly possible for a dense population to subsist. From all accounts, the population of Persia, though the wandering tribes, or Eeliauts, it is impossible to give with anything like accuracy, is less than 8,000,000. In Chardin's day, the population of Ispahan, the then capital, was estimated to be upwards of 700,000. In 1800, Sir John Malcolm considered that it could not contain more than 100,000 souls; and owing to the devastation it has suffered from famine since that

date, it is probable that a census would now show a much smaller number of inhabitants, perhaps 60,000. Teheran has 200,000, Meshed 60,000, and Tauris is credited with 165,000 inhabitants.

Mention has been made of bad roads. Navigable rivers there are none; and, although telegraphs have been erected, railways are a thing of the future. They may be built after the coal fields are developed. Every imported, or even home-produced, article which has to be carried any distance, is thus necessarily dear. Silk, cotton, tobacco, rice, a little grain, dried fruits, sulphur, horses, wax, and gall nuts, are the chief exports. Of manufactured articles, she exports a little gold and silver brocade, and some silk and cotton stuffs, chiefly to Russia.

The whole revenue of the empire is considerably less than \$10,000,000, and is expended by the court, the cost of which is great, though, in justice, it ought to be mentioned, that during the reign of the present Shah the income has increased \$3,500,000 per annum. Notwithstanding the Mohammedan law, Persian kings often marry more than four wives. The late Shah had thirty.

The military force varies, the standing army being usually about 50,000 men, in addition to about 30,000 irregular cavalry, who are called out in case of necessity; but, on an emergency, the Persian monarch could put into the field 150,000 men, exclusive of camp followers.

How well this army was equipped in former times may be inferred from the story told regarding the Shah who besieged the mud-walled town of a Kurdish chief. A big gun was brought up against it, but it was found that only three balls could be procured which would fit it. After two were fired, the town was summoned to surrender; but the only result was a request to his Persian majesty to "fire his *third* ball, and be done, and leave them alone in peace!"

In modern times European arms have been obtained, and the whole military force is being drilled after the modern method, by English and other officers in the service of the present Shah. The system may be more satisfactory to the Persian government than to the officers concerned, as they find that, beyond specious promises, they have considerable difficulty in rescuing any of their pay out of the hands of the officials through which it has to pass.

The average pay of a private is about \$20 per annum, in addition to a ration of three pounds of bread. A captain receives about sixty tomans, and a lieutenant-colonel commanding a regiment 500 tomans; while the colonel commanding two regiments, the highest rank in the army, only enjoys pay to the extent of about 1,000 tomans. A toman is at present worth about \$2.15.

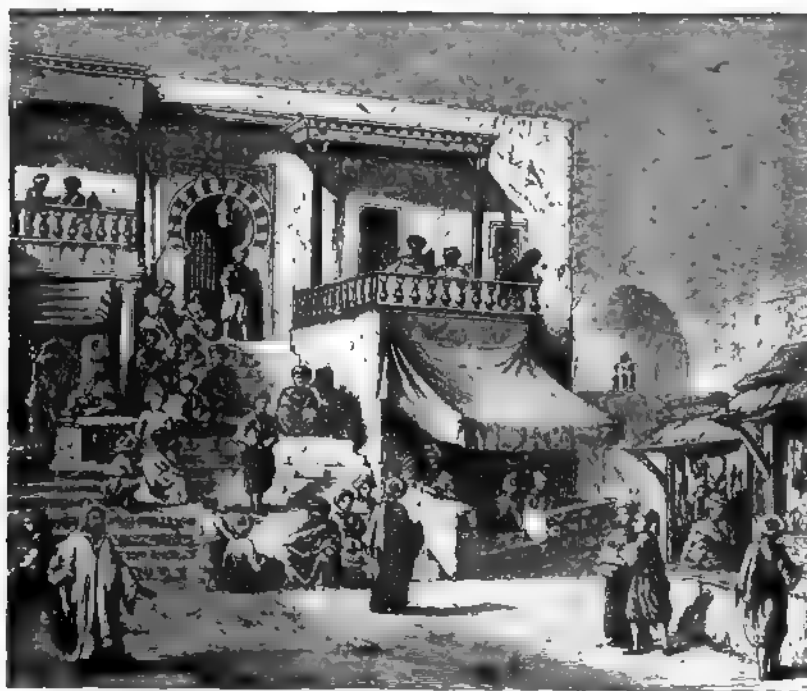
The monarch is known as the *Shah*, and has been from the earliest times an absolute sovereign, having despotic authority over the lives and property of all his subjects, from the highest to the lowest. Though usually his eldest legitimate son succeeds him, yet he has the power to put any of his male offspring — the son of a slave it may be — on the throne; and at one time it was common for the reigning sovereign either to destroy or to put out the eyes of all his other sons, so that the heir might reign in peace.

If the new sovereign proves weak, some of his enemies soon discover this, and the most probable result is that, after a rebellion and a series of murders, a new dynasty, in the person of a successful soldier, is established. It thus follows that, though the Shah of Persia is absolute, yet he has to keep his power by the force of circumstances, and, if a wise man, will hesitate to exercise it in a manner which would excite the hatred of his subjects.

The Koran and the numerous traditional sayings of the immediate successors of Mohammed form the basis of the whole civil and criminal law, as administered by the priests in Persia, as in other Mohammedan countries. But in Persia there is also the *urf*, or "common law," administered by secular magistrates.

The Sheik-al-Islam is the head of the first-named court, though greatly controlled by the mooshteheds, or high priests, while the *urf* is administered by the king in person, by his lieutenants, governors of provinces, chief magistrates of towns, collectors of the revenue of districts, and by the officials who act under them. The power of life and death rests with the king, who rarely delegates it, except to princes of the blood royal, or to governors of remote provinces. The governing principle in Mohammedan law is what has been called the *lex talionis*, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Murder, though a capital offence, can yet be compounded with the heirs of a murdered

man. The punishment of death is often aggravated by the barbarous methods in which it is inflicted. Decapitation, strangling, or stabbing is the common mode of execution; but impalement, or tearing asunder by horses or by the bent boughs of trees, is not unfrequently practised when, in the opinion of the judge, the offence warrants this addition to the punishment. Tortures are sometimes introduced with a view to the discovery of hidden



A PERSIAN CARAVANSARY OR HOTEL.

treasure, but rarely in any other case. The loss of the eyes is the common penalty for political offences. Mutilation is the punishment meted out to a thief, though he may be forgiven or his sentence lightened at the option of the injured party. The king's relatives fill nearly all the chief posts, such as the governorships of provinces; while the other offices of state are given, as already related, to persons of lowly rank, whose influence might thereafter be expected through gratitude to be exercised in the king's

behalf. Every province has a sum fixed for which it is taxed. Accordingly, the governor and his agents use every means to squeeze this sum, and whatever more they can, out of the people.

The overplus remains in the official's hands as his salary or perquisite. At all events, no one troubles him so long as the royal treasury in Teheran receives the *quotum* at which the province has been rated. Extortion, therefore, as might be expected, flourishes in Persia, especially if the district be far removed from the capital and in a soil congenial to it.

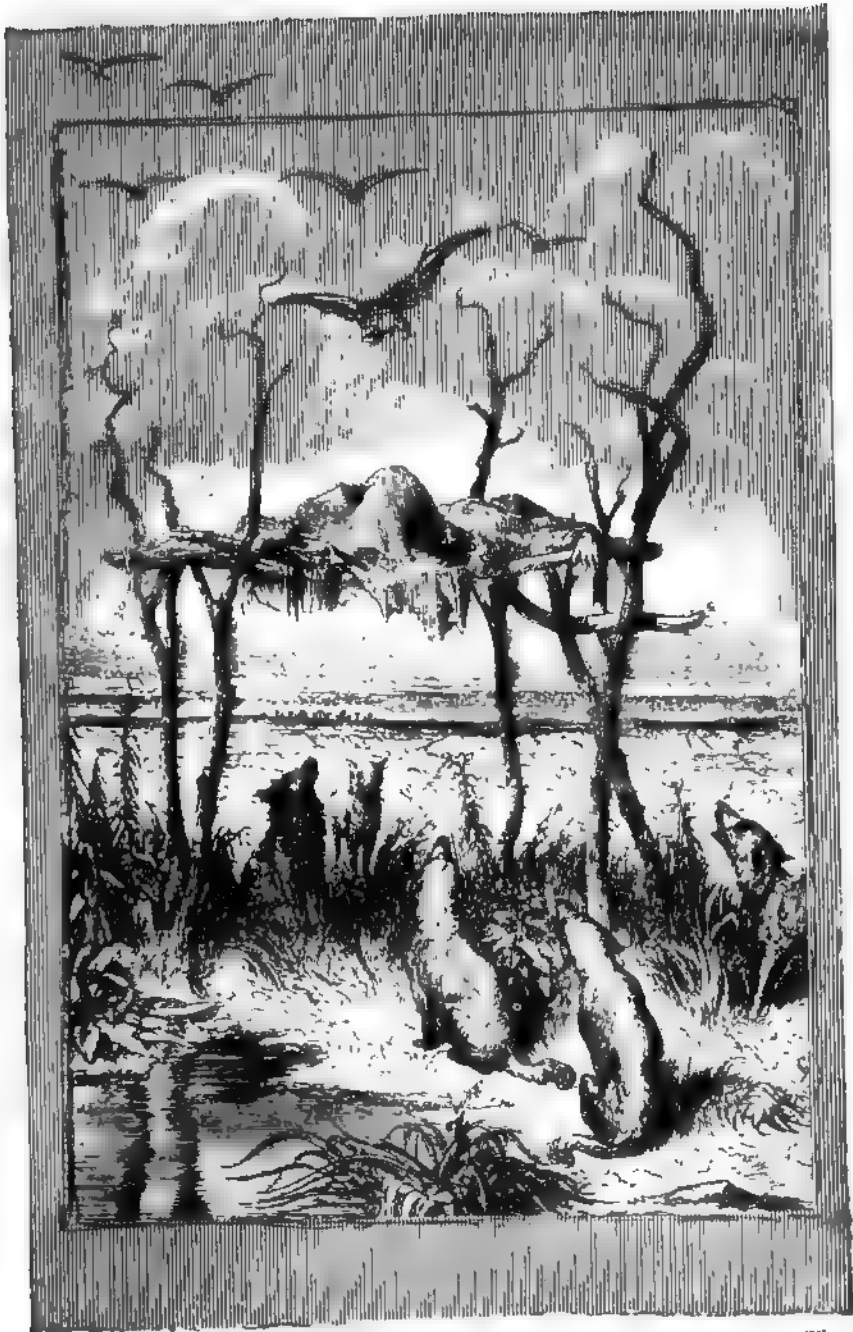
The ancient religion of the Persians (the religion of the Magi) long ago gave place to Mohammedanism and now lingers only among the Guebres, a persecuted sect in Persia, and among the Parsees of India — an ancient colony of Persians who have almost monopolized the financial business of Bombay and other cities.

It was an extremely elaborate system, the central principle being the worship of fire and of light. In its main features it was reformed and restored by Zoroaster who seems to have lived about five or six hundred years before Christ and whose "Zendavesta" is one of the most ancient books in the Persian language.

The Parsees and the Guebres never willingly throw filth into fire or water. The trade of a smith is proscribed among them by custom though not by law. They use no firearms as a rule, nor extinguish a fire, though in cases of very destructive fires they have been known to assist in putting them out. A Parsee or a Guebre is rarely found as a sailor, his fear of defiling the sea deterring him from following this occupation. When a person is dying, they keep a dog near to drive away the evil spirits.

They neither bury nor burn their dead, but inter the body in a circular tower called *dockmetis*, or *dokhma*. In these towers are inclined planes on which the corpses are deposited, and the birds of the air are invited to devour them. They even augur as to the happiness or misery of the deceased, according as the left or right eye is first pecked out by the vultures. Our illustration represents the burial of a Parsee traveller on the plains of Hindostan.

The Parsees, like the Jews, are a persecuted race, and both have daily the mortification of seeing their sacred lands in the possession of the Mohammedans. The former are, nevertheless,



A PARSEE BURIAL IN NORTHERN INDIA.



much fewer than the latter, for, except the colony which has found an asylum in India, and the few thousands who still cling to Persia, it is rare to find one in any other country.

Our picture shows a persecuted Guebre making himself known to others by a secret sign. He has been wandering from village to village to elude the attentions of Mohammedan priests who have suspected his pockets of being as full of gold as his head was of heresy. At last, on the edge of Kurdistan, he has found a town where he can safely rest. In India, the Parsees would be lost in the vast sea of people inhabiting that empire, were it not for their distinctive dress and other peculiarities which mark them out prominently from the Mussulmans or Hindoos.

Their high, brimless hats, set a little back so as to form an angle with the head, at once proclaim the nationality of the wearer, be it seen in any Indian city, or in the streets of London or Liverpool; for, though not a widely scattered people, no fear of caste pollution stands in their way should they desire to seek fortune in countries beyond the sea, albeit, *theoretically* at least, they ought not to pass any length of time on the surface of water.

But the Parsee, though a monotheist, is the worshipper of a second god, and that is the rupee. He despises, he loathes, the hideous idolatry of the Hindoos; but he bows down before the silver image which Victoria, Kaiser-i-Hind, has set up in her Indian dominions.

With the Mohammedan religion all the learning of which Persia can boast came into the country; but that is little. Logic, metaphysics, judicial astrology, astronomy, mathematics and medicine, are about the only branches of knowledge cultivated with any degree of success. Much of their astronomy, as well as their logic and metaphysics, is puerile in the extreme. Geography is little understood, though mathematics is taught on much better principles, owing to their possessing the works of Euclid.

Alchemy is a favorite study, but chemistry is unknown. Their knowledge of medicine is on a par with the state of the science as left by Galen and Hippocrates, whose disciples they profess to be. A few colleges have been established, but are not very prosperous, and the experiment of sending promising young men to be educated in Europe does not meet with much approval.

Fine art is at a low ebb, it being repugnant to the Mohammedan faith to make representations of any created thing. The stone and seal cutters of Shiraz and Ispahan are, however, famous for



A GUEBRE MAKING HIMSELF KNOWN BY A SECRET SIGN.

their skill, as Cashan is for lacquered tiles. Herat, Meshed, and Shiraz are equally celebrated for sword-blades and steel work generally. Their coins were at one time struck by the hammer, but in 1872 a mint was established at Sultanet-Abed, near Teheran.

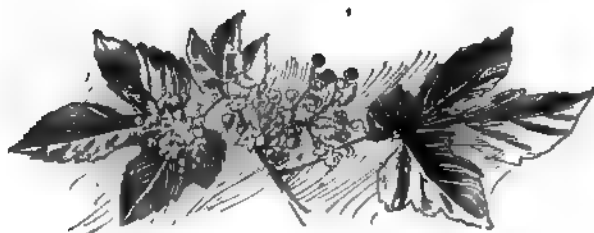
The literature of Persia consists chiefly of writings on theology and polemics, and some works of history, romance, and poetry. Some of their manuscripts are beautifully illuminated. Persia, indeed, was once noted for her bards, and the flowery, historical songs of Meerkhond and Khoudemir are sung to this day.

We have been picturing Persia as it is; but, as elsewhere in the East, European habits are creeping in. French millinery can be seen in Teheran, and Krupp guns in Shiraz.

Telegraph lines worked by Europeans span the kingdom, greatly to the amusement of the Shah, though with less diversion to the distant officials, especially about the time that the taxes are due.

How "a dog, with its tail in Teheran and its muzzle in London, can bark in the one place, when it is pinched in the other," is not easy to explain to the average Persian mind, though regarding the fact of the case there is painfully little doubt.

In a few more decades probably the absolutism of Persia will be a darkness of the past and over the markets of Meshed and the gardens of Ispahan Progress will throw the radiance of electric light.



## VI.



# The Rule of Caste.

**I**NDIA, which is regarded by biologists as the birth-place of the human race, has been for centuries a marvel and a mystery to western minds, and its government, before the East India Company took possession of many of the provinces, was a curious mixture of absolutism such as we have depicted in Persia, and of a kind of religious despotism.

The absolutism has ceased, even in those provinces which, though not exactly under British rule, are yet, by their adjacency, under British eye; but the religious despotism still flourishes throughout the vast domain which hails Victoria as Empress.

This religious government within a government is the rule of caste, and is what we shall examine in this chapter; because, although India is nominally and commercially under English domination the tyranny of caste is still paramount there and is liable, as in the Indian mutiny, if sufficient provocation be given, to cause a tremendous popular outbreak.

For, though Disraeli cleverly sought to enlist the loyalty of the Oriental fancy by making Victoria Empress of India, that is, ranking her higher in relation to her Indian than to her English subjects, yet her natural distance from India cannot be overcome in the popular mind by a mere juggle of words, and it must be admitted that, despite their governing India the English are a mere fringe

on its vastness — a dewdrop on a lion's mane, liable to be shaken off if his dormant majesty should awake.

So with Christianity, which has made but little headway against the dominant superstition of the Hindoos, whose religion is one of the few Pagan faiths that have had sacred books. In these books are embalmed sound maxims of morality, and sentiments of such nobility that in this fact alone the Indian faith soars above those of ancient Greece, Rome, or Assyria, where ideas of religion were bounded by the erection of temples and statues to deities who spoke to their worshippers in no higher form than what appealed to the eye.

The Vedas, or Hindoo Scriptures, describe a state of society widely at variance with Hindoo life and the religious tenets of the present; so that if these sacred books are to be viewed as the foundations of the prevailing religions of India, much of Hindooism must have been invented by the Brahmins of a later date.

The "Code of Menu" is another of the sacred books of Hindooism. It is of a much more recent date than the Vedas, though at the time it was written the Hindoo race had not extended beyond the Vindhya Mountains. It is one of the deepest and most subtle of all holy books, and though now "obsolete in many respects," is really the foundation of modern Hindooism — legal, social and political.

The religion of the Hindoos, like nearly every other form of worship, savage and civilized, has altered much since their Bible was written. It was purer in former times, but it appears to have adopted from time to time the deities of the black-skinned aborigines whom they had conquered, and to have imbibed many of their superstitions.

The foundation of Brahminism consists in a triad, or "trimurti," in which Brahmá is the creator, Vishnóo the preserver, and Siva the destroyer. Beneath these there seems to lie the idea of "an Unspeakable Unity, Brahm or Brihm." These three members of the Hindoo Trinity were not, however, coeval. Vishnóo worship is of a much younger date than that of Siva, whose popularity was near its height at the birth of Christ.

Hindoo worship is now almost entirely concentrated on Vishnóo

and Siva, and the female divinities associated with them, and Brahmá is now little regarded, having but one existing temple in India. Unlike the gods of Greece and Rome, who took upon themselves the form of mankind, only to gratify some passion, as a rule, or at best to favor some friend, the great Hindoo deities only do so for some good and beneficent purpose. They are generally sculptured and worshipped in human form, more or less



BENARES FROM THE GANGES.

altered according to the idealistic tendencies of the priest or the artists.

Thus Vishnoo undertakes ten "avatars," or incarnations, in order to save the world. These incarnations form the subject of one of the loftiest portions of Hindoo theology, and under one of these forms—that of the beautiful Krishna, or Rama the Hero—he is most frequently adored by his devotees.

When the "Rig-Veda" was written, Siva—who is now a most frightful and revolting deity—was looked upon as something

very different, namely, as the “god of prayer and religious asceticism, perfect, infinite; the refuge of worlds, the succorer of misfortune, the spring of wealth, monarch of the world, lord of Brahmá himself, yet giving in his own person the example of penance and pain.” Compared with the Greek mythology, that of India is infinitely deeper, more mysterious, and vastly more sublime.<sup>1</sup>

Much, however, of the most beautiful portions of Hindoo theology dates from a period subsequent to the Christian era. Accordingly, some writers of good repute — Wilson in England, and Lassen in Germany, for example — are of the belief that traces of Christian influence may be detected in it. Most of the grosser forms of materialism exist among the modern Hindoos, mingled with the brighter and more excusable worship of the elements.

For instance, *water-worship*, a form of religion widely spread among nations both savage and civilized, is a part of their faith. To this day, the Brahmin prays to the Ganges as the Roman offered up his petition to Father Tiber, and the devout children of a believer consider his soul safe, if he dies by its banks, choked, it may be, by the Ganges mud. The dead are thrown into the stream, and mothers even offer up their children to the Holy River.

No place is with the Hindoo so appropriate for prayer as the banks of “the river,” which to him is what the Nile is to the Egyptian. Here they bathe and offer up their vows, their prayers, and their offerings of fruit, flowers, rice and sweetmeats. Even in places where the river is of considerable breadth, garlands of flowers are suspended across it.

Though all of the sacred river is holy to the devout Hindoo, yet so peculiarly sanctifying is one particular spot, near the confluence of the Ganges with the Jumna, that all who bathe therein

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<sup>1</sup> “I cannot help saying,” remarks Ludlow, “that when I compare Greek mythology with Hindoo I am reminded of the saying of the old Egyptian priest, that the Greeks were mere children; so immeasurably deeper does the Hindoo mind appear to go in sounding the mysteries of the universe, of our own selves. The pervading yearning which manifests itself for an abiding union with God, the firm hold which it has of what I take to be the truth of truths for mankind — that God must take flesh for the salvation of the world — appear to me principles which make the noblest of Greek myths seem but as babbling nursery rhymes beside the Hindoo.”

must of necessity—their souls being purified from every sinful taint—go straight to the gates of Paradise. To ensure this blissful end of life, every year numbers of devotees commit suicide by drowning themselves in the river, and so systematically is this superstition fostered that the Brahmins keep boats for the purpose of assisting their clients to perform this last holy office.

The intending suicide rows into the stream, into which, after fastening to his legs jars full of stones, he throws himself, or he simply walks into the stream with jars fastened in front and behind his body, and reaching the middle of the stream, he leisurely fills the jars with water. The jars have hitherto buoyed him up, but as they fill the bearer sinks into the sacred stream. Corpses are sunk in the same manner, the devout relatives towing the body into mid-stream, after its purification by a quantity of straw ignited round it.

What becomes of the body after being sunk concerns no one; the alligator may devour it, or the hungry jackal tear it to pieces as it strands on the muddy shore; but the sacred Ganges has received it, and the soul has been wafted to Paradise. This method of sinking bodies is, however, only practised by those too poor to bear the expense of a funeral pile; the richer classes invariably burn the body and throw the ashes into the river. At Benares, where self-immolation by drowning was once common, the police now have orders to prevent it as far as possible.

All the Brahmins, but especially the priests, are propitiated with divine honors; and, indeed, at certain seasons of the year, the Brahmin is himself worshipped by his wife. Their daughters under eight years of age are worshipped as forms of the goddess Bhavani, and gifts of flowers, fruit, water, garlands, and incense are offered to them.

The wives of Brahmins are worshipped by other men, and it is not uncommon for a hundred of these ladies to be invited to the house of a rich man, who, after having repeated prayers and praise before them, concludes the ceremony by offering them rich gifts. These people of Brahminic caste are venerated as descendants of, and endowed with some of the divine substance of, their progenitor Brahmá, who was at one time worshipped as the Creator.

On the decay of the worship of Brahmá, Siva and Vishnoo came



into vogue as deities; the worship of Siva being supposed to be the more ancient in date. Siva is represented in various ways. Sometimes his images represent him as a silver-colored man with five faces, in each face three eyes, of which the third is in the forehead; he is seated on a lotus, and clad in a garment of tiger skin.

In other images he is represented as having only one head, but still a third eye, with the figure of a half moon on the forehead, and is riding upon a bull, naked and covered with ashes, his eyes inflamed with intoxicating drugs; in one of his hands carrying a horn, in the other a drum.

Vishnoolism may be considered as a sort of reformed Sivaism, more refined and spiritual than that of the destroying and renovating god; its progress has, however, been slow, and its popularity by no means so great as that of Sivaism. Its followers are divided into several sects, each of which is distinguished by its secrets, sacrifices, and particular signs.

To Vishnoolism are offered no bloody sacrifices; fruits, flowers, water, clarified butter, sweetmeats, cloths, ornaments, and such like, are accounted appropriate gifts to a god who is the "preserver of all things." He is a household god. Little images are made for sale, and worshipped whenever a person enters into a new house, or to procure the removal of family misfortunes.

The heaven of Vishnoolism is a region so glorious, that the vivid Eastern imagination revels in devising terms glowing enough in which to describe it. All destruction of life is to him abhorrent. In addition to the Hindoo Trinity there are many inferior gods, such as Kâmadeva, the god of loves, and Krishna Kâmadeva, the son of Brahmá, who is represented as a beautiful youth, holding in his hand a bow and arrow made of flowers. His constant companions are his wife, Rati, the goddess of pleasure, the cuckoo, the humming bird, and the gentle breezes.

He is continually wandering through the "three worlds," conversing with his mother and wife, in gardens and temples, or riding by moonlight on a parrot or lory, attended by nymphs or dancing girls, the foremost of whom bears his standard — a fish painted on a red ground.

Animals are also venerated by the Hindoos. As the ancient

Egyptians worshipped Athor, the Celestial Venus, under the form of a cow, so the modern Hindoos pay court to Bhavani under the representation of the same animal. The religious beliefs, as well as the superstitions of the lower classes, vary much in different localities, and have often little in common with the Hindooism of the Brahmins.

Brahminism has two aspects, separated by a vast chasm. One is philosophical, the other popular; one is for the few, the other for the many. In its original or highest form it is extremely



THE BANYAN, OR SACRED TREE.

simple, being a kind of spiritual pantheism, in which nothing really exists except Brahmá; in other words, nothing exists but God, and everything existing is God.

But between this faith as found in the Vedas and the corrupt polytheism of the Puranas there is an immense gulf, which, however, is bridged over by the word "emanation." In the philosophical creed, everything is identified with Brahmá; in the popular, everything emanates from Brahmá. Stones, plants, animals, men, gods, demons, every conceivable object, issue from this

one self-existent universal soul, as drops from the ocean, sparks from the fire.

Yet, into these stones, plants, and animals, the spirit of man may pass, or they may rise to be gods, and the personal gods are direct emanations<sup>1</sup> from the Supreme Being. This leads to the doctrine of incarnation.

Vishnoo, for example, as preserver and pervader, passes into men to deliver the world from the power of evil demons, while Rama and Krishna are among the more popular incarnations. In other words, men, animals, plants, stones, pass through innumerable existences, and they can rise to be gods. But gods, men, animals, plants, and every conceivable emanation from the supreme soul, aim at and must end in reabsorption into their source, Brahmá.

Caste is everywhere an essential part of religion. No longer, as it once was, a bond of union among large bodies of men, it now splits up the social fabric into numerous communities, and thus prevents all natural or patriotic combinations. In the present day the family bond in India is even stronger than that of caste, and as both are connected with religion, they weld those concerned so firmly together that Hindoos, as a rule, have few sympathies and little disposition to co-operate with others, beyond the circle of their own families, and none at all beyond the limits of their own immediate castes.

What, then, in detail is this caste, which compels six laborers camped under one tree, and otherwise undistinguished from each other in dress or person, to build six choolas or cooking places,

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<sup>1</sup> When the following lines from "Pope's Essay on Man" were recited to a Brahmin priest, he enthusiastically exclaimed that the poet must have been a Brahmin priest in one of his incarnations.

" All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;  
That, changed through all, and yet in all the same,  
Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame,  
Warms in the sun, refreshes on the breeze,  
Glow in the stars, and blossoms on the trees;  
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,  
Spreads undivided, operates unspent;  
Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,  
As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;  
As full, as perfect, in vile man who mourns,  
As the rapt seraph who adores and burns.  
To Him no high, no low, no great, no small;  
He fills, He bounds, connects, and equals all."

and eat as far apart as if they were men of different races, habits and antipathies, instead of being near neighbors, perhaps fellow-villagers, speaking the same tongue and worshipping the same gods?

*Caste* is the division of the people into certain classes, between whom hard and fast lines are drawn, and who, theoretically at least, follow from one generation to another the same pursuits, do not intermarry with each other, and, so far as commingling with each other is concerned, might almost be said to be distinct races. Though much has been written on the subject of caste, great misunderstanding still exists regarding its nature.

In the "Institutes of Menu," a work which lays down the earliest arrangements of Hindoo society, the rules of caste are very distinctly defined. In this code we find four castes defined as composing the nation, though the existence of mixed castes is also mentioned. These four main divisions are: 1, The Brahmin, or priest; 2, The Kshatriya, Chuttree, or soldier; 3, The Vaisya, or husbandman; and 4, The Soodra, or servant, in which were doubtless comprised most of the converted aborigines.

In modern times the Vaisya caste has disappeared, the Kshatriya mainly subsists among the warlike Rajpoots of the northwestern frontier, and the Soodra chiefly, if not entirely, among the Jâts and Mahrattas, unless, indeed, we take the haughty Brahminical view of the question, and include as Soodras all who are not Brahmins. The Brahmin is the pinnacle of this social edifice, and beneath him are endless castes, varying according to locality, but seldom less than seventy, and sometimes reaching as high as 170 in number.

For three thousand years, by means of this powerful instrument of caste, the Brahmins have preserved their ascendancy over their fellows in India, and it must be acknowledged that the men, who could so long hold their sway over turbulent races, speaking many languages, and obeying few laws, must have been wise, prudent, and firm in their policy.

The world can show no other example of such a lease of power. Had the Brahmin attempted to maintain his influence by mere brute force, he would long ago have been swept from the earth. But he rules without affecting sovereignty; he enjoys many of

the prerogatives of priesthood without separating himself from human society. His original superiority was at first above all moral and intellectual; his privileges, even now hemmed round with numberless disadvantages, were originally bound up with the severest austerities.

The life of a Brahmin, as set forth in the holy books, is divided into four periods. During the first, he must perform the most menial offices for a superior, to whom he attaches himself as a disciple. During the second only he mixes fully in social life, marries and begets children. During the third, he devotes himself to religious practices and acts of austerity. The fourth is a period of entire self-abstraction, till he leaves the body, as a bird leaves the branch of a tree.

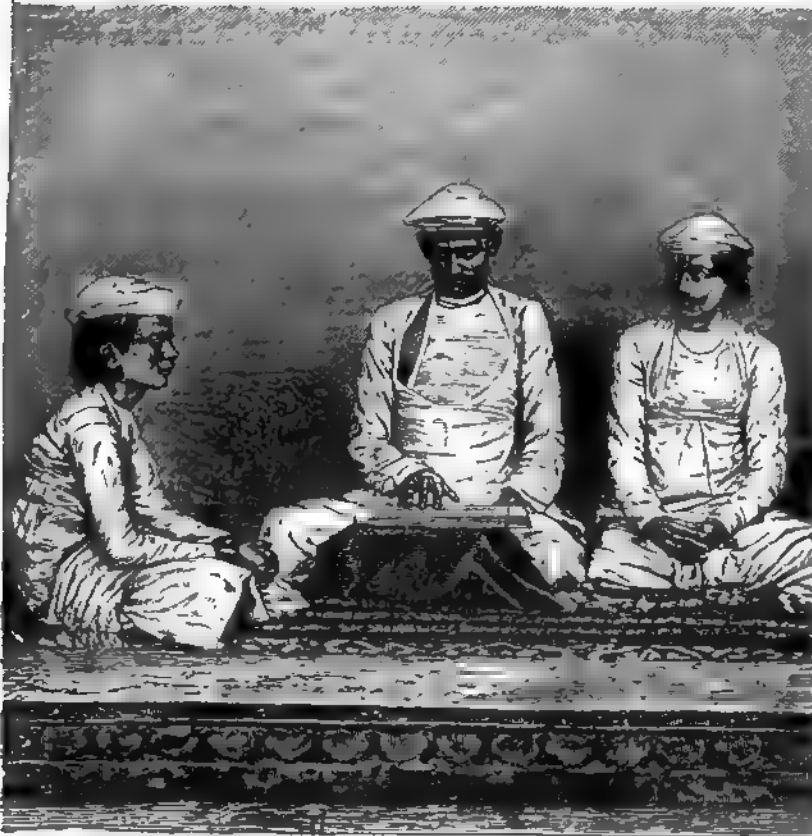
The Brahmin owes his supremacy mainly to the fact that till recently he only of the Indian castes was acquainted with Sanscrit, in which language are stored the treasures of Hindoo faith and philosophy. Every trade, every art in India, is carried on by rules laid down in these sacred books, the meaning of which is unknown to the practitioners thereof; but still they blindly obey them, for the Brahmins have so ordered.

Medical secrets are hereditary in certain Brahmin families, and to them the sick have to resort. Music will be traditional in one family, and geometry in another; so that the intellectual qualities, to which of all others the hereditary principle is so unfavorable, are influenced by caste.

If a man of any caste becomes defiled so that he is no longer capable of mingling among his fellow-men, he cannot go to those of his own class for purification, but must apply to the Brahmins; who alone possess the power of reinstating him in society; though even "the outcasts" have their own priesthood, composed mainly of devotees, whom a long life of holiness and meditation upon the Godhead have raised to such a rank above ordinary mortals, that they seem to become almost capable of ridding themselves of "the dreary progress of transmigration from shape to shape during millions of years."

Here again theory does not always agree with practice, for of late years the grip of the Brahmins has been gradually slackening, and their character for piety and learning deteriorating. In

earlier days the Brahmin was treated with the reverence befitting his reputed descent; he was regarded as a divine being sprung from the mouth of Brahmá the Creator, according to the Hindoo Triad. But his traditional reputation as a sage and saint, his single-minded devotion to his religious duties, his mental abstrac-



HIGH-CASTE BRAHMINS.

tion, the purity of his character, his habitude and mode of living have undergone a radical change.

He is no longer an ascetic, devoted to religious contemplation, renouncing all the pleasures of the world, living to a patriarchal age in some sequestered retreat, and regarded by prince and peasant as the embodiment of authority, alike in law and religion.

On the contrary, the majority are extremely worldly, and not a few shockingly immoral individuals, who practise few austerities, and in spite of their notorious poverty engage in secular occupations for the purpose of gratifying their greed of gain. Even their old monopoly of Sanscrit learning has been ruthlessly invaded by low caste men and Western scholars, many of whom are infinitely more learned than the majority of the sacerdotal order.

The endless ramifications of the four original castes deprived them of much of their power, and the consequence is that to compensate themselves for their loss from this source they have engaged in almost every calling, and their cupidity is so great that every principle of law and morality is shamefully compromised in their dealings with mankind.

Still, until caste vanishes, perhaps not even then, the "thrice born" and his *poita*, or sacred cord, will be an object of awe to millions of those whom the ancient law of India has ordained to be his social inferiors. This fact of a low caste entailing a social ban is, however, tempting many pariahs to become Mohammedans, since within the pale of Islam all men are equals.

Below the Brahmin there are many castes, no caste associating with that which is lower than it in the social scale. So strictly is this carried out that in cases where castes, widely distinct from one another, live in the same district, the very low caste people are excluded from the highways. This is the system; the principle is something different altogether.

It is, in the eye of the Hindoo, a God-appointed system of society in which every man shall have his settled place, with which he must rest and be content, no matter what may be his discomfort therein; and it cannot be denied that though the practice is productive of much evil, yet at the same time it has kept a people, who have no higher controlling principle, from sinking into a materialism so gross that the morals and the whole fabric of their national and social life would have been shaken thereby.

Perhaps it is better that the Hindoo should look upon the Brahmin as his head, than that he should have no one whom he can regard as the supreme director of his faith.

The high caste man is defiled by the low caste man, but the low caste man is not defiled by contact with anyone beneath him. Thus, the higher you ascend in the scale of caste, the more difficult does it become to keep from pollution.

Hence, the Brahmin, who is the highest of all, must cook his own food, draw his own water, and, like every high caste man, perform for himself every duty by the performance of which it is possible for him to be polluted. Theoretically, at least, the Brahmin is polluted if the shadow of a low caste man falls upon him, or if he glances into the high caste man's pot, let alone his being touched by such an unholy being.

A Brahmin will even turn aside and spit if a low caste man should pass him in the public street or highway. Low caste is not therefore, without its compensating advantage. The low caste man may go about careless as to who touches him, or whose shadow falls on his vile person; he cannot be defiled. He can, if wealthy enough, hire a high caste man—for high caste by no means implies wealth—to do any office for him, and enjoy the fruits of the work of his superior in the Hindoo social scale, while those above him are practically debarred from sharing in his labors.

Hence, the high caste man finds it profitable to become the servant of the low caste man who may be able to pay for his menial offices. Brahmins are, therefore, greatly run after as cooks, food being the medium through which pollution can be most easily imparted. A Brahmin cook is greatly in demand



A RICH FAKIR.



in native Indian regiments, some of the men of which are often of high castes.

In a word, the Brahmin "can cook for every man, whilst no one can cook for him"; and the food proceeding from his hands is always pure. The caste system is not, therefore, an unmitigated evil. To use the words of a thoughtful student of India, there is nothing in it so very oppressive, inhuman, and monstrous, and on the bulk of the Hindoo people it weighs but slightly.

India is emphatically the land of human horrors, where freaks of superstitious fantasy encounter the traveller in nearly every village. Preëminent among cranks of all nations is the Hindoo Fakir, and the amount of self-torture which these fanatics will embrace and yet live, is almost incredible.

Having the tongue bored with a red-hot iron was at one time a self-torture so popular, that under a clump of banyan trees, near the temple of the bull god at Chinsurah, the devotees used to range themselves in a long line, in order to get the operation performed by a blacksmith, who bore the reputation of not only doing it effectually, which was well, but also — what was equally important among the poverty-stricken Fakirs — *cheaply*.

To walk with parched peas in your shoes was, in the days of severe penance in Europe, held to be a most reputable punishment for sins divers and many. But the Hindoo Fakir quite outstrips the European one. A case is on record, doubtless only a specimen of many, of a Fakir who walked up and down in front of a mosque gaily chanting a hymn, with his sandals nailed to his feet by iron spikes, which projected above the instep.

Others will make the pilgrimage to a shrine, not on foot, but by rolling their bodies along the ground the whole way, by advancing on their backs, pushing themselves along by their heels, on their hands and feet, and by various other equally inconvenient methods of progression.

Others will sit motionless in one place until the joints of their limbs get so stiff that they cannot bend them, or with hands clenched until the nails grow through the flesh, or by holding the arm, by means of support, in such a position that in time it withers. There is really no end to the ingenuity of these devotees in inflicting long and lasting tortures on themselves without pre-

ecipitating death, which would be a pleasure in comparison, and hence not so meritorious in the eyes of the gods.

Another method of torture, which must be well known to most readers by means of the illustrations of it, is that in which hooks are inserted in the muscles of the devotees' backs, and then a



A LOW-CLASS FAKIR.

number of them are swung in an apparatus not unlike the "merry-go-round" seen at fairs, only in this case the sole support by which the victim is suspended in mid-air is the hook and cord inserted in his living flesh.

One of the most curious parts of this business is that, if a per-

son wishes to reap the benefits that the gods are supposed to shower on the meritorious people who practise this species of torture, he has no difficulty in procuring a substitute who will submit to it for a small sum, though self-torture is now prohibited by the British authorities.

As remarkable as the Fakirs, though in a far better way, are the municipal institutions of Hindostan, which date from a period long before the dawn of history. Their principle is the famous "village system," the leading idea in which is, that the people of a particular community do not consist of individual units, but are a body corporate, for the regulation of whose affairs certain functionaries are required, and which, as a body, enjoys certain rights over the soil. These rights, and the method of administering them, vary infinitely, but, nevertheless, over all Hindoo India the village system in a more or less defined form exists.

The land is not the land of any individual; it belongs in common to the village, and each is only entitled to his share of the produce — in kind or in money — of the soil, as a component member of the body corporate which holds the land in common. These lands are sometimes worked by the villagers, at other times by hired laborers, or are let out to temporary tenants.

In most cases the former rule — which seems to have been the general one in early times in India — prevails. The office-bearers of the village, including all the artificers, form an institution which has undergone no alteration from time immemorial, and they also enter into calculations connected with the statistics of an agricultural village.

The *patel*, or head of the village, has freehold land, or special rights; and the *kulkarni*, or accountant, also receives remuneration in various ways. These two officers supply the machinery in every village for collecting statistical details. The *Barra Balloota* consists of twelve hereditary office-bearers, including the *patel* and *kulkarni*, who receive certain fees or remuneration from the village in exchange for professional services.

Thus the *sutar*, or carpenter, the *lohar*, or smith, the *chamhar*, or shoemaker, are paid by each villager, and they mend all implements for agricultural purposes, the owners finding the materials. Some of the office-bearers have a right to a certain number of

rows in the crops, and all the fees form items in the calculations.

It is a system so admirable that one can scarcely conceive anything more suited to the peculiar conditions of Hindoo life and character. By means of it, India is a collection of little, independent, self-governing states, each under its *potail*, or head-man, which can survive, and have survived revolutions out of number, to which they are all-impassive; thus the people, though slaves so far as political freedom is concerned, are yet municipally in pos-



A VILLAGE SUTAR.

session of the most perfect independence. They want nothing from any higher state, so long as it wants nothing from them.

This village system must have been devised by men of long heads and great, honest hearts, since, after the trial of every conceivable system of administration — for which experiments there were no earthly reasons except vanity and that peculiar Anglo-Saxon contempt for everything not emanating from British brains — they are returning to the system devised so many thousand years ago by the village worthies of Hindostan.

Lord Metcalf says that if a district remains for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the village cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers, nevertheless, return whenever the power of peaceful possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return; the sons will take the place of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated.

The quarrels arising out of the village system are settled by a *Punchayet*, or jury of five or more, who decide both the fact and the law; and though the Hindoo, when before an English tribunal, is often too apt an example of the duplicity and fraud which alloy the characteristics of the race, yet he has little chance, if bound by oaths which he respects, or which custom has led him to believe sacred, of escaping from the meshes of the legal net with which the *Punchayet* surrounds all those who come before it.

While considering the matter of native administration of justice, the subject of Hindoo thieves is apt to obtrude itself. In very old civilizations, and in overcrowded communities, the trade of stealing advances with the other arts and sciences, until, as in India and China, thieving and burglary have grown to be, not the vulgar, clumsy handicrafts they are in America, or Europe, but really capable of being ranked among the fine arts.

The Hindoo thief is an expert. For example, a burglar will bore a hole through the wall, and as Indian village huts are often built of mud his labors are greatly lightened. The hole being big enough to allow of his body entering, he does not immediately take this step, having learnt by long experience that, no matter how cautious he may be, the quick-eared owner may have heard his movements, and be ready the moment his head protrudes through the hole his hands and crowbar have made, to descend upon it with a pickaxe or a drawn sword.

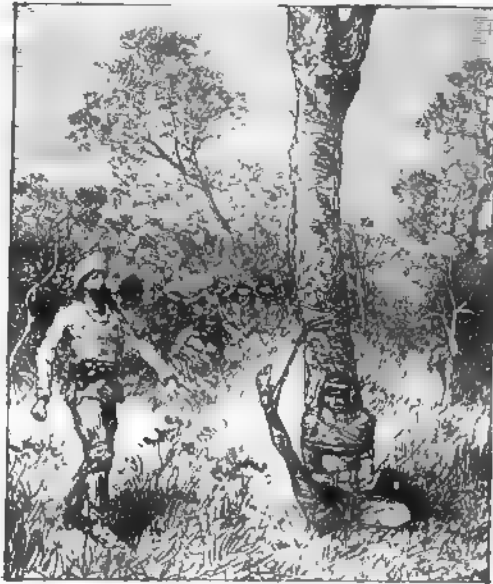
The burglar, therefore, adopts the precaution of inserting a stick with a bunch of grass the shape and size of a human head. If a blow descend on the *feeler*, the burglar instantly decamps, knowing that the house is on the watch and alarmed. If no such result follows, he enters himself, picks up all he can, and hands

the plunder through the hole to his partner outside, who prepares it for being carried off, and gives the alarm should the least sign of danger appear.

Then there is the thief who mines under a house until he comes to the women's apartment, knowing that so securely is this guarded by the rooms on either side that little care is exerted to protect the inmates' abundant jewelry scattered round. Having arrived at the scene of his depredations he gently raises the floor and admits himself noiselessly into this domestic holy of holies. Silently he absorbs about his person the metallic treasures of the Zenana, and will even abstract the bangles and bracelets from the limbs and the rings from the noses and ears of the sleeping beauties without awaking them.

There are thieves not less courageous, who will enter a camp at night, pass the sentries, and even step over sleeping dogs, until they reach the officers' tents, these gentlemen being quite unaware of the presence of midnight visitors until in the morning they find themselves clothed with nothingness. A superior hand will even take the blanket from around a sleeper without rousing him.

Then there are the many different kinds of pickpockets and "cut-purses," who will enter the crowded bazaar armed with a sharp little knife, with which they relieve the girdles of the buyers and sellers of the purses concealed in the folds of that universal Oriental article of dress; or the more dangerous thief, who will gain access to a house in the dark, his naked body well oiled.



PUNISHMENT OF A THIEF IN VILLAGE INDIA.

If seized, his supple body slips through the victim's hands, or if he is likely to be caught, the sharp knife which hangs by a string around the thief's neck inflicts an ugly wound on the wrists or other portions of the person of the captor.

The riches of India have for ages been proverbial. "The wealth of Ormus or of Ind," has been a magnet to many an adventurer, from Turkish Sultans to English lords, like Clive, and the quantity of their spoils has been almost incalculable.

When Mahmoud of Ghazni plundered Muttra, the fabled birth-place of Krishna, he obtained, during an orgy of rapine and massacre lasting twenty days, an incredible amount, the gift of millions of devotees.

Among the loot which he bore to his Alpine home were huge idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies and decorations of sapphires and diamonds, the spoil taking 350 elephants to transport it.

At a later date, when he sacked Somnauth, where for forty centuries had stood the Temple of Soma, "lord of the moon," piles of diamonds and sapphires, rubies and gold, streamed from the hollow interior of the idol, which the Brahmins had earnestly endeavored to ransom. The Mohammedans entertain a strong repugnance to image-worship, and Mahmoud had been famous for destroying such stumbling-blocks of offence to Mohammedan eyes.

The ransom of their chief idol offered by the priests was a tremendous temptation, but principle prevailed, and the religious warrior with one blow from his mighty battle-axe sent the idol reeling to the ground among the groaning priests. His piety was well rewarded. In a few hours the accumulations of ages changed hands. James Russell Lowell, one of our most American of poets, has put this striking story into vivid verse.

#### THE SULTAN MAHMOUD.

Mahmoud once, the idol-breaker, spreader of the faith,  
Was at Somnauth sorely tempted, so the legend saith.  
In the great pagoda's centre, monstrous and abhorred,  
Granite on a throne of granite, sat the temple's Lord.  
Mahmoud paused a moment, silenced by that silent face,  
Which, with eyes of stone unwavering, awed the ancient place.

Then the Brahmins knelt before him, by his doubt made bold,  
Offering for their idol's ransom countless gems and gold.  
Gold was yellow dirt to Mahmoud, but of precious use,  
Since from gold the roots of power suck a magic juice.  
"Were yon stone alone in question, this would please me well,"  
Mahmoud said, "but, with that block there, I my truth must sell.  
Wealth and rule slip down with Fortune, as her wheel turns round;  
He who keeps his faith, he only, cannot be discrowned.  
Little were a change of station, loss of life or crown;  
But the wreck were past retrieving, if the man fell down."  
Saying this, his mace he lifted, smote with might and main,  
And the idol, on the pavement tumbling, burst in twain.  
Luck obeys the downright striker. From the hollow core  
Fifty times the Brahmins' offer flooded all the floor.

In addition to such temples reared for the worship of the gods, there are in India many holy places, in some of which shrines are erected and in others not. To these places great numbers of pilgrims throng, and reside for a time, in the hope of imbibing from the surroundings something of the sanctity which is connected with them.

Others, whose lives have been spent in the pursuit of gain or in the neglect of religion, resort here towards the evening of their days, so as to die in a sacred locality. They even erect temples and tanks for water at these places, so that by such meritorious deeds they may secure repose for their souls. It is, however, to the Ganges, the Jumna, the Indus, the Cavery, the Krishna, and other more or less sacred rivers, that the Hindoo chiefly makes his pilgrimages.

Water is, according to his belief, the best means of moral as well as physical purification—a belief which according to Homer was held by the ancient Greeks. Of these holy Hindoo places, the city of Benares is the holiest. What Jerusalem was to the Crusader, and Mecca to the Mahometan, Benares is to the Hindoo.

According to Brahminic philosophy, Benares is too holy to be a part of this world, and instead is situated on the point of Siva's trident. Hence, no earthquakes are ever experienced there. From this city there is a way direct to heaven—a royal road to salvation. A very short breathing of its holy air is sufficient to secure this, provided the pilgrim visit the shrines and pay for the privilege of so doing.



All things are possible to the gods; and it even lies within the possibilities that the "beef-eating" Englishman who resorts thither to breathe his last may obtain "absorption into Brahmá." And it may be mentioned as one of the curiosities of religious fanaticism, that the Hindoos affirm that one Englishman actually availed himself of this privilege.

Extraordinary though this statement may seem, it is believed that Job Charnock, who in 1695 laid the foundation of the East India Company's power in Bengal, absolutely became a Hindoo, and yearly sacrificed a cock on his native wife's tomb, and that General Stewart also engaged a Brahmin to perform daily worship among the collection of idols which he had arranged on the portico of his house. Night and day, at all seasons of the year, every dusty road leading to Benares is thronged with pilgrims wending their way to this centre of Hindoo devotion.

But the Hindoo shrine which is most known in Europe is that of Juggernaut, Juggernaut, or Jagannâth. When we speak of a person crushing himself under the Juggernaut wheels of custom, we mean to express that the individual's fear of the opinion of others is greater than the strength of his own will, and we but borrow a simile from one of the most famous of Indian superstitions or religious rites.

The temple is situated in Pooree, or Juggernaut, in the province of Orissa, about two hundred and fifty miles southwest of Calcutta, and is chiefly remarkable for the idol contained in it, which is annually dragged in its car in procession.

Indeed, were it not for this annual procession, and the crowds which come to witness or take part in it, the whole affair would be of little importance, and command no attention from anyone not immediately interested. The town in which this celebrated procession is held is mean, dirty and badly built. The streets are crowded with sacred oxen, who are trained to attack with their horns any intruders on the sacredness of the route. Various kinds of monkeys may be seen perched on the houses, walls, and trees; and in the water-tanks are tame crocodiles, which are objects of worship.

The Pagoda of Juggernaut is at the end of the principal street, which is very wide and composed almost entirely of reli-



THE TEMPLE OF NOMA.

gious establishments with low-pillared verandas in front, and plantations of trees interposed. The temple stands within a square space inclosed by a lofty stone wall, and measuring 650 feet on a side.

The principal entrance is crowded with the baskets and umbrellas of the natives, and the huts of dried leaves and branches which serve as a shelter for a number of Fakirs, and it opens on a vestibule with a pyramidal roof. On each side is a monstrous figure, representing a kind of crowned lion.

In front is a column of dark-colored basalt, of very light and elegant proportions, surmounted by the figure of the monkey-god Hanuman, the Indian Mercury. The great pagoda rises from twenty feet high within the outer inclosure; from a base thirty feet square it rises 180 feet, tapering slightly from bottom to top, and rounded off on the upper part, being crowned with a kind of dome. The temple is dedicated to Krishna, who is the principal object of worship in the character Juggernaut, and as an incarnation of Vishnoo, but is held in joint tenancy with Siva and with Sabhadra, the supposed sister and wife of Siva. There are idols of each, consisting of rudely sculptured blocks of wood about six feet in height.

Krishna is dark blue, Siva white, and Sabhadra of a yellowish hue. In front of the altar on which these idols are placed is a figure of the hawk-god, Garouda. A repast is daily served to these idols; it consists of 410 lb. rice, 225 lb. flour, 350 lb. clarified butter, (ghee), 167 lb. treacle, 65 lb. vegetables, 186 lb. milk, 24 lb. spices, 34 lb. salt, and 41 lb. oil. During the meal the doors are closed against all but a few favored individuals sanctified by long fasts and a habit of asceticism and penitence. Loud strains of peculiar music drown all other sounds while the gods are consuming their daily rations.

About a mile and a half from the temple is a tank, to which the gods are brought by their attendants to pass a few days annually, devoted to bathing in the cool waters of the sacred pool. Each idol has its own car, but that of Juggernaut is the principal one.

It is about thirty feet square, mounted on sixteen wheels, each more than six feet in diameter, and the whole construction is upwards of forty feet high. It is plentifully adorned externally

with sculptures of the usual Indian type, and is conventionally supposed to be drawn by two wooden horses, which are only attached



THE CAR OF JUGGERNAUT.

to it on the day of procession when two stout cables are attached to the car. These are seized by thousands, or by as many as can obtain a place to hold by, and formerly when it went along the city,

there were many that offered themselves as a sacrifice to the idol, and desperately lay down on the ground that the chariot-wheels might crush them.

But as the British Government no longer makes profit out of the pilgrims by the tax put upon them, it is doing all it can to discourage the annual religious pandemonium. Instead of hundreds immolating themselves before the idol's car, only occasionally now, and even these are rare occasions, a poor decrepit wretch, weary of life, or drugged by the priests with Indian hemp or opium, will madly throw himself before the wheels in spite of the efforts of the police, who have orders to prevent such suicide.

The Hindoo is beginning to be wonderfully cautious of that swarthy skin of his, even in the service of the gods, and with a view to his salvation. On a late occasion, indeed, instead of thousands of devotees struggling to get at the ropes, not a single hand assisted to drag the car along; and to the horror and chagrin of the Brahmins, for the first time in history, the idols of Juggernaut came to a standstill in the streets of Pooree. But yet in civilized America we are dragging along many a crushing Juggernaut in the shape of colossal corporations which plunder the people and debauch the politicians. Let us hope, however, not for long.

Speaking of the Juggernaut car of custom or of conventionality which crushes the individuality of so many recalls another metaphor borrowed from India. Most readers know of the Pinkerton men who can be hired in some states by any rich man or corporation to fire on striking employees. During the last strike on the New York Central the indignation of the public was aroused by the murderousness of one of these gangs, and many newspapers referred to them as Pinkerton *thugs*.

This word and comparison come from India, where murder used to be not merely a fine art, but an article of faith among some fanatics, the surest way not merely of sending but of going to heaven. "Thuggee," as this religious crime is called, originated in this manner: The goddess Kali, as well as those of Devee, Doorga, or Bhavani, by all of which she is known, is looked upon as Siva's wife.

She is represented in her statues as many-handed, her hands full

of various kinds of weapons, and around her neck a string of human skulls; and in old times, according to Hindoo mythology she made war upon a race of giants, from every drop of whose blood sprang a demon, which blood again had the power of propagating other demons, until the land was overrun with *diablerie*.

At last the goddess created two men to whom she gave handkerchiefs to destroy the demons. When they had performed this task, she presented them with the handkerchiefs, and, in addition, the privilege of using them against human beings for their livelihood. Hence arose the caste of Thugs.

They are known to have existed during the seventeenth century, when they used female decoys for the unwary traveller, as they did within the present century, though these decoys are of a much older use than that period.

The fraternity is not composed of men of one caste, but of people of different castes and religions, and living in different districts; having secret signs and a peculiar dialect known to all those who are initiated into the fraternity.



RUSHING TO JUGGERNAUT.

Strange to say, however, the majority of them are nominally not Hindoos, but Mohammedans, and their tradition is that they originally sprang from seven tribes, all of that religion, living in the neighborhood of Delhi, from which they were dislodged in the seventeenth century.

The Hindoos, however, say that the caste was in existence long before Mohammed's time; but as they all agree in worshipping the Hindoo god Kali, observe the Hindoo feasts in her honor, make offerings at her temples, and, especially after any murder, present to her a piece of silver and some sugar, they may be said to be a Hindoo sect.

Those who are initiated into the body are taught the secret signs, but only those who apply the noose receive the sacred wafer of Thuggee, which is believed to change a man's whole nature. From boyhood to manhood they are taught to look upon the strangulation of unoffending victims as their calling in life, into which they are gradually initiated.

First, the neophyte is employed as a scout, or *sotha*, only, his duty being to give warning of the approach of a traveller. Sometimes the women and children, as less apt to be suspected, are employed in this work; then he is allowed to see the corpse after it has been strangled, and to assist at the interment; lastly, after a solemn initiation by means of the sacred sugar, he is elevated to the rank of a *bhuttote*, or strangler, and allowed to use the noose, or *roomal*, by which the victims are dispatched.

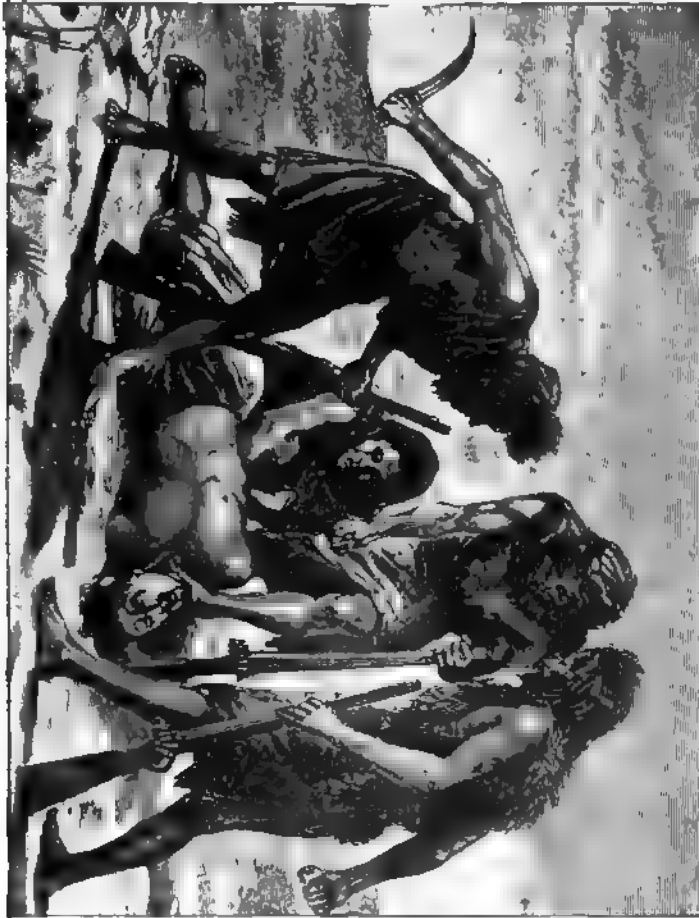
The whole gang is governed by a *jamaidar*, *sirdar*, or chief, and has attached to it a *guru*, or teacher. Nothing about their unholy calling is in the Thug's eyes unholy; on the contrary, everything is sacred. The *lughaees*, or gravediggers, constitute one of the highest grades in the order. The pickaxe with which the grave is dug is solemnly forged and consecrated. It is considered as a gift from Kali, and looked upon accordingly with great veneration.

Every seventh day this pickaxe is brought out and worshipped, and, no matter how pressing the necessity, the grave for the victim can be dug by no other instrument. All the Thugs follow some ostensible trade, but travel about from place to place, under various disguises, straggling into villages in twos and threes, and meeting as strangers. Secrecy is one of the essentials of their

work ; never will they knowingly strangle a victim in the presence of anyone not belonging to their order.

One of them sometimes passes as a man of rank, with numerous attendants, and his women in palanquins, which in reality contain

THE GERRY.



generally the implements of their calling. They fall in with other travellers as if by accident, or for mutual protection. Suddenly, at the favorable spot, one throws the waistband or turban round the victim's neck, another draws it tight, both pushing him forward with their other hands, a third seizes him by the legs and throws him on the ground.



To strangle a man single-handed is accounted a rare feat, and one so transcendent that it will ennoble the strangler's descendants for generations to come. If the locality is dangerous, a canvas screen is thrown up as if to conceal women, and the body buried behind it; or one of them will distract the attention of travellers by pretending to be in a fit. If a stranger approaches, nevertheless, they weep over the body as over a dear comrade. The traces of the murder are quickly obliterated.

Such is their expertness that one hundred Thugs have been known to slaughter on an average eight hundred persons in a month, and keep up this record for several years. They always go forward, never passing through towns or villages through which their victims have passed. If they kill a man of note, they take care to dispose of all his attendants. They have implicit faith in omens; but when the omens are once favorable, they look upon the victim as an appointed sacrifice to the deity, so that if he is not slain, Devee would be wroth with them. So they eat, drink, and sleep without remorse upon new-filled graves.

Before the body is buried, it is pierced with holes to prevent it swelling, and the grave is so neatly smoothed over that it is next to impossible for any one of the uninitiated to point out where one exists, even though newly made. This last rite over, the Thugs seat themselves round a white cloth, on which are laid the sacred pickaxe, fresh from digging the grave, a salver of silver, and some coarse sugar. The sugar is distributed to all present, and eaten in silence. The silver is supposed to be dedicated to Kali, as is also the sugar.

This done, the cloth is folded up, the plunder divided, after shares have been set aside for religious and charitable purposes, in accordance with the ranks of the members of the gang, and the Thugs go on their way again in the guise of simple traders, artisans, or travellers. The victims they do not consider killed by them. It was God who allowed them to be killed, and conscience never seems to trouble them.

Remorseless murderers, their hands steeped in human blood, they might, in their own villages, be good fathers, faithful friends, and be respected in their community as skilful artisans, agriculturalists, or traders, whose real calling was never suspected, though

the community, of course, profit by their wealth. Generally, however, they take the precaution of paying tribute to the Zemindar, or to the police officials, whose very near relatives were often members of the infamous gang.

Some Thugs, it is said, were even in the employ of the government itself. Even when discovered, superstition often protected



THUGS BURYING A VICTIM ALIVE.

them, for there was a tale that such and such a rajah was struck with leprosy for having had two Thugs trampled to death by elephants. Indeed, so openly even long after the British rule was established in India, was Thuggee practised, that merchants came from a distance to purchase the plunder of which the murderers had robbed their victims.

Though the murders are conducted with secrecy, yet it ought

to be mentioned that this is only part of the system, and not really from any fear of the consequences, for the Thug exults in his crime, and if caught never attempts to defend himself, but boasts, as he is being led to the scaffold, of the number and quality of the victims whom he has assisted in sacrificing to the goddess of destruction.

The Thugs believe that at one time Kali assisted them in their work by devouring the bodies of the victims, but that one of the fraternity having indiscreetly pried into her proceedings, she took offence, and left them in future to bury their victims. She, however, so far assisted them that she presented one of her teeth for a pickaxe, a rib for a knife, and the hem of her lower garment for a noose. Hence the sacredness of all these implements.

Though the existence of this horrible caste was well known to the natives, and even to the native officials, with such secrecy was their business conducted that the working of the system has only been thoroughly understood of late. Such were the pleasant possibilities of travelling in India, in addition to such as are shown in the suggestive picture of a siesta in the jungle, where an American explorer is vividly depicted saving the life of his servant by the dexterous use of a bit of cord. Between snakes, tigers, and Thugs, the secret places of India are very alluring to the adventurers but not nice winter resorts for quiet citizens.

Yet though India is the home of many a dark and horrible superstition, it is also the home of a religion gentle and beautiful, which of late years has been spreading in European countries, and has even quite a strong following in the United States. This religion is Buddhism, and a brief account of the founder of this interesting faith may be of value.

Buddha was a rajah's son, heir to a throne, but in the midst of the pleasures of the sensual court of Kapilavastu, the young prince Siddhârtha (his original name) found that there was no happiness, and that outside his palace gates there were misery and crime, and suffering and death, such as in the days of his frivolous life he had never dreamt of. Life inanimate alone presented to him pictures which were not those of desolation. The Brahmins afforded him no consolation; their creed gave the young prince no comfort, nor did it conform to what he believed were

the designs of the beneficent Creator of the universe. His resolve was made.

"I am determined," he said, "that in disappearing from here below I will not be any more subject to the vicissitudes of transmigration. I will find the way to put an end to birth and death, and when I have discovered it I will impart it to the world. I will teach the law of grace to everyone."

He was then twenty-nine years of age; but he separated from father and mother, wife and children, and set out to visit the schools of the masters of the laws at Manon, and gave up six

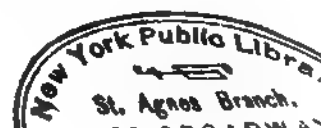


A SIESTA IN THE JUNGLE.

years to the study of the religious system, as well as to the ascetic exercises enjoined on the Brahmins. He was not long in arriving at the conclusion that this road was not the one calculated to lead to the goal he had in view.

Breaking loose from all the old faiths, he founded a new one, and believed himself to be imbued with the qualities of Buddha, and in the possession of perfect wisdom. Commencing his preaching at Benares, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, he returned to Kapilavastu, and converted to the new faith his father, his wife, and family. His name was soon known all over Central India.

Now commenced his contests with the Brahmins, which several



times imperilled his life. But for more than forty years he continued his bloodless crusade without other protection than what was afforded him by the love of his followers, the austerity of his morals, and the perfection of his wisdom. Feeling his end approaching, this great and good man took a tender leave of his companions in labor, and seating himself under a tree expired. In the year 543 B. C. his followers met and settled the dogmas of their master, for he, like the sweet-souled Son of the Carpenter, had himself committed nothing to writing.<sup>1</sup>

The religion of Buddha, or Fo, as it is sometimes called in China, may well be styled one of the best forms of religion ever invented by man. It inculcates benevolence, humility, piety, and in all things moderation. It has no sacrifices, and none of its rites are secret or cruel. Its sacred books are open to the perusal and study of everyone, and this fact alone is one of the guarantees of the good faith of its originator.

But in the more corrupt state into which it fell after the death of its founder, it had images of all kinds in the temples. There are images representing gods of the hills, woods, valleys, etc., as well as household deities, to whom offerings, but not sacrifices, are made. In the temples, which are very numerous, there are altars, bells, and beads, jewels and exquisite gem-work. In the shadow of the temple walls the native goldsmiths and jewellers ply their craft, making relics to sell to the pious. Incense and tapers burn day and night in these buildings, around the images, some of which are of colossal size; and the rites of the religion are celebrated by singing, processions of priests, and such-like ceremonies.

The transmigration of souls is, now at least, a leading doctrine among the Buddhists, and accordingly it follows, from their holding this belief, that they avoid animal food and the act of sacrifice, either of which might involve the killing of some human being who was performing one of the states of transmigration. In Tibet

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<sup>1</sup> "His doctrine," writes M. Aimé Humbert, "which he never intended to have any other end than that of working a moral reform in the Brahmin worship, and substituting a reign of duty for that of the gods, and the practice of good for that of vain ceremonies, became in its turn a dogmatic system, accompanied by a superstitious and idolatrous worship. Buddhism is now the principal religion in the Island of Ceylon, the Burman Empire, the Kingdoms of Siam and Annam, Tonquin, Tibet, Tartary, Mongolia, China, and Japan. It reigned for some time in the whole of India, Java, and other islands, and still exists in Cashmere and Nepaul, the number of its adherents exceeding four hundred millions of souls, an amount which no other religion on the globe has attained.

they have monasteries, containing numerous monks, who pass their time in religious exercises and study.

The head of the faith is the Dalai Lama, or Grand Lama, who resides at Lhasa, which is accordingly the capital of the northern Buddhist world. This personage has divine honors paid to him, and is also the nominal sovereign of the country, though the real governing power is vested in the Chinese governor and a Tibetan minister. Lamaism, or the "Great Vehicle," is, how-



A JEWELLER IN THE SHADOW OF THE TEMPLE.

ever, so amplified a form of the faith of Gautama as to be really a new religion, or sect.

Buddhism is now closely studied by European scholars. The Brahmins called the Buddhists *Sangatas*, or atheists. This can only be in its very corrupt state, for such a doctrine could surely never maintain its hold upon one third of the human race, comprising nationalities so varied as the keen-trading Chinese, the energetic Tibetans, the gentle, dispassionate Hindoos, and the warlike, intelligent Burmese and Siamese.

It was a protest against idolatry and Brahminism by a man who was not a Brahmin but a rajah's son. It abolished caste,

and hence, independently of other reasons, the violent opposition it meets with from the Brahmins. It is really somewhat difficult to understand its actual doctrines; but whatever they are, Buddhism has been a power in the world, and it would be a rash assertion to make that it has not been on the whole for good. In India, though not properly the national religion — Brahminism being so — it probably, in the number of its followers, at one time far outstripped those holding the indigenous faith of the country.

The marriage customs of a nation like the Hindoo, or indeed any of the older nationalities, are so much a part of their governmental status that a full description of them cannot rightly be considered out of place, and will doubtless be intensely interesting to all whose thoughts ever turn to the important subject of marriage, which ought to be the abiding rock — the firm foundation of human society.

In the “Institutes of Menu” the most elaborate directions are laid down in regard to the choice of a Brahmin’s wife, and to the ceremonies that must be undergone by a Brahmin’s son before wedlock. He must sit, for instance, on a stately bed, decked with a garland of flowers. His father then presents him with a copy of the Vedas, and a cow, the symbol of Venus. The father next reads the youth a grave lecture on his coming duties, and how he ought to select a wife.

The qualifications for a Brahmin’s bride are many and strict, if the code of the great Hindoo legislator is followed. Not only is a girl with red hair — a rare case among the Hindoos — to be avoided, but care must also be taken to shun one with little hair or with too much. The bride elect must not be immoderately talkative, nor must she have inflamed eyes.

The young Brahmin must avoid one “with the name of a constellation, of a tree, or of a river, of a barbarous nation, or of a mountain, of a winged creature, a snake, or of a slave, or one with any name raising an image of terror. Let him choose for a wife a girl whose form has no defect; who has an agreeable name; who walks gracefully, like a young elephant (strange comparison!); whose teeth are small, whose hair is moderate in quantity, and whose body has an exquisite softness.”

The siege of the girl’s parents is not decided upon until a fortu-

nate day has been fixed. The father of the young man then takes a number of small presents, and proceeds to the house of the bride-elect, but will immediately turn back if any animal of evil omen, such as a fox, a cat, or a serpent should cross his path. But even if all go well with the ambassador at the house of the lady whom he hopes to make his daughter-in-law, the father of the girl does not give his consent until he hears the chirp of one of the small lizards that creep about old walls. When this favorable omen occurs the bride's father assents, and the marriage day is fixed.

The four summer months usually chosen are the most lucky in the whole calendar; and, probably on account of the field-labors being suspended during that period, because of the great heat, some leisure is afforded for the performance of the ceremony. During the night preceding the nuptial day, the houses of bride and bridegroom resound with music, and burning lamps are placed at the door by women who utter wishes for their welfare. Balls of rice are made by the women, who towards the close of the night eat rice with the bride and bridegroom.

Next morning the women again assemble, and merry-making recommences. With burning lamps in their hands, a "vessel of pure water, balls of rice-flour, and a quantity of betel, they proceed to visit the neighboring families, and present them with the plant." On their return home the marriage rites are continued.

After placing the future husband and wife upon a framework, or wicket of bamboo, and thrice waving around their feet a wisp of



THE WATER CARRIER.



lighted straw, the women taking a ball of thread, and encompassing the bamboo framework four times, bind the betrothed pair together, fastening one end of the thread on the right arm of the youth, and the left arm of the maiden, with a few blades of durva-grass.

The bodies of the bride and bridegroom are next anointed with fragrant unguents. When these ceremonies are completed, little offerings, intended to secure the happiness of the betrothed, are made at the houses of both parents to the manes or spirits of their deceased ancestors. Presents of betel, fruit, and sweetmeats are then exchanged between the bride and bridegroom; and in the course of the afternoon their heads are shaved.

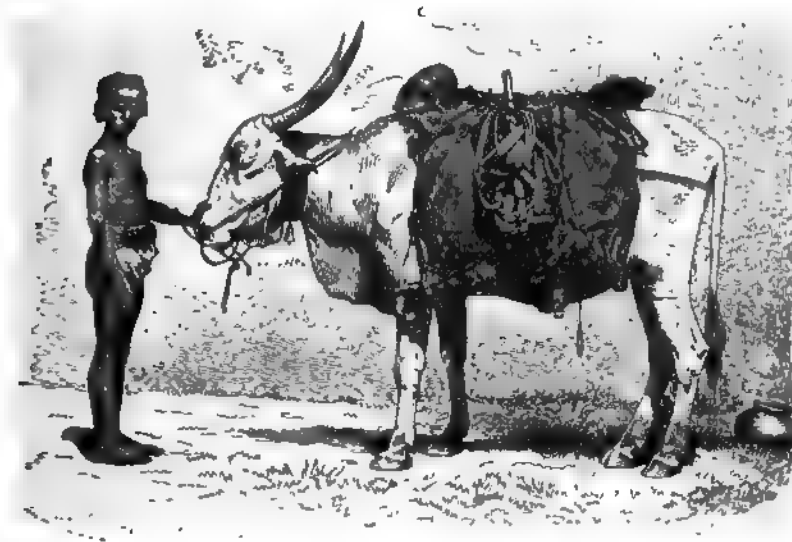
Immediately after the performance of this part of the ceremony, a large stone is placed in the midst of a small artificial pond of water, surrounded by trees, in which are suspended lamps with wicks, made of the fruit of the thorn-apple. Upon this stone the bridegroom stands, and the women, with the burning lamps, rice-balls, etc., in their hands, approach him in single file, and successively touch his forehead with the various objects which they bear. The bride, bridegroom and all the principal personages concerned fast until the whole ceremony of the nuptials is completed.

Rich people, and even those who cannot afford such display, often spend large sums on their weddings, and conduct the ceremonies with the pomp, splendor, and lavishness so dear to the Oriental, and sometimes to the Occidental, heart. At night, the bridegroom, superbly dressed, glittering with gold and silver ornaments, and with a crown on his head, is carried in a golden palanquin to the bride's dwelling.

Before him move a long procession of servants bearing silver staves, and open carriages containing singers and dancing-girls, some of whom, later on, perform the celebrated egg-dance. All along the line of march attendants, carrying lighted flambeaux, discharge fireworks as they advance; and scattered amongst them are musicians who play on various instruments. It is not a little significant that, since the English conquest of India, these musicians are frequently Europeans, and European guns are also fired, every now and then, as accompaniments to this marching — sometimes martial — music.

Occasionally these midnight marriage processions, when passing through the village, are playfully attacked by the boys and young people. But these encounters, commenced in sport, not unfrequently end in dread earnest with the loss of many lives.

The ceremonies which follow when the bridegroom has reached the bride's house — such as his being undressed by the bride's father and clothed in new garments, such as standing on a stool beneath which a cow's head and other sacred things have been buried, such as covering the bride with old garments and carrying her seven times round her future lord, then letting them gaze on each other,



RAPID TRANSIT IN NORTHERN INDIA.

and approach and sit down together, take up so much time that once in one's life would seem a festive sufficiency on this question of marriage *à la Hindoo*. But we must remember that time has little meaning or value to an Eastern mind whose constant concept is eternity, and a stretch of ceremony that would be tremendously tedious to us is to them but a soft and agreeable recreation.

The father-in-law next presents the bridegroom with fourteen blades of the fragrant kusa grass, pours water into the palm of his right hand, and reads a *mantra*, or incantation, over it. Water is then spilt upon the ground, and the officiating Brahmin, having

directed the youth to dip his fingers into a vessel of water, approaches with the girl, and placing her hand upon that of her husband, binds them together with a garland of flowers.

When the bride has been formally given and received, the garland of flowers is removed, while the father of the bride repeats the *Gâyatri*, or holiest verse of the Vedas. A kind of curtain is then drawn over the heads of the married pair, who once more regard each other, after which they are directed to bow to the priest and to the company, and to invoke the blessings of the gods and Brahmins.

During these ceremonies, portions of the *Misra* — work on the various orders of the Hindoos — are rehearsed by the Ghatakas, and the foreheads of the guests are marked with sandal-wood powder. The bride and bridegroom are finally fastened together by their garments in token of union, and led back into the midst of the family.

Celibacy is accounted a disgrace both to men and women. If a man loses his wife he immediately looks out for a second, but if she also dies he has difficulty in getting a third, owing to the belief that some bane is upon him. To avoid this supposed curse, he betroths himself to *a tree*, on which the threatened evil falls. Fifty is the age which the sacred books fix as the period beyond which a man should not marry, but the Brahmins disregard this injunction.

Though Indian women are not treated with the same courtesy and consideration as they are in Western society, and are in many respects even degraded, yet it is erroneous to suppose that they are mere slaves, or are sunk as low as they are in Mohammedan harems.

Still a Hindoo woman is not considered the equal of a man. She is looked upon with small consideration, and is supposed to be incapable of acquiring that degree of mentality which would allow of her ascension in the social scale. If a man does anything reprehensible, it is usually said that he has acted in the spirit of a woman, and she, on the other hand, as the excuse for any fault she has committed, lays all the blame on the natural inferiority of her sex.

The Abbé Dubois, a well-known and much esteemed writer on the Hindoos, considers that from some strange perversity

of taste, or from the effect of custom, the Hindoo women have absolutely imbibed a taste for ill-treatment. "They would," he assumes, "despise their husbands if they treated them with familiarity. I have seen a wife in a rage with her husband for talking with her in an easy strain. 'His behavior covers me with shame,' quoth she, 'and I dare no longer show my face. Such conduct among us was never seen till now. Is he become a *Paranguay* (Frank), and does he suppose me to be a woman of that caste?'"

Yet, if they are despised in private, they are treated with the highest respect in public.

Among the *ryots*, or peasants, there is no separation of the women. Both sexes sit at night round the lamp, engaged in cheerful conversation, weaving, spinning, cooking, or playing a kind of game of dominoes.

Among the martial tribes of India, such as the Rajpoots, the opinion of the women is taken in all affairs of moment; and before war is decided upon, the chief and his wife first agitate the sub-



THE EGG-DANCER AT A MARRIAGE CELEBRATION.

ject in private, after which it is confided to the tribal council, which, in turn, petitions the ruling princes in regard to the decision at which they have arrived.

The wife is also the guardian of the heir to the chieftainship during his minority. Among them the women are everywhere treated with great delicacy, respect, and even affection. Among these people — the Rajpoots — Colonel Tod describes a curious festival, which is known as the “Festival of the Bracelet.”

The Festival of the Bracelet is in spring, and whatever its origin, it is one of the few occasions where an intercourse of gallantry of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Rajast’hān. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger.

The Rajpoot dame bestows with the *rakhi* (bracelet) the title of adopted brother; and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a *cavalier servante*, scandal itself never suggests any other tie. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has constituted him her defender.

But there is a charm in the mystery of such a connection never endangered by close observation; and the loyal to the fair may well attach a value to the public recognition of being the *rakhi-bund bhāe*, the ‘bracelet-bound brother,’ of a princess.

The intrinsic value of such a pledge is never looked to, nor is it requisite it should be costly, though it varies with the means and rank of the donor, and may be of floss-silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems. The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the *katchli*, or corset, of simple silk or satin, or gold brocade and pearls. In shape or application there is something similar in Europe; and, for defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair, it is peculiarly appropriate as an emblem of devotion.

A whole province has often accompanied the *katchli*; and the monarch of India was so pleased with this courteous delicacy in the customs of Rajast’hān, on receiving the bracelet of the Princess Kurnavati, which invested him with the title of brother, and uncle and protector to her infant, Oody Sing, that he pledged himself to her service, ‘even if the demand were the Castle of Rent’umbor.’

Humaioon proved himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge, and succour Chestore and the widows and minor sons of Sanga Raria.

Certainly the women of Northern India are not slaves, nor in a menial position in the households of their husbands. They have ever been treated with respect and even devotion, and, like women in the Western World, have been the inspiring causes of noble deeds on the part of their admirers and protectors. To win their unseen smiles the Hindoo warrior toils and bleeds; for there is no recess of the harem into which the renown of a manly character and gallant actions will not penetrate.

The bards, who resemble the troubadours of the Middle Ages, and the minstrels of ancient Greece, are everywhere admitted, to the palace as well as to the cottage; and the youth of their country decorated in their glowing songs with all the ornaments of poetry, are presented to the ardent imaginations of the fair in a light highly calculated to inspire admiration and love.

In general, the women of India enjoy complete liberty; only the women of the higher classes, or those in parts of the country where Mohammedanism prevails, are at all secluded. Among the lower class, indeed, they have to assist in domestic affairs, in business, and in the labors of agriculture.

But the most extraordinary custom is that which prevails in some parts of India — Mysore, for example. If a woman of any of the four pure castes tire of her husband, or, being a widow, is wearied of a life of celibacy, and goes to the temples and eats some



A TRAVELLING BARBER.

of the rice offered up to the idol, she is, if of Brahmin caste, offered the option of either living in the temple or out of it.

If she chooses the former she receives a daily allowance of food, and a piece of cloth annually. She must in return sweep the temple, fan the idol with a yak's tail, and perform the duties of a wife to the attendant Brahmins. The male children of these women are termed *moylar*, but are fond of wearing the Brahminical thread.

The daughters are usually brought up to live like their mothers, and the remainder given in marriage to the moylars — who are either employed in menial offices about the temple, or engage in agriculture or other occupations. These temple-women are not looked upon as following a disgraceful life, but are, on the contrary, treated with profound respect by the visitors to the shrines.

The women of this character were formerly the only educated females in India, and it is remarkable that while a woman born into this disreputable trade, or adopted in a family of this kind, is not held to pursue a shameless vocation, other women who have fallen from virtue are esteemed to have disgraced themselves and their families.

A Hindoo woman's time does not hang heavily on her hands. If belonging to an industrious family, she rises early in the morning, lights her lamp, and spins some cotton for the clothing of her family; she next feeds and attends to the children. This done, she sprinkles and purifies the floor. Next she sweeps the house and the yard. She now breakfasts, cleans the brass and the stone vessels with straw, ashes, and water. Her next duty is to cleanse, bruise, and boil rice. About ten or eleven o'clock she takes a towel, and accompanies the women, her neighbors, to the tank, or river, to bathe.

The last incident in the life of the Hindoo woman is the famous, or infamous, but now almost abandoned, *Suttee*. When a Hindoo dies he is burned on a funeral pile, composed of faggots of wood drenched with inflammable substances, and so built as to allow a free draught of air to play from beneath.

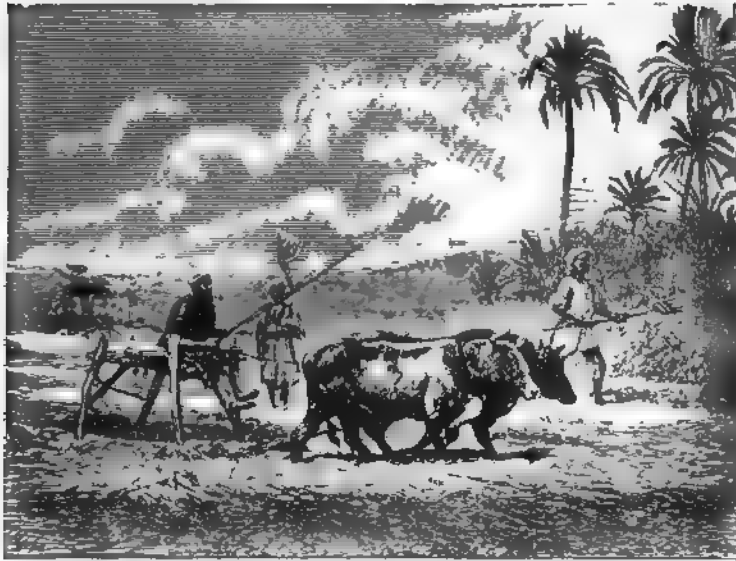
His ashes are then thrown into the Ganges, or, if the place of cremation is at a distance from the sacred river, into a river which is *supposed* to be the Ganges. For instance, when a young Indian

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prince died some years ago at Florence, his body was, by permission of the authorities, burned on the banks of the Arno.

If the deceased is of Brahminic rank, or a man of wealth, the cremation takes place with great and costly pomp; but if poor, and moreover of low caste, his wretched corpse is disposed of as soon as possible. The burning of the corpse is a widely spread custom, and one which, in the interest of public health, is highly to be commended in tropical countries.

But, for the chief wife of the deceased to voluntarily become a



HUSBANDRY IN NORTHERN INDIA.

“Suttee” is something revolting. Yet, formerly, until suppressed by the British Government, nothing was more common. The wife mounted the funeral pile and laid herself down by her dead husband. The faggots were lighted, and in a few minutes the smoke rolled in volumes around the dead and the living.

If through pain the living victim attempted to escape, she was secured by bamboo rods laid across her body, and held at either side. Generally her sufferings were short, the smoke choking her before the fire seized upon her flesh. But sometimes they were unnecessarily prolonged by the faulty construction of the pile;



and cases have even been known in which the poor creature has attempted, and even made good, her escape from the torments to which, unaware of her own powers of endurance, she had voluntarily submitted.

In most cases, however, the stupefied body soon consumed, and mingled its ashes with those of the form beside it. Sometimes, no doubt, the "Suttee" was stupefied with drugs, such as opium, before ascending the pile, though this has been denied, on the ground that as the woman has to undergo certain forms and repeat certain prayers before she ascends the pile, it requires the possession of all her senses unimpaired to perform these aright.

It is not compulsory on the Hindoo woman to perform this "Suttee"; it is only regarded as a pious act on her part, and it may be noted that it is generally the Brahmins' widows who perform it. The reason is obvious.

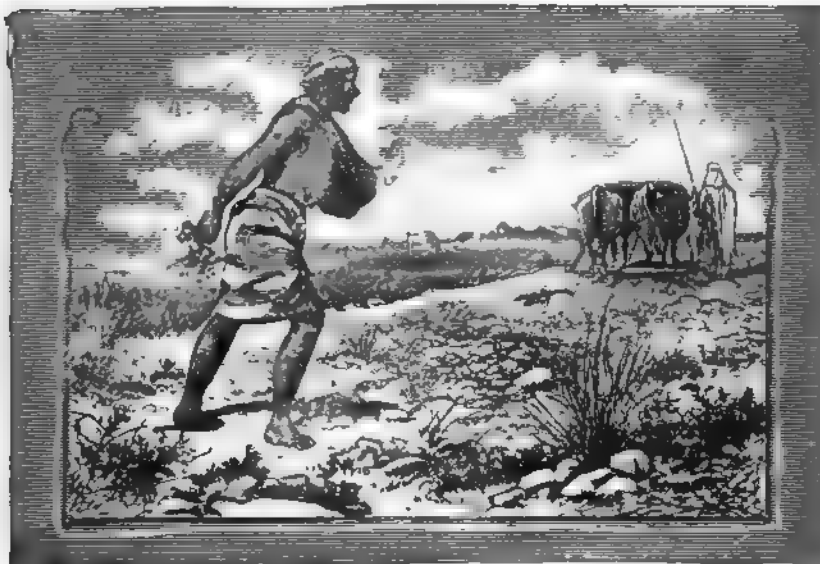
A woman of that high caste is left a widow; from being esteemed as a goddess, worshipped by those beneath her as part of Brahma, the giver of life — before whom kings were abject slaves — who could commit any crime so long as it did not infringe the sacred laws of caste — in a word, one of the chosen of the earth, she sinks, by her refusal to become a "Suttee" with her husband, to be an unclean thing, loathed, despised, and treated with contempt by the very Pariahs, for whose shadows to fall upon her a few hours before was contamination the most vile.

For a delicate girl like her to lose all caste is misery compared with which the agony of a few minutes is nothing. These facts we must take into account if we would justly estimate the motives which induce a Hindoo widow to be burned with her husband, or in default of burning to be buried alive.

In 1829, Lord William Bentinck, among the many other excellent reforms which he was the means of introducing into India, forbade the performance of "Suttee" within the British dominions, under severe penalties. Notwithstanding the passive resistance of some of the Indian conservatives of those days, and the presentation of a petition to the Privy Council in favor of it by some rich Hindoos, the action of the Governor-General was supported by the Home Government, and "Suttee" is now rare, or conducted with great secrecy, in the British Territories as well as in the Protected States.

*The laws of inheritance* among the Hindoos are very curious. The moment a son is born he acquires a vested right in his father's property, which cannot be sold without the recognition of this right of joint ownership. It is, in fact, simply a sort of Hindoo law of entail, with, however, many variations on the European system.

For instance, when a son comes of age, he can, even against



SOWING THE SEED.

the will of the parent, compel a division of the property; and, should the parent acquiesce, one son can always have a division of the property against the will of the others. On such a division taking place, the father has no advantage over his children, except that he has two shares instead of one.

Sir Henry Maine, the great English lawyer, observes that the ancient law of the German tribes was very similar; the *allod*, or domain, of the family being the joint property of the father and his sons. Among the Hindoos, also, there are cases in which the law of primogeniture is followed as regards political office and power, but not regarding property, a singular distinction.

*Education* is at a low stand in Hindostan. The child generally begins to acquire the elements of knowledge in its fifth year, being then taught the alphabet, or sent by its father to school. With the exception of architecture and the manufacture of jewelry, the fine arts have never greatly prospered in India, the grinding despotisms which from time immemorial have crushed the country, having been unfavorable to the progress of painting and other branches of art. In architecture even, it is probable that they never attained any great perfection until the Mohammedans came among them.

For instance, arched bridges are believed to have been unknown to the native engineers. The art of sculpture early occupied the Hindoo mind, and most of their designs were influenced by their religious opinions, the gods and their mythology being the solitary subject in which the minds of the artists revelled. Hence the appalling sameness in most of their figures.


Painting has been less assiduously cultivated than the sister art of sculpture. The color in their pictures — generally frescoes — is often good, but the drawing is bad, and the style hard, and lacking in light and shade. The modern artists, though minutely copying the object on which they are at work, have no idea of middle tints or of the harmonies of hues.

Music is at an equally low standard or rather ebb, for it is clear that formerly the Hindoos' skill and taste in this art were higher than now ; but some of their poems, such as those in the "Vedas," are of a very high literary value.

Jewelry is manufactured with the simplest appliances, in very beautiful patterns—frequently by plaiting wire-work in dainty forms, though, of course, with much of that brilliant barbarism which is associated with everything Oriental, and in Delhi a jeweller pursuing his trade in the street used to be no uncommon sight.

Agriculture varies in different parts of India, as might be expected from a people so various in race. Horses are never employed, their places in all the labors of the field being supplied by cows, bullocks, or oxen. The illustrations which we give of Indian husbandry show how primitive, even to this day, are the methods and machines in vogue.

Of the many extraordinary sights which are common in India **none**, perhaps, is more wonderful and fearfully fascinating to a



stranger than an exhibition of snake-charming. For a couple of rupees — about eighty cents — one can witness this spectacle in almost any Indian village, for there are numerous strolling vagabonds who seem able to handle the most deadly snakes with apparent impunity *by means of music*.

It is said that these snakes have their fangs extracted. This, no doubt, is often the case; but not invariably so, for men are now and then bitten by these cobras and die in frightful contortions. Some of the performances of these serpent-charmers are remarkable, as will be seen by the following passage from General Campbell's *Indian Journal*: —

When I was on General Dalrymple's staff at Trichinopoly, there was a dry well in the garden, which was the favorite haunt of snakes and in which I shot several. One morning I discovered a large cobra-di-capello at the bottom of this well, basking in the sun; but while I ran to fetch my gun, some of the native



TWO PEASANT WOMEN.

servants began to pelt him with stones, and drove him into his hole among the brick-work. I therefore sent for the snake-charmers to get him out.

Two of these worthies having arrived, we lowered them into the well by means of a rope. One of them, after performing sundry incantations, and sprinkling himself and his companion with ashes prepared from the dung of a sacred cow, began to play a shrill monotonous

ditty upon a pipe ornamented with shells, brass rings, and beads, while the other stood on one side of the snake's hole, holding a rod furnished at one end with a slip noose.

At first the snake, who had been considerably annoyed before he took refuge in his hole, was deaf to the notes of the charmer; but after half an hour's constant playing, the spell began to operate, and the snake was heard to move. In a few minutes more he thrust out his head; the horsehair noose was dexterously slipped over it and drawn tight, and we hoisted up the men, dangling their snake in triumph. Having carried him to an open space of ground, they released him from the noose.

The enraged snake immediately made a rush at the bystanders, putting to flight a crowd of native servants who had assembled to witness the sport. The snake-charmer, tapping him on the tail with a switch, induced him to turn upon himself, at the same time sounding his pipe.

The snake coiled himself up, raised his head, expanded his hood, and appeared about to strike; but instead of doing so, he remained in the same position, as if fascinated by the music, darting out his slender forked tongue, and following with his head the motion of the man's knee, which he kept moving from side to side, within a few inches of him, as if tempting him to bite.

No sooner did the music cease, than the snake dashed forward with such fury that it required great agility on the part of the man to avoid him, and then immediately the snake made off as fast as he could go. The sound of the pipe, however, invariably made him stop, and obliged him to remain in an upright position as long as the man continued to play.

After repeating this experiment several times, a fowl was placed within its reach, which he instantly dashed at and bit. The fowl screamed out the moment it was struck, but ran off, and began picking among its companions as if nothing had happened.

I pulled out my watch to see how long the venom took to operate. In about half a minute, the comb and wattles of the fowl began to change from a red to a livid hue, and were soon nearly black, but no other symptom was apparent. In two minutes it began to stagger, was seized with strong convulsions, fell to the ground, and continued to struggle violently till it expired, exactly three minutes and a half after it had been bitten.

On plucking the fowl, we found that it had merely been touched on the extreme point of the pinion. The wound, not larger than the



A SNAKE-CHARMER.

puncture of a needle, was surrounded by a livid spot; but the remainder of the body, with the exception of the comb and wattles (which were of a dark livid hue), was of the natural color; and I afterwards learned that my coachman (a half-caste) had eaten it.

The charmer now offered to show us his method of catching snakes, and seizing the reptile (about five feet long) by the point of the tail with his left hand, he slipped the right along the body with lightning swiftness and, grasping him by the throat with his finger and thumb held him fast, and forced him to open his jaws and display his poisonous fangs.

Having now gratified my curiosity, I proposed that the snake should be destroyed, or at least that his fangs might be extracted, an operation easily performed with a pair of forceps. But the snake being a remarkably fine one, the charmer was unwilling to extract his teeth, as he said the operation sometimes proved fatal, and begged so hard to be allowed to keep him as he was, that I at last suffered him to put him in a basket and carry him off.

After this he frequently brought the snake to the house, still with his fangs entire, as I ascertained by personal inspection, but so tame that he handled him freely without fear. But one day the snake bit the charmer and ended his life.

The *moral character* of the Hindoo has been much misrepresented by ignorant men, incapable through prejudice, or from the want of that habit of making due allowance for the different circumstances under which the Hindoo is placed, of forming a calm and charitable judgment on the race.

The Hindoo must not be weighed in an American balance, any more than an American should be measured according to Hindoo standards. Morality may be absolute, not comparative or relative; but, at the same time, putting mere philosophical ethics aside, we must, for the sake of arriving at something like an intelligible estimate, adopt a standard somewhat elastic.

The perfectly moral nation is a poet's dream of the future, as the utterly wicked is a something which has not yet existed. The Hindoos, it must be remembered, notwithstanding the magnificence of their courts, the gorgeousness of their shrines, and even the high state of some of the arts among them, are a comparatively barbarous people. Their sacred books may be exalted in tone; but their religion is nevertheless gross, licentious, and cruel in many of its main features.

Their passions are excited by art and by religious pageantries, and their religious fanaticism by a cunning, unscrupulous priesthood, which has, by the aid of that most ingeniously devised legend of caste, bound all beneath it, and there is no one above it, in iron bonds as merciless and unbreakable as those of fate according to the old Greek idea.

But the Indian is not the same all over India. The fierce wild-men of the lower Himalayan hills who used to be hunted like wild beasts by the English, seem hardly the same race as the polished, polite and subtle denizens of the great cities. The bold mountain tribes are vastly superior in manly virtues to the people of the plains, and even the dwellers in the



MOUNTAIN TRAVEL.

low lands and in the valley of the Lower Ganges differ in character. Yet, wherever we find the Hindoo he is deceitful and slippery, full of adulation and compliment, treacherous and rather wicked.



He excels in etiquette and courtesy. He has at least five different ways in which he will make obeisance, according to the circumstances of the case, or the person before whom he desires to debase himself, and he runs a close race with the Spaniard in the skill with which he can invent and pour forth high-sounding titles and cringing flattery to the person addressed.

Of all the races of India a Bengalee is the most despicable. Lord Macaulay, who had lived among them and knew them well, long ago expressed their character thoroughly. Speaking of the men with whom Warren Hastings had to deal, he says: —

What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar [a native minister] to other Bengalees. The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy.

He lives in a constant vapor bath; his pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, and veracity, are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavorable.

His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak are more familiar to this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages.

What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty — according to the old Greek song — is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, and forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. . . .

As usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities, or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting in his masters. To inevitable evils he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage.

A European warrior, who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah, will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife, and fall in an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee, who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonored, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sidney.

The general lack of kindness with which the Hindus are treated by their Anglo-Saxon masters strikes the most careless and unobservant traveller in every corner of Victoria's Oriental possessions. Nor does time nor the frightful warning given by the Sepoy Rebellion seem to soften in any way the English habit of oppression.

An English clergyman not long ago saw the following sight. A passing Hindu, he says, was rudely taken to task by a petty captain for not making a salaam, or profound bow, on the street to him.

"Why should I?" said the man. "You have conquered our race, but I won't salaam." "I'll take you to the general," said the captain, "and see if you will then." This was done, and the general, as brutal as his inferior officer, roared out: "Make a salaam, sir." The man still firmly but calmly refused, whereupon the general seized him by the neck, threw him to the ground, buried his face in the dust, and ordered fifty lashes to be given him.

Thus by sheer brute force was this Hindu punished for an independence which did him honor. But the mild Hindu, as a rule, submits to the English as to a superior race, and all he can do is to bide his time. Yet, if not subdued by justice and kindness, will he not seek his revenge some day, especially as his intelligence increases?

What, then, is to be the immediate future of this empire of many mysteries, which is regarded by our scientists as the original birth-place or starting-point of humanity? The question is involved, apparently, not so much in the evolution of the present East Indian race, as it is in several European questions of political, racial, and governmental quality, now pressing forward for answer.

For, as hinted in the beginning of this brief pen-picture, the English, though now dominating India, are merely a light fringe on her vast darkness. Underneath the supple servility shown to them, a keen-eyed traveller cannot help detecting an intense bitterness — an immense hate.

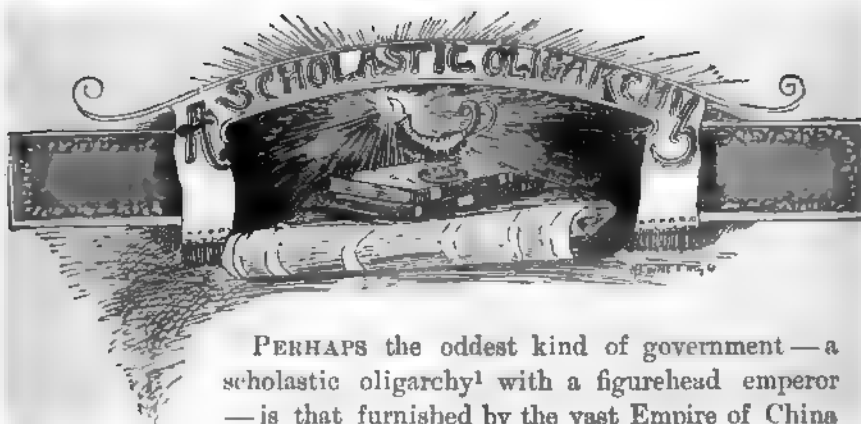
But the East Indians, thanks to their system of caste, have little cohesion or faculty of continuous coöperation. They might by a sudden uprising drive their present owners into the ocean, but in a few years, very likely, some other predatory nation would be again setting the heel of conquest or of commerce upon their necks.

With the Russians restlessly pushing south, and with a collision between Russia and England, as is probable, in the early part of the twentieth century, India might possibly achieve a temporary independence, but it would seem far more liable, if it had a chance, to welcome the Russian invasion and glide from English under Russian sway, simply as a change of evils.

Yet it is difficult for even the heartiest hater of England's commercial civilization to see how the East Indian people could benefit by any such change. Russia is still only a barbarism very lightly gilded, and Russo-Indian rule would be more likely to ravage ruthlessly what remains of India's former splendor in the way of palaces and temples than to restore or maintain what the Anglo-Saxon has spared. And, as for the masses of the people, they would find individual Russians as cruel or more so than the average English officer or private of to-day.



## VII.



PERHAPS the oddest kind of government—a scholastic oligarchy<sup>1</sup> with a figurehead emperor—is that furnished by the vast Empire of China which may be regarded as the most compact country in the world, since it encloses an area of nearly 4,000,000 square miles. That China is the oldest of nations of which we have anything like a continuous and tolerably correct history, little doubt can be entertained.

The researches of antiquarians have proved that in Babylon astronomical observations and calculations were made 2,231 years before Christ, and Chinese records speak of an eclipse calculated 2,155 years before our era of reckoning. That this eclipse really occurred was proved by the Jesuit missionaries who visited China in the sixteenth century.

Gaubil, a Jesuit preëminent for his mathematical attainments, examined the series of thirty-six eclipses, to which the Chinese philosopher, Confucius, alludes in his writings, and the Catholic scholar decided that thirty-two of these were absolutely correct, two uncertain, and two false. But the chronology of the Chinese extends far back of the first of these eclipses whose occurrence

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<sup>1</sup>The word oligarchy means government by a few, and in all ages has been one of the worst forms of oppression.

the scientific priest declared to be established as evidence of the accuracy of Chinese history.

Before considering the form of government among this mysterious people, perhaps a brief sketch of the country and some of its customs might furnish good stepping-stones to an understanding of its political peculiarities. China proper lies between  $18^{\circ}$  and  $41^{\circ}$  north latitude. Its eastern extremity bordering on Korea is marked by  $124^{\circ}$  east longitude, and its western boundary on Burmah and Western Thibet is cut by  $98^{\circ}$  east longitude. Its seaboard extends over 2,500 miles with many bays and estuaries, so thickly studded with islands that from this geographical fact is



A GLIMPSE OF THE GREAT WALL.

derived one of the titles of the emperor, "Lord of ten thousand isles."

This enormous territory is divided into eighteen provinces varying in size. Each province is subdivided into *poo*s, counties, and

prefectures. A *poo*, the capital of which is a market town, consists of a number of towns and villages. A county, the capital of which is a walled city, consists of a number of *poo*s; and a prefecture, the capital of which is also a walled city but larger, is a collection of counties, the province being several prefectures with a still larger walled city taken generally as its capital.

Thus the eighteen provinces contain about four thousand walled cities, the walls in some cases being so broad that two carriages can be driven abreast. The great wall of China, built to keep out the Tartars, runs hundreds of miles across the country. It is now in ruins. The wall around Nankin is eighteen miles in length. These walls, as a rule, are crowned with castles and have embrasures for artillery and loopholes for musketry, and on

the ramparts huge stones are loosely piled to be rolled down on besiegers. During the war in which Christian England forced opium as an article of merchandise on the Chinese, this primitive kind of warfare (that seems to belong more to the days when Pyrrhus was killed at Argos by a tile from the hands of a woman) came into use, and some English soldiers were killed by these stones.

At the north, east, west, and south sides of each Chinese city



OPH M SMOKERS.

are folding gates of great strength which are further secured by equally massive inner gates. The south gate is called the gate of honor, being regarded as especially governmental. By it the officials always enter and depart, and no funerals, or unclean merchandise are allowed to go through; and the south gate of Pekin is generally kept closed except for the emperor.

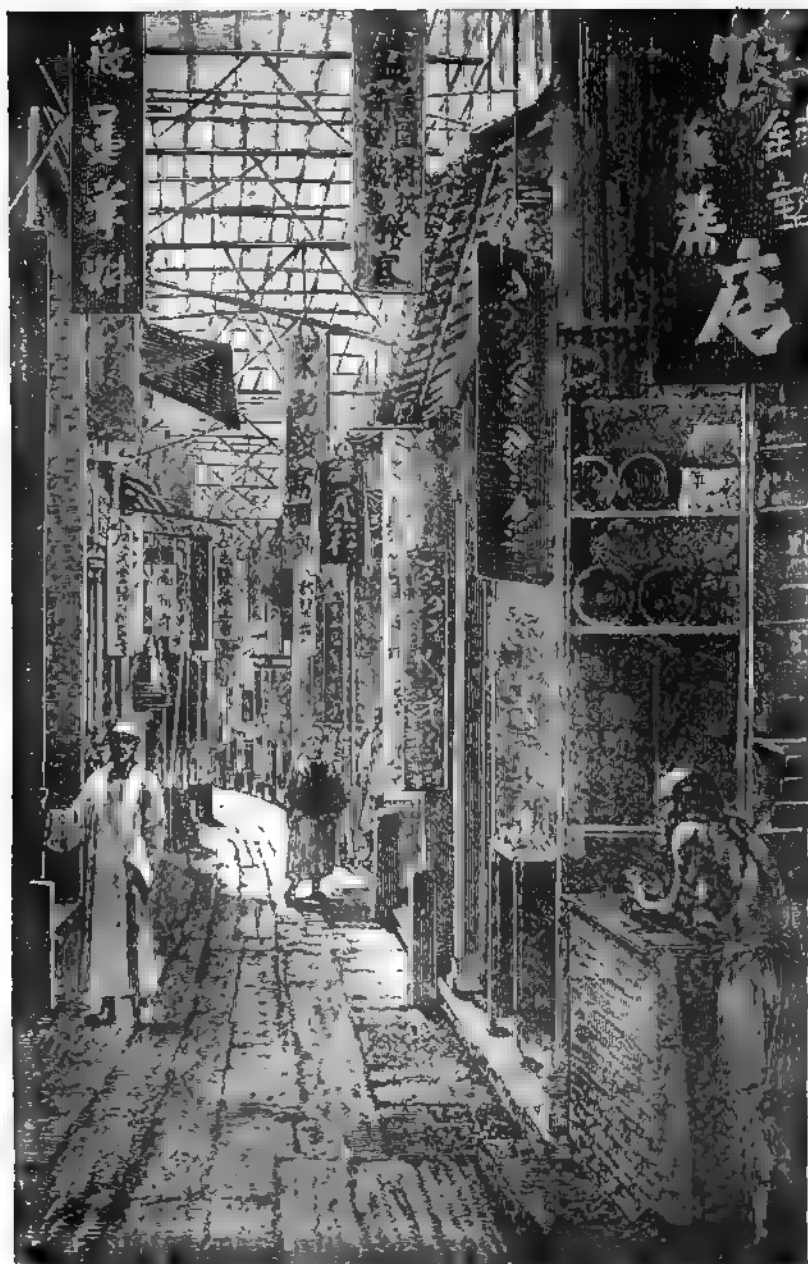
The streets are wider in the north than in the south of China, and those of Peking are very broad—and dirty beyond description or conception. They must be smelt to be realized. The narrowness of the streets makes them cool in the summer months and in many towns they are partially roofed by the residents with canvas, matting, or thin planks of timber. Many of the towns also in the north of Formosa are protected in this way.

The sidewalks to the shops are arched over, and as they are frequently constructed in rude arcades, it is possible to pass from one end of the town to the other without annoyance from sun or rain, thus furnishing a model for the umbrellaed streets of that reformed Boston which Bellamy beheld in his vision, "Looking Backward." The streets are paved with granite slabs, bricks, or cobblestones; Canton, for instance, being entirely slabbed, while Soochow is partly, and partly cobblestoned.

But the sewerage system may be best described as a marvellously successful scheme to produce an intolerable stench in the summer months, which the high-sounding titles of the streets might seem by force of sarcasm to render still more exasperating, for one encounters such names as "The Street of Golden Profits, the Street of Benevolence and Love, of Saluting Dragons, of Refreshing Breezes, of Five Happinesses, of Ninefold Brightness, of Accumulated Goodness," and so forth. Other streets are simply numbered First, Second, Third, etc.

Chinese shops, which are called Hong, are built of bricks, as a rule, and are entirely open in front. Very few of them have glass windows, except in the city of Peking. At the door stand very long signboards on each side of which, in bright letters of gold, orange, and other gay colors, are painted the name of the hong, and of the various commodities which it contains.

In some cases the shopkeeper places above the door a small signboard in shape of some particular article which he has for sale; as, for instance, a boot-maker might display a boot; or a spectacle-maker a pair of spectacles. Some shopkeepers, not satisfied with the enormous signboards, advertise themselves still further by painting their names and a list of their wares in large characters on the outer walls of the cities in which they live.



A STREET OF HONGS IN CANTON



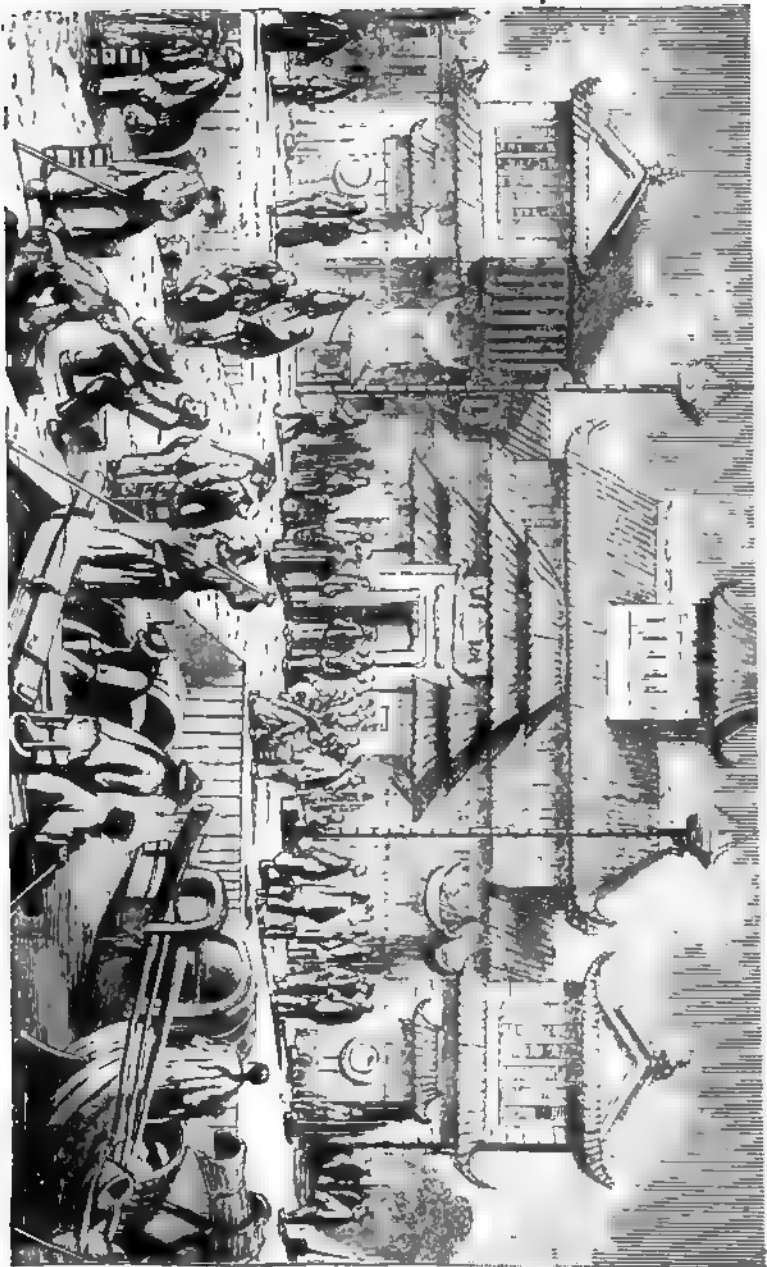
In the rural districts, on the outer wall of their dwelling houses, is a board recording the name of each person residing within, and this custom extends to some of the towns. Above the entrance of each hong lanterns are suspended and from the roof lamps of glass or of thin horn, on which are gaily colored images of players and pagodas.

These numerous bright signboards and lanterns lend a Chinese street a most cheerful and animated look. The hong's are not distributed promiscuously throughout Chinese towns but are confined to certain quarters, each branch of trade having its special place. No members of the tradesman's family reside either above or behind the shop, and in the evening when the shutters are put up, the tradesman hastening to his home in another part of the town leaves his stock in the care of his apprentices.

In the streets where the gentry reside, the houses are very well built, but of one story only. As the walls which front the street have no windows, they present in many cases the appearance of encampments. Chinese houses, also, have no fireplaces and in cold weather the occupants keep themselves warm by wearing much clothing, or by means of braziers in which charcoal embers are kept burning. As the houses and shops which form the streets of a Chinese city are rarely of the same height, or arranged in straight lines, every town has a strikingly irregular appearance.

The streets or squares are not adorned like those of European cities with stone, marble, or bronze statues of the learned, the brave, and the good, but instead, in nearly all the chief cities of China monumental arches are erected in honor of renowned warriors, illustrious statesmen, public-spirited citizens, learned scholars, and last, but not least, virtuous women. Such monuments are built of brick, marble, and old red sandstone, or, more commonly, of granite.

A monument of this kind consists of a triple arch or gateway, that is, a large centre gate and smaller gate on each side. On a large smooth-shining slab above the middle gateway are sculptured figures, or characters, setting forth the object for which the citizens, by Imperial permission, raised the arch. One of the largest of these monuments is in the city of Toong-Ping Chan,



CANTON ON THE RIVER SIDE.

in honor of a scholar who, at the age of eighty-two, took the first place at the examination for the Hanlin, or Doctor's degree. As Baltimore with us is called the City of Monuments, Hoo Chow Foo in China is called the City of Arches. When the traveller enters this city by the south gate, a vista of arches very impressive greets his gaze, each of them being of vast dimensions and richly sculptured.

The Chinese take many precautions to save their cities from conflagrations. Wells are sunk in many streets, and the law requires that in various parts of the cities large tubs of water must be kept. On the tops of the houses, also, they frequently place earthen jars containing water, and in all large cities there are several fire brigades maintained entirely by public contributions. The engines, water-buckets and lanterns of these brigades are usually kept in different temples. The officers and men have a uniform, and on their hats in large characters the name or number of their brigade, and the words "Kow-Fow" or fire-quencher.

Besides these provisions by the citizens, the members of the local government of each city are called on to render their help. For instance, in Canton each magistrate has in his employ several men whose special duty it is to prevent robberies when fires occur, and under the command of the governor are two hundred men whose duty consists in helping firemen.

In addition to this, from the forty-eight guardhouses of the city, in the event of a fire, two men are instantly told off to hasten to the scene, and at the close of every month the prefect and provincial treasurer, who are very high officials, are required to inspect all the government servants whose duties lie in the direction of extinguishing fires.

Moreover, with the view of keeping all officials thoroughly awake to their duties, it is the law that in case eighty houses are destroyed by a conflagration, all the officials where it occurred are reduced in rank one degree, and even when ten houses are destroyed, the matter is reported to the central government at Peking.

A few days after a fire, the firemen of each brigade present receive as a reward for their services roast pig — a great Chinese delicacy — jars of choice wine, and small sums of money, the men

who hold the hose receiving more than others, and those who happen to receive wounds during this public duty being still more liberally remunerated. Persons who cause fires by carelessness, or otherwise, when caught, are severely punished. It is only just to add that the Chinese are excellent firemen; quick to arrive at the scene of action, and very daring.

The population of China, according to Sacharoff fifty years ago, had reached the stupendous figure of 414,686,994. During the next twenty years a great rebellion occurred, in which many cities, towns, and villages with all their inhabitants were blotted out. This rebellion covered a period of fifteen years, but in spite of such reduction and check of population, it is probable that the empire contains to-day 450,000,000.

Of the moral character of this people, whose enormous number tempts us to liken them to the sands on the seashore, it is not easy to speak justly; for this character is a book written in strange letters more complex to one of another race, religion, and language, and more difficult to decipher than the oddly shaped word-symbols that compose their written language.

In the same individuals, virtues and vices almost incomprehensibly incompatible are found side by side. Gentleness, modesty, industry, cheerfulness, politeness, filial affection and reverence for old age are in one and the same Chinaman the companions of insincerity, cruelty, jealousy, ingratitude, and avarice.

But instances of moral inconsistencies might be found among



ANCIENT CHINESE SOLDIER.

other nations; and if a native of the Flowery Kingdom, for the purpose of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the American people, should familiarize himself with the records of our police and other law courts, and with the curious transactions that occur in our commercial circles, and the scandals that so often drag our society down from its dollar-shining pinnacle, such a Chinese traveller might give his countrymen at home a very one-sided and depreciatory account of this country.

Besides, we should not forget that we possess the manifold blessings of Christianity of many kinds, from Catholicism to Universalism, and that we have a form of government, under which we are, at least, invited to dream that we are free. So that, when we consider the political and social condition of China and her institutions, it would seem to us rather extraordinary that such an amount of good can be found in the national character.

The government, to be sure, is an irresponsible despotism; their judges are bribable; their judicial procedure places its whole reliance on the infliction of torture. Their police are dishonest and their prisons dens of cruelty. Their social life labors under the blight of polygamy and of slavery; and their customs hold women in a state of degradation. Yet, notwithstanding the conditions so unfavorable to the development of civil and social virtues, the Chinese may be fairly characterized as a courteous, orderly, industrious, sober, patriotic and peace-loving people.

The Emperor of China is taught to regard himself as the interpreter of the decrees of heaven, and he is recognized by the people as their connecting link with the gods, being designated by such titles as the "Son of Heaven," the "Lord of Ten Thousand Years," and the "Imperial Supreme." This mighty potentate is assisted in the management of his government by a cabinet of four ministers. In addition to which general council are six supreme tribunals for the conduct in detail of all governmental business.

The first of these tribunals is termed Loo Poo, and divided into four departments; the first of which selects officers to fill the various places in the respective provinces and districts. The second takes cognizance or keeps watch on all such officials. The third affixes the imperial seal, along side of which the emperor sometimes makes marks in letters of red with what is styled

the vermilion pencil, to all books and parchments; and the fourth keeps the record of the good service and merits of distinguished

The second Board is termed Hoo Poo, and has the care of the imperial revenues. The third, called Lee Poo, superintends the religious rites of the people and keeps in order all temples endowed by the imperial government. The fourth Board, Ping Poo, has charge of all the naval and military establishments. The fifth, King Poo, supervises all criminal proceedings. The sixth, which is termed Ling Poo, superintends all public works such as mines, manufactories, highways, canals, bridges, etc.

The chief minister of each of these tribunals lays the decisions or the information secured by his particular board before the cabinet and when the cabinet has thoroughly discussed them, they are submitted with due reverence to his Imperial Majesty. The power of these ministers is apparently nominal, since the emperor holds himself responsible to none but the gods, and looks upon the people as his children.

But while outwardly a Chinese sovereign might manifest contempt for the suggestion of his cabinet, as a rule, in practice much heed is given to their advice; very few, indeed, of the sovereigns of China feeling themselves sufficiently endowed with the wisdom of this world to be able to rule without the advice of others. Besides these councils, there are two others — the Too-Cha Yum and the Tsung-Pin Fow.

The former as a Board of Censors is supposed to attend the meetings of the councils just described for the purpose of ascertaining whether plots are being concocted against the stability of the government; and the members of this board are also frequently sent into the provinces to watch the way things are going there. Or, in other words, the Absolutism of China depends almost as much for its safety on the service of spies as the Plutocracy of America is beginning to depend on the Pinkertons.

The second of these two extra Boards consists of six high officials, who keep a register of the births, deaths, marriages, and relations of the princes of the blood royal, and make reports upon their conduct. These records are referred to the emperor every decade, on which occasion he confers titles and rewards.

These titles are of four kinds — hereditary, honorary, for state service, and for literary attainments, and it is imperative on the ministers of this Board to furnish at frequent intervals to the first-named tribunals reports on the conduct of the emperor's different sons, so that it may be discerned which one possesses in the highest degree the essentials of a good sovereign. These reports, like all others, finally come to the emperor who has the power of naming his successor. As a general rule, however, the eldest son succeeds.

As every emperor of each dynasty had many wives, the scions of imperial houses are numerous, and once it was the custom to give official employment to each of them. But this custom caused so much trouble and gave rise to so many conspiracies and rebellions that it was abandoned, and each prince nowadays has to rest satisfied with the high-sounding but empty title of his rank, and he is liable to be deprived of that, if any act on his part is deemed beneath the family dignity.

While the emperor is regarded by his people as the representative of heaven, the Empress, or head wife, on the other hand, is the representative of Mother Earth, and is supposed to exercise some peculiar influence over nature, one of her chief duties being to see that worship is duly paid to the tutelary deity of silkworms. It is also her official function to examine carefully the weaving of the silk stuff which the ladies of the Imperial harem make into garments for certain state idols.

She is supposed to know no politics, but there are instances on record of Chinese empresses who have been as familiar as some of the noted French dames of the last century with the minutest details of State intrigues. The choice of an empress and of the sub-wives of the sovereign depends solely on their beauty or personal qualities, and not on their family connections. They are chosen in the following fashion.

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THE FRUIT GIRL WHO BECAME AN EMPRESS.



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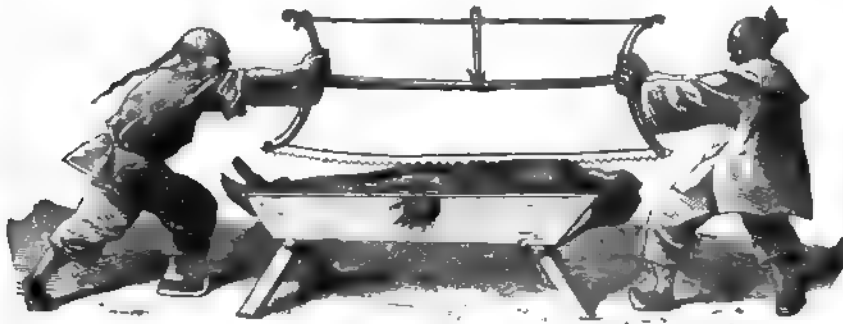
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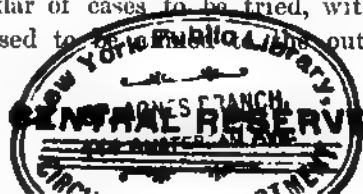


EXECUTING A PARRICIDE.

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HEARING A CIVIL CASE.

These titles are of four kinds — hereditary, honorary, for state service, and for literary attainments, and it is imperative on the ministers of this Board to furnish at frequent intervals to the first-named tribunals reports on the conduct of the emperor's different sons, so that it may be discerned which one possesses in the highest degree the essentials of a good sovereign. These reports, like all others, finally come to the emperor who has the power of naming his successor. As a general rule, however, the eldest son succeeds.

As every emperor of each dynasty had many wives, the scions of imperial houses are numerous, and once it was the custom to give official employment to each of them. But this custom caused so much trouble and gave rise to so many conspiracies and rebellions that it was abandoned, and each prince nowadays has to rest satisfied with the high-sounding but empty title of his rank, and he is liable to be deprived of that, if any act on his part is deemed beneath the family dignity.

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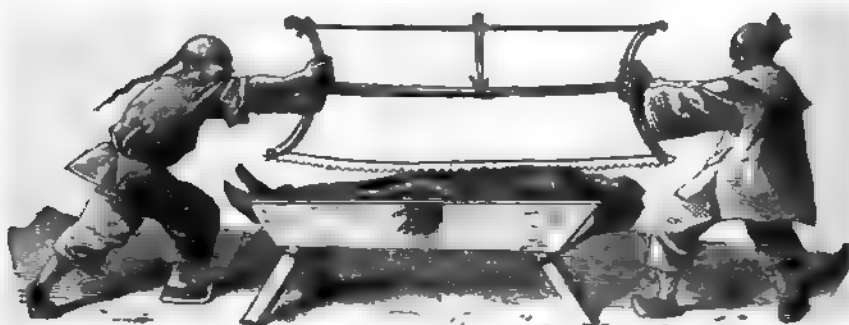
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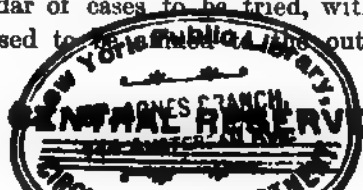


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HEARING A CIVIL CASE.

thrown like a log of wood into a large flat basket, and carried by two men from the Court of Justice into the prison attached to it. As soon as his skin healed over sufficiently to be flayed again, the judicial examination would continue.

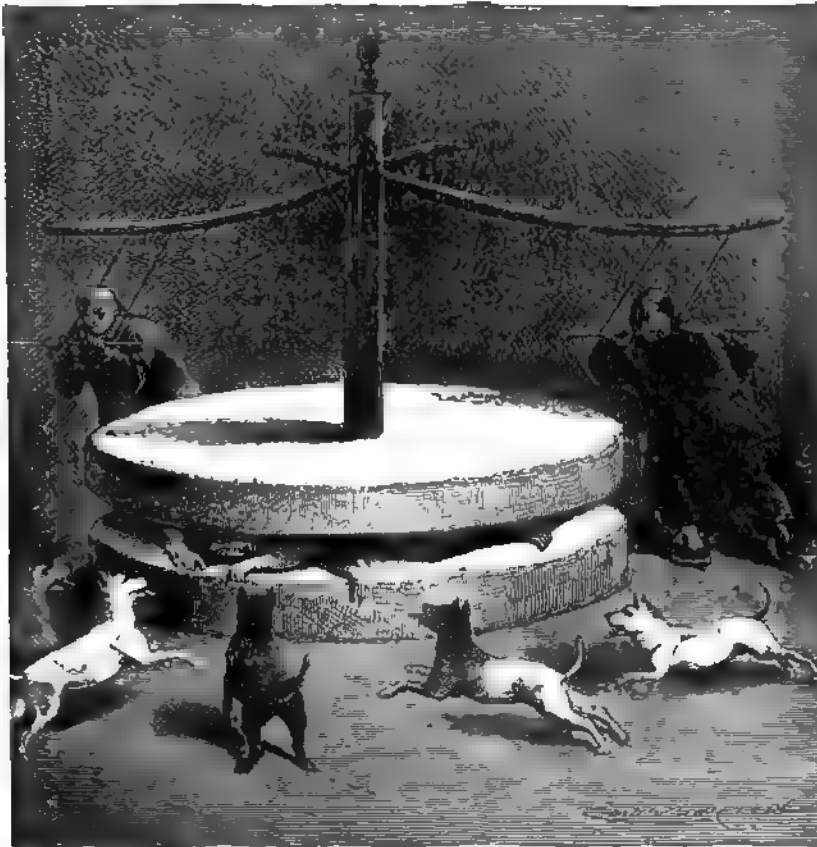
Justice in China may be rightly called a "Serial Story of Torture," and there are other forms of judicial investigation more frightful than these described, which must be left to the imagination of the reader, for the pen refuses to paint them. But are there no witnesses? Yes, but as they are also in some cases subjected to torture it is a task of some difficulty to distinguish which of the unfortunate men kneeling before the judgment seat is the prisoner, and which the witness; for anyone suspected of having a knowledge of another's guilt, and manifesting any unwillingness to give evidence, would be likely to receive a preliminary beating by way of encouragement.

The process in civil cases is somewhat different. If a dispute arises between two persons with regard to houses or lands, at first, as a rule, they have recourse to arbitration, the arbitrators being generally the principal elders of the street or neighborhood. But if either party is dissatisfied with their decision, the matter is taken into the law court and goes before the county ruler.

But the person thus appealing has to incur great expense in bribing the understrappers about the *yamuns* to bring his petition to the eyes of the judge, for in China bribery is the only avenue to success in anything. By liberally paying these underlings he is allowed to stand at the folding doors of one of the inner courts, and when the ruler passes he falls upon his knees in front of the sedan chair of the magistrate who calls upon one of his chair bearers to hand him the suppliant's petition and, having read it, appoints a day for the case. In these civil cases, also, it is not uncommon for the judge to inflict torture.

If of great importance, the case would be appealed to higher tribunals, but not as in criminal cases to the provincial chief justice, but to the provincial treasurer, and from his court an appeal lies to that of the governor or governor-general of the province. But the decision of this viceroy is not final, for the next appeal lies to the governor-general of the adjoining province, and from him to the emperor through the Cabinet.

Formerly civil suits were appealed from the highest tribunal of their province to the emperor in person, but now another wall of protection to the sovereign against the annoyance of too much litigation has been built up by making the governor of the adjoining province an intermediate tribunal.



CRUSHING A REBEL.

Another peculiarity of Chinese government is that registers are kept in which are recorded the merits and demerits of the various civil and military officials. This custom, which is of great antiquity, was also practised by other nations. The records of the Persians and the Greeks contain frequent allusions to it. Although Chinese officials are, perhaps, as a class, the most cor-



rupt state servants in the world, there are exceptional men of high integrity who are held in great esteem by the people.

When Ache-Ong was governor over the province of Kwang-Tung, at his departure from Canton the citizens gave him a most impressive ovation. An imposing procession which took twenty minutes to pass a given point escorted him to the place of embarkation, carrying silk umbrellas and three hundred painted boards of praise which had been presented to him by the people. The way was spanned at frequent intervals by arches, and on hang-

ing banners were painted or embroidered in large letters such titles as "Friend of the People," "Bright Star of the Province," "Benefactor of the Age."

Deputations of different trade-guilds awaited his arrival at various temples, where he alighted from his sedan chair to exchange farewell compliments and partake



A PUBLIC WHIPPING.

take of refreshments. But it was not the formal arrangements that spoke of his popularity so much as the enthusiasm of the people; for the silence generally kept when a Chinese ruler passes, was continuously broken by hearty exclamations of "When will your excellency come back to us?" and at many points the crowd was so great as to interrupt the line of march, and almost upset his chair of state.

Though the penal code of China is so extremely severe, especially in cases attacking the safety and stability of the throne or the peace of the empire, it has some very humane traits. Thus, a judge may grant a free pardon to an only son who has been sentenced to transportation. This pardon is, of course, granted for the sake of the parents, and shows how the religion of China interfuses with its laws.

Or, for another instance, when three brothers, the only sons of their parents, have committed a crime deserving of decapitation or transportation, the two youngest would be punished, and the



ESCORTING A PIRATE TO EXECUTION.

first born pardoned. Or, if a father be transported, the law permits his son to accompany him into exile, and the wives of convicts are allowed to sojourn with their husbands in penal settlements.

Imperial clemency also extends to all offenders who are crippled; nor does the law allow convicts to be sent into banishment during the first month of the year, which is regarded as a month of rest and indulgence; nor during the sixth month, as the heat is supposed to render travelling very uncomfortable.

Reference to the religion of China having been made, perhaps a little information concerning it would not be out of place. According to their fable of creation, in the beginning there came out of a vast egg a Being, who has always been known in Chinese annals as Poon-Koo-Wong. Of the upper part of his cast-off shell he formed the hollow heavens; of the lower, the convex earth. To dispel the darkness, with a wave of his right hand he made the sun, and with his left, the moon, and, of course, the stars also.

Then he called into existence the five elements: earth, water, fire, metal, and wood; and then in order to people the world, Poon-Koo-Wong caused a cloud of vapor to rise from a piece of gold, and a similar cloud from a piece of wood. Breathing on the gold vapor he made the male principle; and on the wood vapor, the female. From the union of these two human-shaped clouds, or spirits, sprang a son and daughter — Ying-Yee and Cha-No-We — whose descendants over-spread the whole country.

In honor of Poon-Koo-Wong there are many temples throughout China. The idol of this hero of antiquity is an almost naked figure made of wood or clay, wearing an apron of leaves. This was probably their original religion, for their present one is a mysterious mixture of several creeds. At one time they appeared to have worshipped a supreme being with attributes of omniscience, omnipotence, and immutability, whom they speak of as Shang-Te. They appear to have some ideas of a Judgment Day, and a picture of their method of dividing the sheep from the goats after death may amuse the reader.

But this primitive monotheism has become associated with the



THE CHINESE JUDGMENT DAY.

worship of departed ancestors and of spirits supposed to preside over the various operations of nature: and with this combination that still holds its place as a national religion, the name of their great philosopher, Confucius, is associated.

Dark as the despotism of Chinese government may seem at a first casual glance (which is generally careless unless the eye be naturally full of sympathy), some stars of promise light up its present, and tempt believers in man to expect for the vast yellow race an evolution as rich and fair to look upon as is their chosen imperial or national color, charming one's eye so often with its infinite varieties which no custom stales.

For nowhere in this gold-adoring world is wealth less courted, and caressed, and cringed to. In China power and honor spring from learning. Hence, mere wealth must be always vulgar, and, if undistinguished by any other qualities, the mere possessor of riches must rank as inferior to the mandarin, who, by his knowledge, can rise to the highest offices of the state, next to the emperor himself; and in many cases, the learned man can finally achieve a wealth also to which "Money-bags," who has made his fortune by buying and selling, huckstering and cheating it may be, can never aspire. The unlearned rich man is not held in respect; he is valued infinitely less than the poorest scholar who has taken a degree at the great competitive examinations.

There is no hereditary nobility in the empire, unless the descendants of the Imperial family can be considered such, though these do not constitute the real aristocracy of the country, which is official and not hereditary.

Rank is graded by literary examinations. Every office except that of the emperor, is determined by these, which are accordingly of extreme interest, especially since we in this country have lately adopted a similar method of appointing the minor officers of state, and have thus been imitating the civil service system of the Chinese, with all its good and bad points.

To obtain the first degree three examinations must be undergone; the preliminary one taking place in the chief town of the district where the candidate is native. There are always great numbers of candidates, and the examinations are severe. In 1832, out of 4,000 who competed in the two districts around Canton,

only twenty-seven were successful. Indeed, for fifteen to be successful out of five hundred is reckoned rather remarkable.

The next examination is held in the departmental city, and the number of candidates who present themselves are of course much



A GREAT SCHOLAR.

fewer. At the first examination the roads leading to the district towns are crowded with candidates on foot, on horseback, in carts, or in palanquins. After this departmental examination another sifting occurs. Those who have passed have their names placarded as having gained "a name in the department," just as at the previous examination they had obtained "a name in the village."

The next examination is severer still, being held under the

worship of departed ancestors and of spirits supposed to preside over the various operations of nature: and with this combination that still holds its place as a national religion, the name of their great philosopher, Confucius, is associated.

Dark as the despotism of Chinese government may seem at a first casual glance (which is generally careless unless the eye be naturally full of sympathy), some stars of promise light up its present, and tempt believers in man to expect for the vast yellow race an evolution as rich and fair to look upon as is their chosen imperial or national color, charming one's eye so often with its infinite varieties which no custom stales.

For nowhere in this gold-adoring world is wealth less courted, and caressed, and cringed to. In China power and honor spring from learning. Hence, mere wealth must be always vulgar, and, if undistinguished by any other qualities, the mere possessor of riches must rank as inferior to the mandarin, who, by his knowledge, can rise to the highest offices of the state, next to the emperor himself; and in many cases, the learned man can finally achieve a wealth also to which "Money-bags," who has made his fortune by buying and selling, huckstering and cheating it may be, can never aspire. The unlearned rich man is not held in respect; he is valued infinitely less than the poorest scholar who has taken a degree at the great competitive examinations.

There is no hereditary nobility in the empire, unless the descendants of the Imperial family can be considered such, though these do not constitute the real aristocracy of the country, which is official and not hereditary.

Rank is graded by literary examinations. Every office except that of the emperor, is determined by these, which are accordingly of extreme interest, especially since we in this country have lately adopted a similar method of appointing the minor officers of state, and have thus been imitating the civil service system of the Chinese, with all its good and bad points.

To obtain the first degree three examinations must be undergone; the preliminary one taking place in the chief town of the district where the candidate is native. There are always great numbers of candidates, and the examinations are severe. In 1832, out of 4,000 who competed in the two districts around Canton,

only twenty-seven were successful. Indeed, for fifteen to be successful out of five hundred is reckoned rather remarkable.

The next examination is held in the departmental city, and the number of candidates who present themselves are of course much



A GREAT SCHOLAR.

fewer. At the first examination the roads leading to the district towns are crowded with candidates on foot, on horseback, in carts, or in palanquins. After this departmental examination another sifting occurs. Those who have passed have their names placarded as having gained "a name in the department," just as at the previous examination they had obtained "a name in the village."

The next examination is severer still, being held under the



supervision of an imperial examiner, who visits every department twice in three years. The "bachelor degree," if one may use this term, is gained by this, and is only given to a certain number of the successful candidates in proportion to the population of the respective districts. Most men do not think of going beyond this degree, unless they intend to seek official employment. The possession of it confers many privileges; amongst others exemption from corporal punishment.

The next examination occurs every three years at the provincial capital in September, and is sometimes attended by as many as ten thousand bachelors, anxious to compete for the degree of licentiate. It is conducted by two examiners from Peking. At Nankin, on one occasion, twenty thousand men competed, and the degree of licentiate was awarded to less than two hundred.

Out of seventy-three candidates, who on one occasion obtained this degree at Canton, five were under twenty-five years, eight between twenty and twenty-five, fifteen between twenty-five and thirty, eighteen between thirty and thirty-five, nine between thirty-five and forty, twelve between forty and forty-five, three between forty-five and fifty, while three were over fifty.

Hence it appears that few attain this degree till well advanced in life. However, all these are not fresh candidates; many are unsuccessful and, until rendered hopeless by being "plucked" year after year, will regularly, as the examinations come round, make attempts to obtain the coveted distinction.

On an average from twelve hundred to seventeen hundred may annually obtain the degree in all the eighteen provinces. At these examinations each student is placed for several successive days in a little cell, so uncomfortable that it does not admit of the occupant lying down at full length. Every candidate must have a cell to himself, and the number of competitors being so great, regard has to be had to economy of space, especially as all Chinese cities are very crowded.

The third, or examination for the doctor's degree, is held at Peking, and thither all the competing licentiates must go. These seldom exceed from two hundred to three hundred. The highest degree is that of "Han-lin." It is also held at Peking, and the few who attain it become members of the Han-lin College, and

receive fixed salaries. The licentiates are on the high road for preferment as vacancies occur; the doctors are ensured an immediate and important office, while from the select Han-lin College are chosen the emperor's ministers.

The greatest care is taken that these examinations shall be fairly conducted. The building in which they are held is specially constructed for the purpose, with double walls, between which sentries are continually pacing. The gates are strictly watched, and when the candidates enter the examination hall they are searched for books or scraps of paper that might assist them in writing their essays, and the most scrupulous precautions are taken to prevent communications between the candidates.

Their food they take with them, and the government provides a pitcher of water for each. Three sets of themes are given, each occupying two days and a night. Until that time has expired no one is allowed to leave his examination cell.

When the essays are written, they are first scrutinized as to their conformity with the regulations, for they must not exceed



A SCHOOLMASTER OF PEKIN.

seven hundred characters, nor must there be any character written over the ruled red lines of the examination paper which all have to use; nor is erasure or correction of any kind allowed. Nor, although the theme might be the same, can anyone repeat with improvements an essay of a former examination.

Any obvious fault in composition observed by the officers who superintend this department would prevent the essay from being placed in the hands of the higher examiners. These latter then select the best essays, to the number of two or three hundred, and subject them to the judgment of the two chief examiners, who finally decide which are best, and arrange them in the order of merit. In granting offices the emperor follows the order of names. In addition to these precautions equal care is taken that the examiners shall not abuse the confidence reposed in them by showing favoritism, or having any chance to gratify malice against any candidate.

The examiners are brought from a distance, and surrounded by troops, as much to keep them from being tampered with, as to do them honor in the eyes of the populace. They are not allowed to see the actual examination papers, but only copies made by official transcribers, until they have passed a paper as satisfactory, when the original is brought to them to compare with the copy, and then, if all be right, the candidate's name is seen which up to this point is unknown, having been pasted between two sheets of paper.

Yet when such great things are staked upon these trials of intellect, it can be readily believed that the ingenuity of the Chinese *literati* manages sometimes to elude the most lynx-eyed examiners. Most amusing are some of the ways in which this is attempted.

The American undergraduate who takes into the examination hall a series of notes on his shirt-cuffs, and half a dozen problems of Euclid on his capacious palms, is a bungler compared with his Chinese brother in academical iniquity. The trick of employing a learned substitute — himself a graduate — to enter under the name of a candidate, perform the exercises and, on leaving the building, substitute his essays for those of the real candidate, is a well-worn device in China.

Now and then it happens that a friend in the building learns the themes of the expected essays, writes them in tiny characters on slips of paper, and drops them enclosed in wax into the water supplied to the candidate whom he wishes to favor. But the most daring plan which the reminiscences of the Chinese Dons can recall was that of a candidate who engaged a friend to tunnel under the walls of the examination hall, and thus convey to him through the floor of his cell the documents and other information needed.

The ancestral worship of China, to which allusion has been made, is carried in certain practical ways to an extreme frightful to contemplate. A parent has absolute control over the lives of his children. If he kills one intentionally, he is subject only to a year's imprisonment, and the chastisement of the bamboo; if the child struck him previously, there is no punishment whatever.

As among the Hebrews, the penalty of striking or cursing parents is death, and so tenacious of order are the Chinese, that for one person to strike another with hand or foot is accounted not only a private but a public offence. Hence the common spectacle of two Chinese quarrelling with endless gesticulations, but without coming to blows, the surrounding crowd also taking care to see that the quarrel does not lead the disputants to close quarters. This *instinct* has now become hereditary with the Chinese, for even in the foreign countries to which they have emigrated they carry this wholesome habit of allowing the tongue rather than the fist to act as their safety-valve.

Some of their habits of life and modes of thought are closely interwoven with their governmental system, and are full of interest. A Chinese debtor, for instance, is allowed a reasonable time, fixed by law, to discharge his obligations; but if, after the expiration of these days of grace, he fails to pay, he is liable to the punishment of the bamboo stick. A creditor sometimes quarters himself with his family upon a debtor, and though this is not recognized by the law, no one interferes, provided it be done without tumult or violence.

Death is looked upon by a Chinaman with the utmost unconcern, and suicide is adopted as a means of freeing himself from the

most trifling worry. Yet death is rarely mentioned directly in their ordinary conversation, but is alluded to in a round-about fashion. Ancestors are worshipped, and in every rich man's house is a chamber dedicated to this filial duty. Here are preserved tablets inscribed with the names of the deceased, and at stated seasons, and according to forms prescribed in that huge etiquette code of China — the "Book of Rites" — prostrations and ceremonies are performed before them.

When a person dies it is said that "he has made his salutation to the age," or has "ascended to the sky." "To be happy on earth," they say, "one must be born in Soo-chow, live in Canton, and die in Lianchan;" Soo-chow being famous for pretty women, Canton for luxury, and Lianchan for furnishing excellent wood, for that last important article which a Chinese sets so much store by — his coffin.

The Chinese idea of beauty, or at least of the figure that suits a person of fashion, is rather peculiar. A woman should, for instance, be extremely slender in appearance, while a man should be corpulent, or what we understand as "aldermanic."

Both men and women of rank, or at all above the laboring class, wear their finger-nails long, as a sign that they are not compelled to stoop to manual labor; and to such an extent are these nails allowed to grow, that cases of ivory, silver, and even of gold, ornamented with precious gems, are used to preserve them from being accidentally broken. Even servants now and then attempt this bit of foppery and, to preserve them from being broken, *splice* them onto thin slips of bamboo.

The small feet of the Chinese women are caused by the curious inverted ideas of beauty which Fashion in all nations sometimes succeeds in inspiring and maintaining. In China, this monstrosity must have prevailed for a thousand years, because the Tartar women do not favor it, and have never adopted it. Hence the argument that it antedates the Tartar invasion.

It is produced in early childhood by cramping the feet artificially by means of bandages; and though it renders those thus mutilated incapable of walking, except by holding on to walls, or by very skilfully tottering along, it is regarded as exceedingly "genteel," probably from the idea of its being associated,

like the corresponding case of long nails, with exemption from labor.

The Chinese poets rave of such deformed feet as "golden lilies," and describe the rocking of the women in attempting to walk as the "waving of a willow." The muscles of the leg from not being in use dwindle away, so that the space from the ankle to the knee is not so thick as the wrist. Women who have not this deformity of the feet will sometimes hobble along the street



ON A FASHIONABLE FOOTING.

in a manner intended to deceive the observers into believing that the fashionable foot is theirs.

Ridiculous as this custom is, the student of strange methods for "improving" the person gets habituated to others equally strange: and we who have seen, in the course of our studies of mankind, people flattening their foreheads, tattooing their persons, cutting off their fingers, filing their teeth or dyeing them black, painting their bodies, slitting their ears, compressing the waist, putting stones, bones, or metal through the lips, cheeks, or ears, or in a dozen other ways interfering with nature, have only a gentle compassion instead of profound contempt for such exhibits

of feminine vanity on the part of Chinese ladies, as depicted in our illustration of a belle resting her fashionable understanding on a table.

Never was there a more elaborate code of etiquette than that of China. It is not alone a court etiquette, but one regulated by the State in the elaborate "Book of Rites," preserved through ages; an etiquette which is never altered by fashion — for fashion never changes — and which controls the every-day action of all the Chinese from the emperor to the coolie. Their prescribed ceremonial usages are three thousand in number. The most abject method of showing respect to a superior is by performing the *Kow-tow*, and is that by which a vassal signifies his obedience to his superior.

When an audience is about to be obtained of the emperor, this prostration is previously made before a yellow screen, and though it has been performed by the ambassadors of the Dutch — a nation which in the East has submitted to any indignity which promised to result in profit — it has been always refused by the English and Russian ambassadors, and of late years has not been expected from the representatives of any nation except such as owe vassalage to China.

There are various grades of the *Kow-tow*. For instance, standing and bending the head is less submissive than kneeling on one or both knees, and putting the hands and forehead to the ground. Doing this once is not so humble an act of acknowledgment of inferiority as doing it three, six, or nine times. Abject as it is, such is the innate filial obedience in China, that the emperor will perform it before his mother.

Chinese ladies are taught to paint on silk, to embroider, and to acquire some skill in music; and though cases of learned ladies are not unknown, yet they are not as a rule studiously inclined. The better class of them are modest. To such an extent is this carried that it is accounted indecorous in a lady to show her hands, and accordingly they are covered with long sleeves. When they have been shown pictures of the very *décolleté* dress worn by fashionable European ladies, they very naturally express themselves much shocked at such immodest and indecent costumes.



A SAIL WAGON.



Polygamy is not, as frequently described in books, sanctioned by the law. Every man is limited to one wife, but "left-handed" marriage is permitted to any extent that a man may feel justifiable according to his purse. But the first wife is regarded as the social head of the household, and the bickerings which naturally follow the practice of polygamy render it less common than it would otherwise be.

If the wife has no family, then the taking of a handmaid is considered as natural — the Chinese looking upon the want of a son as a terrible affliction. These handmaids are generally bought for a sum of money from the lowest ranks of the population, and really enter the family as domestic slaves.

No man is allowed to marry any woman with the same surname as himself, all people of the same surname being considered kin, and no government official can marry an actress. Not only is such a marriage, if contracted, void, but both parties are punishable with sixty blows; though, if the official hold the degree of licentiate, this punishment must be remitted for one of corresponding severity, into which corporal punishment does not enter. Finally, though the legal wife is small-footed, the *brevet* ones are not.

A man may divorce his wife for seven different reasons: 1. Barrenness, though this is generally never taken as an excuse, as he has his remedy in legal concubinage. 2. Adultery. 3. Disobedience to the husband's parents; the mother-in-law being more kindly regarded in China than in Europe. 4. *Talkativeness*. 5. Thieving. 6. Ill-temper. 7. Inveterate infirmities.

Any of these, however, may be set aside by three circumstances: the wife having mourned for her husband's parents; the family having acquired wealth since the marriage; and the wife being without parents to receive her back. It is in all cases disreputable, and in some (as those of a particular rank) illegal, for a widow to marry again.

Whenever a widow is herself unwilling, the law protects her; and should she act by the compulsion of parents or other relations, these are severely punishable. Widows, indeed, have a very powerful dissuasive from second wedlock, in being absolute mistresses of themselves and children so long as they remain

widows. Marriage is predestined, the Chinese believe, and early marriages are greatly encouraged. "There are three great acts of disobedience to parents, and to die without progeny is the *chief*," is a Chinese maxim.

The amusing contrariety of Chinese customs as compared with ours has been thus epitomized by a traveller:—

On inquiring of the boatman which way Macao lay, I was answered, "in the west-north"; the wind, as I was informed, being east-south. "We do not say so in Europe," thought I; but imagine my surprise when, in explaining the compass, the boatman added that "the needle pointed to the south!"

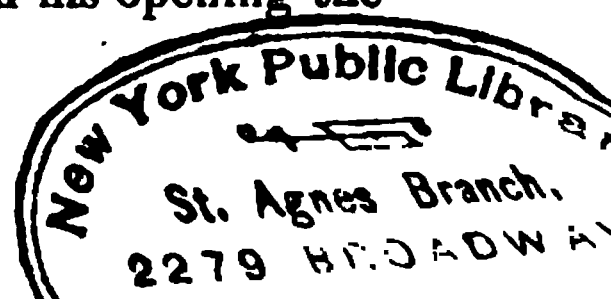
Desirous to change the subject, I remarked that I supposed he was going to some high festival, or merrymaking, as his dress was completely white. He told me, with a look of much dejection, that his only brother had died the week before, and that he was in the deepest mourning for him.

On my landing, the first object that attracted my attention was a military mandarin, who wore an embroidered petticoat, with a string of beads round his neck, and who besides carried a fan; and it was with some dismay that I observed him mount on the right side of his horse. Another strange sight was a wagon impelled partly by a sail. I was surrounded by natives, all of whom had the hair shaven from the fore part of the head, while some of them permitted it to grow on their faces.

On my way to the house prepared for my reception, I saw two Chinese boys discussing with much earnestness who should be the possessor of an orange. They debated the point with a vast variety of gesture, and, at length, without venturing to fight about it, sat down and divided the orange equally between them. At that moment my attention was drawn to several old Chinese, some of whom had gray beards, and nearly all of them huge goggling spectacles.

A few of them were chirruping and chuckling to singing birds, which they carried in bamboo cages, or perched on a stick; others were catching flies to feed the birds; the remainder of the party seemed to be delightedly employed in flying paper kites, while a group of boys were gravely looking on, and regarding these innocent occupations of their seniors with the most serious and gratified attention. . . .

Resolute in my determination to persevere, the next morning found me provided with a Chinese master, who happily understood English. I was fully prepared to be told that I was about to study a language without an alphabet, but was somewhat astonished, on his opening the



Chinese volume, to find him begin at what I had all my life previously considered the end of a book. He read the date of publication — “The fifth year, tenth month, twenty-third day.” “We arrange our dates differently,” I observed; and begged that he would speak of their ceremonials.

He commenced by saying, “When you receive a distinguished guest, do not fail to place him on your left hand, for that is the seat of honor; and be cautious not to uncover the head, as it would be an unbecoming act of familiarity.” Hardly prepared for this blow to my established notions, I requested he would discourse of their philosophy.

He reopened the volume, and read with becoming gravity, “The most learned men are decidedly of opinion that the seat of the human understanding is the stomach.”\* I seized the volume in despair, and rushed from the apartment.

Speaking of stomachs, the Chinese *gourmands* seem to excel in inventing extraordinary dishes. One of the most remarkable of these consists of young crabs thrown into a vessel of vinegar some time before dinner is served. The vinegar corrodes their delicate shells, so that when the lid of the vessel is removed, the lively young crabs scramble out and run all over the table until their career is cut short by each guest snatching up what he can.

The Chinese population is said to be decreasing, though whether this is owing to the terrible destruction of life caused by the Taeping Rebellion, when, through massacre, and famine, and disease whole provinces were decimated, or to an exhaustion of vitality in the race, the lack of anything like a regular census renders all theories of purely personal value. Mr. Colborne Baber, Chinese Secretary of the British Legation at Peking, tells a story which may, perhaps, explain this deficiency of statistics.

In very early times the city of Wa-ming-hsien was governed by a prefect of more than usual discrimination and energy. Having directed a census to be taken by two independent officials he was not astonished to find that the two reports exhibited such an enormous discrepancy that they had to be cancelled, and the deputies reported to the governor for punishment. The prefect then appointed two other officers to number the people.

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\* This is a mistake for they place it in the *heart*. It is an old maxim among good housewives that the way to keep a man's heart lies through his stomach, but this, like many a proverb, is a libel on human nature.

But they, taking warning by the fate of their predecessors, compared notes, and in due time announced Wa-ming-hsien to contain exactly 20,401 souls. However, being unable to agree whether the odd figure referred to a male or a female, they, in their turn, were reported to the governor for punishment. The prefect then determined to take the census himself and set out for the city. But, in the meantime, the timid citizens, alarmed at the pertinacity of the prefect, and apprehending that he was coming to



A RAT PEDDLER.

levy some oppressive tax, fled from the town and hid themselves in the fields.

The astonished satrap, finding the place deserted, and fearing to be "reported to the governor for punishment," hanged himself in the gate, and when his body was discovered, there was found firmly clenched in his grasp a paper containing the following words: "Return of census of the city of Wa-ming-hsien, in the department of Mu-yu-fu: men, *none*; women, *none*; children under fourteen years of age, of both sexes, *none* — grand total, *none*."

In China now are three great religions, if they can be so called, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The first two are indigenous; the last is an importation from India. Koon-foo-tse, or, as his name has been latinized in the writings of the early missionaries, Confucius, was born about 551 B. C., and is now

accounted the great sage and teacher of China. He was the son of a statesman, and chief minister in his native kingdom, one of the many into which China was then divided.

Despising the amusements and gaieties common to his age, he devoted himself to study and reflection in moral and political science; but, unlike the Greek philosopher Aristotle, he investigated none of the branches of natural science, nor did he interfere with the common superstitions. His doctrines, therefore, form a code of moral and political philosophy rather than a religious system, and his followers are really philosophers more than religious sectarians. He endeavored to correct the corruptions which had crept into the state, and to restore the maxims of the ancient kings, who are celebrated in traditional history.

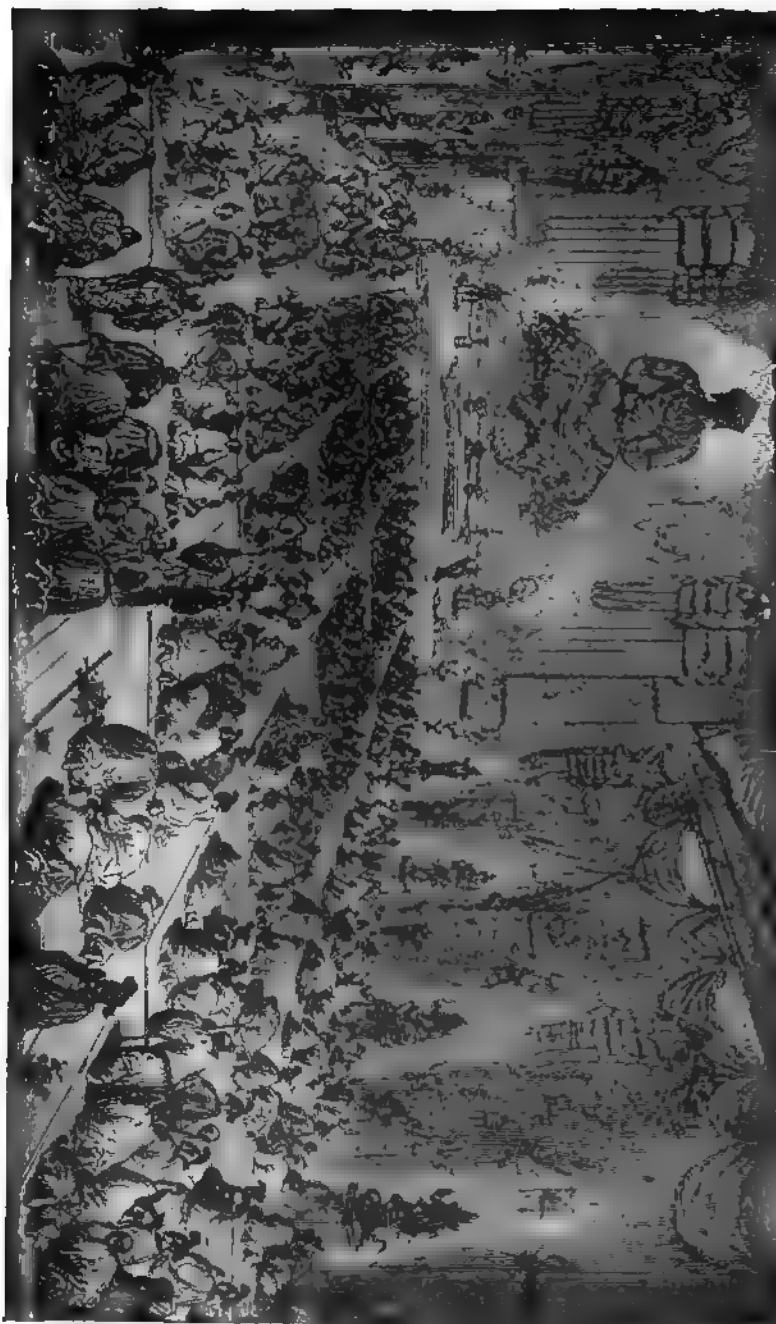
Unswayed by personal ambition, he promulgated his doctrines with a singleness of purpose that, even in conservative China, gained him respect and multitudes of followers; and after being employed in high offices of state he retired in the company of his chosen disciples to compile those collections of philosophical maxims which have now become the sacred books of China.

Nor can it be denied that, though erroneous in some respects, they deserve much of the honor which has been paid them. "Treat others according to the treatment which thou wouldst desire at their hands," and "guard thy secret *thoughts*," were among his favorite maxims. Filial affection he taught, and even enjoined it to such an extent, that he ordered that the slayer of a father should be put to death by the son; that "he should not live under the same heaven," were the words in which he urged this application of the *lex talionis*.

He was modest in his demeanor, though this virtue has not descended with his doctrines to his modern disciples, who are self-sufficient and overbearing to all who do not profess the state religion of China, as Confucianism really is.

Confucius began early in life to labor as a public teacher and gathered around him a large circle of disciples. He devoted himself to reducing the traditions and reigning records of antique Chinese wisdom, gathered by the emperors Yaou and Chun, into a more perfect form, and before his death had compiled and edited the five canonical books of the Chinese.

A BUDDHIST TEMPLE.



The first, the "Yih King," or the "Book of Changes," treats of the beginning of things and of morals, and may be called a cosmological and ethical treatise. The second, "Choo King," was a book of histories. The third, "Chee-King," was a book of poetry, a collection of ballads, to which things Confucius attached great value as means of moulding the national character.

The fourth, the "Lee-Ke," was a "Record of Rites," and is an account of the national ceremonials and religious usages, a knowledge of which is considered essential among the Chinese for the maintenance of social order and the promotion of virtue. The fifth, the "Chum-To-Ew," or Spring and Autumn, is a history by Confucius of his time and of a few preceding reigns. The others are compilations, though containing much original matter, but the fifth is said to be the work of the sage himself.

The writings which rank next to these books in popular estimation are the "Four Shoos," which consists mainly of records of his early sayings gathered by his disciples, except the fourth which contains the works of Mencius, a celebrated writer of the Confucian school.

These books of Confucius have had a curious destiny, having survived imperial jealousy; for in the third century Che-IIwang-Te, who had established the supremacy of the Tsin Dynasty, ordered the sacred books of Confucius to be destroyed because they suggested unfavorable comparisons between his own and former reigns.

This order was tremblingly obeyed, the first alone being exempted from general destruction. As it was then customary for the literati to memorize the writings of the various philosophers, this cruel emperor tried to perfect his infamous scheme by putting four hundred Confucian philosophers to death. But under succeeding sovereigns, these lost works of Confucius were rescued from where they had been hidden by the philosophers or restored by those who had been trained and had trained others to keep them in memory.

"The kings," said Confucius on his death-bed, "will not hearken to my doctrines; I am no longer of use on earth, and it is time for me to go." But to-day, while tenets of other national philosophers have been superseded, those which came from the

lips of Confucius are admired and embraced by one third of the great human family.

Throughout the empire his works are regarded as the standard of moral and political wisdom. Only by a knowledge of them can literary and political distinction be won; and filial piety which has assumed the form of ancestral worship and which was the pivotal point of the system of Confucius may be regarded as the chief religion of the Chinese; for the doctrines of Taouism and of Buddhism have but a very small percentage of followers in comparison with those of Confucius.

The Chinese literature is certainly the most extensive and comprehensive in Asia. The printed catalogue of the emperor's library is contained in 122 volumes, and it is said that a collection of the Chinese classics, with scholia and commentaries, comprises 180,000 volumes. In addition to the "classics," such as the writings of Confucius and Laoutsze there are the codes of the law of China, and a rich series of works on medicine, natural history, agriculture, music, astronomy, etc., and numerous dictionaries.

There are also various encyclopædias and geographical works, as well as a series of the national annals from the year B. C. 2698 to A. D. 1645, comprising 3,706 books. Poetry and the drama are also cultivated, and they have now so far thrown off their national pride and reserve as to have translated several of the best English works on medicine, surgery, etc., into the Chinese language. Book-sellers' shops are common in every town, and books can be bought cheap.

All classes read; even the coolie, resting on his burden for a minute or two, will pull out a book, it may be a romance or a volume of popular songs, and commence reading. Such is the respect for written or printed paper that any waste material of that sort is burnt daily in front of the door, or collected by men who go about from house to house in case any of it should be profaned.


A few Chinese proverbs may show the character of the people and their way of thinking better than any mere description: "A wise man adapts himself to circumstances, as water shapes itself to the vessel that contains it;" "Misfortunes issue out where



disease enters in—at the mouth;” “The error of a moment may become the sorrow of a lifetime;” “Disease may be cured, but not destiny;” “A vacant mind is open to all suggestions, as the hollow mountain returns all sounds;” “He who pursues the stag regards not hares;” “If the roots be left the grass will grow again” (this is the reason given for exterminating a traitor’s family); “The gem cannot be polished without friction, nor the man perfected without trials;” “A wise man forgets old grudges;” “Riches come better after poverty than poverty after riches;” “A bird can roost but on one branch;” “A horse can drink no more than its fill from a river” (Enough is as good as a feast); “When the port is dry the fishes will be seen” (When the accounts are settled, the profits will appear); “Who swallows quick can chew but little” (applied to learning); “You cannot strip two skins off of one cow;” “He who wishes to rise in the world should veil his ambition with the forms of humility;” “The gods cannot help a man who loses opportunities;” “Dig a well before you are thirsty” (Be prepared against contingencies); “The full stomach cannot comprehend the evil of hunger;” “Eggs are close things, but the chicks come out at last” (Murder will out); “To add feet to a snake” (Superfluity in a discourse when the subject is altered); “Who aims at excellence will be above mediocrity; who aims at mediocrity will fall short of it;” “To win a cat and lose a cow” (consequences of litigation); “I will not try my porcelain bowl against his earthen dish;” “Though the life of man fall short of a hundred years, he gives himself as much anxiety as though he were to live a thousand.”

米作非

## VIII.



# Paternal Socialism.

**A** SYSTEM of government that reduces material misery to a minimum; that makes sober habits of industry characteristic of the people; that converts chaos into order and wreathes order with beauty, is surely worthy of study, although it has perished from the face of the earth and lives to-day only in the annals of the more forcible civilization which is trying to build upon its ruins.

It would seem, too, especially worthy of attention at this time in this country, because the unnecessary inequalities between man and man, the vast and intricate problem that stretches between the two extremes of tramp and millionaire, the foolish waste of energy and material which marks our present industrial state, are pressing on the minds of all candid students and are forcing a path into our politics with the tremendous, too often misdirected, energy of those whose thinking is rather a rude passionate feeling than an orderly outcome of ripe reason.

Time, the best, though slowest, of teachers, brings about many changes in the meaning or value of words. Twenty years ago if a man in this country called himself a Socialist, he would have been looked upon with grave suspicion either as a crank or an

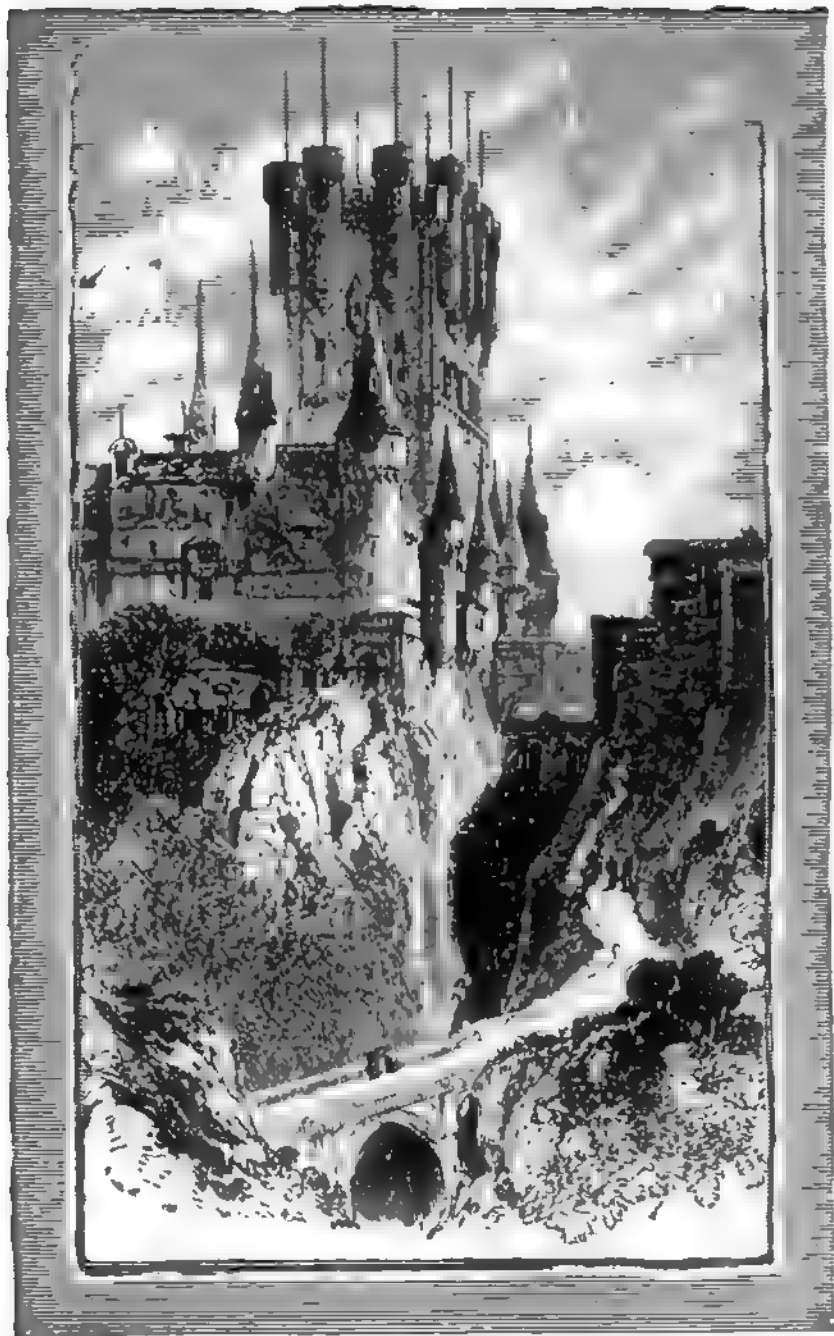
enemy to society. To-day a man who has been professor of international law at one of our leading colleges permits himself to be nominated on a Socialist ticket in New York, and actually receives over thirteen thousand votes. Nor is this an exceptional fact. In many State legislatures bills are being introduced which are either openly or veiledly socialistic in their tendencies.

Socialism to many of us comes with the electric shock of a new idea, and at first some are unable to decide whether the shock is a pleasant one or the reverse. The question, of course, at once arises what is it? what does it mean? And the answer is rather difficult, because in modern days there are a great many varieties. The fundamental ethics of it, however, are not new. They are expressed or implied in every great religion, and especially are they marked with strength in the teachings of the founder of Christianity and in the early development of that belief.

Probably the purest expression of the ethical side of Socialism is that implied by Christ in the parable of the vineyard. The master paid those who came in to work at the eleventh hour just the same as the workers who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and rebuked those who grumbled at the apparent unfairness of this. The surface argument is that the first had no cause to complain because they received all they had bargained for, and the employer had an inherent right to pay just as much as he wished to the others who worked less.

But a comparative study of all Christ's attitudes towards the economic conditions of his time is likely to draw a candid mind to the conclusion that, under the superficial argument of the employer's inherent right to do as he pleased with his own, lies the intended suggestion that those men who only had the opportunity or ability to work one hour were paid the same by the just and tender taskmaster on the broad ground that their human needs were the same.

The modern phrasing of this doctrine is that society should demand from each a measure of work in accordance with ability, and should give to each a measure of comfort according to individual need; or, in other words, the philosophic Socialist aims to equalize men as much as possible materially, being cognizant, of course, that vast moral and mental inequalities must continue to



A CASTLE IN SPAIN.

prevail for ages; must always, indeed, persist within certain degrees, else there would be no difference of character, but one vast dead-sea level of monotony.

Briefly stated, the chief moral argument of modern Socialism, and perhaps the strongest plea that could be put forth in its favor, is that, by doing away with the sordid pressure of material inequalities, a greater opportunity will be afforded for the development of finer, more original individualities.

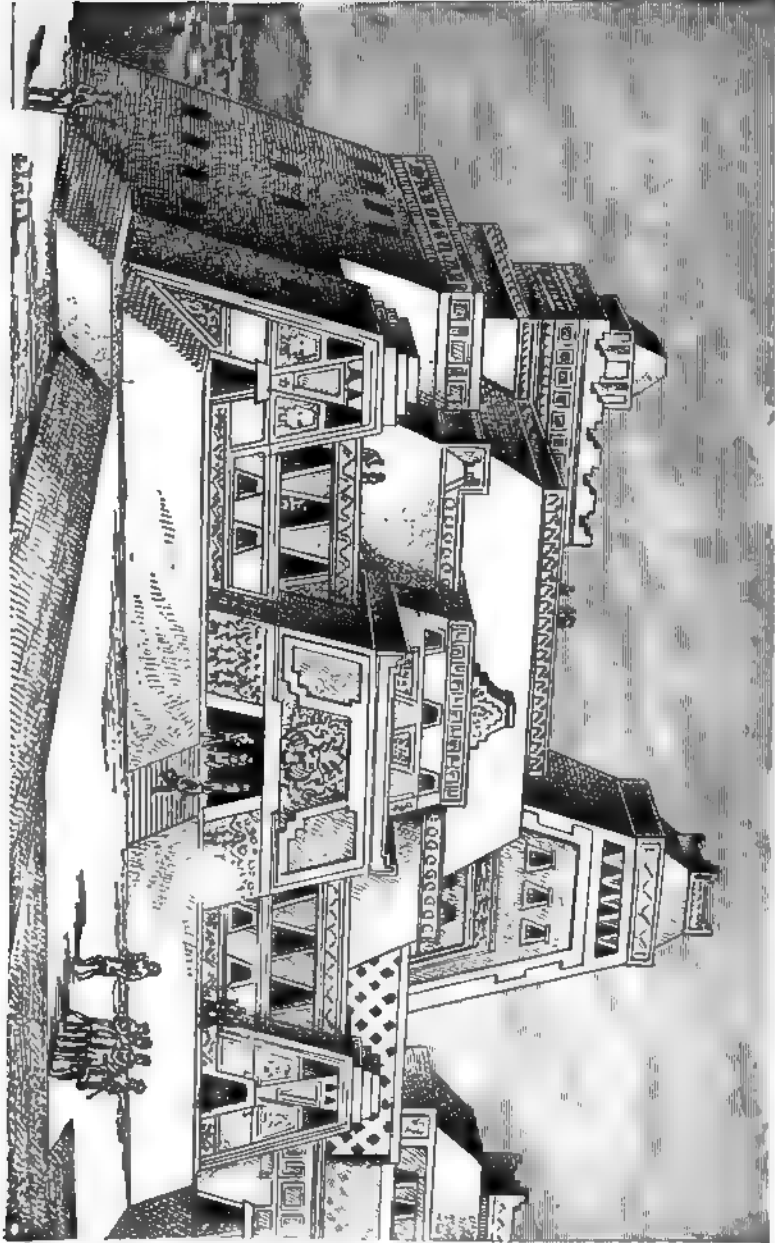
Men to-day in the mass are becoming too much like the machines which they tend. Our civilization seems to be reducing itself to an absurd play of mere materialistic forces, and to be bringing forth, on an average, as its children, a mere concatenation of echoes, — not men, but sounding brasses and tinkling symbols of men.

But some individuals are inclined to recoil, when brought face to face with the ultimate economic proposition of Socialism, namely, that every business necessary to the general welfare should be managed by the people collectively; that is, that every municipality should have its public bakeries, shoeshops, etc., and supply its citizens with the necessaries of life at cost, instead of allowing private citizens to make fortunes at the expense of the majority of workers by the accidents or the chicaneries of trade.

Socialism, it is true, already operates as an active element in the Government of the United States, — the post-office being a shining example of it on a national scale and the ownership by some cities and towns of their water supplies, gas and electric light, being instances also of its advance into popular favor.

But while all sensible men who have ever given the matter sufficient study agree as to the advisability of socializing the larger businesses of the country such as railroads, telegraphs, telephones, expressage, mines of all kinds, lighting and water supplies, and possibly meat, bread, and ordinary clothing, yet some cautious thinkers are inclined to feel that Socialism might become too much like a monstrous monotonous despotism, if it were permitted to permeate all the avenues of human activity.

Still there would be a vast difference in a Socialism like that of ancient Peru, which emanated from an authority above, forcing



INCA PALACE ABOUT THE TIME OF PIZARRO.

itself down on a people, and the Socialism that grows up from a democratic community superseding the old fancy of government as a power independent of the governed, and making it mean a simplified administration of the business of the people considered as an organic whole.

Many small examples of democratic Socialism have existed, and in the chapter on Switzerland its political aspects are fully presented. There are to-day certain communities in the United States which are Socialistic in character, though religious in name; but there have been very few examples in the world of Socialism on a national scale. The present Emperor of Germany is, indeed, giving spread to a belief that he intends to socialize his empire as much as possible, but it can hardly be called an example of national Socialism, though it presents many of its features.

To find our best illustration, therefore, we are forced to look in the early history of the new world, for when Pizarro, with a mere handful of greedy adventurers, conceived the audacious project of wresting the empire of Peru from the grasp of the Incas, he found himself face to face with a system of government more strange to the European mind of that epoch than any of the physical marvels which the Europeans who followed Columbus had gazed on in Mexico or Panama.

Pizarro, of whom we present a picture in one of his most famous attitudes, was a wonderful man, although he could neither read nor write. Nearly every schoolboy remembers how in his day of apparent weakness and disaster, he drew a line in the earth with his sword, saying, "On this side lies Panama with its poverty, on that, Peru with its untold treasures. Those who will follow me, step across that line," and a famous little band, whose names the Spanish historian proudly records, crossed the line, after which there was no hint of turning back.

The Government of Peru was an absolutism, but not in the sense with which we apply that word to Russia or China, because under the beneficent rule of the Peruvian kings the country from the Andes to the ocean had been transformed into a garden, and the government, apart from the necessary maintenance of the emperor and the national religion, was essentially the business of the people, wisely administered and with very little friction.

That a vast country in which the term, national wealth, really meant national health — a polity which had largely multiplied and then fairly divided the sum of human happiness — should have succumbed so easily to so small a band as Pizarro led, might seem to imply some inherent weakness in the socialistic scheme as a basis for permanent government.

For two hundred men to seize such an empire — what a miracle ! But Fate fought on the Spanish side.



PIZARRO DRAWING THE LINE.

Coming as they did partly on the horse, a new and monstrous sight to Peruvian eyes, and clad in shining armor, and having strange and terrible weapons full of thunder and lightning, the Spanish invaders seemed unquestionably the divine children of the Sun, fresh from Heaven, for whom popular superstition had long looked forward. Then, too, Pizarro, imitating Cortez, seized the Inca's person, and the Inca, being High-priest as well as Emperor, his subjects hardly dared to attempt a rescue, lest his sacred blood should be shed.



The Spanish historians record with grave amazement that they had discovered a miraculous land in which there was no such thing as a poor or discontented man; in which everybody worked, from the emperor downward, a reasonable length of time at tasks fitted to their strength and their ability; in which the problem of mere living, as it confronts us moderns in our so-called civilized cities, had been satisfactorily settled; in which the average of human happiness was large and increasing. The Spaniard found Peru a comparative paradise of paternal Socialism; he made it a hell of brutal competition.

This wonderful Socialistic Empire (which, partly because of the superiority of the Spanish fire-arms to the Peruvian weapons, and partly because the superstitious people readily believed that their invaders, so fair of countenance, were direct children of the Sun, fell such an easy prey to Spanish cupidity) was at this period of its overthrow spreading its power in every direction, and some of the neighboring nations which it was trying to absorb were of a civilization almost equal in splendor, if not in some respects superior; as for instance, the Chimuans, whose architecture, as conjecturally restored from ruins by the modern scientific mind, must have been something at once delicate and massive, and far in advance of Peruvian art. The contrast between clashing systems of civilization is sometimes clearly shown in their architecture, and the two pictures, "A Castle in Spain" and "A Chimuan Palace," with which this chapter opens, are excellently suggestive examples of this fact.

The material realm of the Incas, when Pizarro seized it with an audacity that has no parallel in history, was of vast extent and singular shape. It fronted the Pacific Ocean from 2° north latitude to about 37° south; or, in other words, it consisted of the western part of the modern republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili, with an indeterminate stretch to the east where the mountains and barbarous tribes made its expansion somewhat slow, although that growth had been constant for three hundred years.

This comparatively narrow strip of land, rarely more than sixty miles in width,<sup>1</sup> was a country apparently unfavorable to agri-

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<sup>1</sup> One of the native historians, Garcilasso, intimates that the empire at its widest place did not exceed four hundred miles.



A MAQUEY SUSPENSION BRIDGE.

culture or to easy intercommunication and comfortable living, for along the sandy coast it rarely rained, and but scanty streams fed the earth, and it was hemmed in all along by colossal mountains from three to four miles high whose solemn and forbidding grandeur seemed to cast a sort of deterrent shadow over the aspirations and attempted improvements of man.

The steeps of these sierras with their frowning giant faces of naked porphyry and granite, the frightful precipices, furious torrents, and gorges of impenetrable gloom that abound in these regions, at times struck terror or at least dismay into the stout hearts of the invading Europeans. But they found, as they advanced, that the art of man had conquered the stubborn heart of nature in a way that filled them with wonder; for Europe at that time presented no equal spectacle or even hint of such superb triumphs of mind over matter as the Government of Peru had achieved for its people.

The naturally barren coast was fertilized by a system of canals and underground aqueducts. Many of the most imposing mountains were terraced up to their snowy plateaus with gardens in which the fruits and vegetables of various zones were raised, and amid these orchards and gardens at many points towns and hamlets were seen clinging to the mountain sides so high above the average track of the clouds as to delude at first, when the dawn disclosed them to the beauty-loving eyes of the Spaniard, with the physical fancy that these villages were suspended in mid-air and might vanish, like dreams, at the voice of the breeze of morning.

Above these towns nestling so confidently on the breasts of the giant mountains, were snowy plains that rose gradually towards the peaks, and over these white deserts of the sky wandered innumerable flocks of llamas, the Peruvian sheep, from whose wool the government clothed the people. And across chasms, from the like of which, when they traversed the empire's borders, the Spaniards had shrunk back almost with horror as from living pictures of the abysses of that hell with which their religion threatened them, — across ravines whose dark, dizzying depths tempted such as gaze too long to plunge into annihilation, — across wide gorges where tumultuous torrents chanted mad litanies

of liberty or seemed like the rude flashing laughters of the Titan mountains, — laughters at the pygmy, Man, who had dared attempt to utilize their forces, — across these divisions of unco-operant and defiant nature the genius of the Peruvian had swung suspension bridges, binding precipice to steep and hill to hill with rope-roads made from the fibres of the maguey.



FRONT VIEW OF A MAGUEY BRIDGE

These ropes were twisted into cables the size of a man's body, and fitted into holes in immense pillars of solid rock carved out of the opposite faces of the cliffs. They were cross-pieced with wood and other smaller ropes, and the sides were protected by a sufficiently high railing. Of course, there was some elasticity to bridges made of such material, and their oscillations under the passage of troops were at first frightful and sea-sickish to the Spaniards.

But these bridges, in their size, frequency, and stability, together with the great smooth stone roads traversing the moun-

tain passes and connecting the capital, Cuzco, with the remotest villages of the empire, never ceased to excite the admiration of the conquerors. These roads have been suffered now to fall from disrepair into decay, and mostly into disappearance. But the fragmentary stretches that remain attest their pristine massiveness, and the great traveller and philosopher, Humboldt, always sparing in his praise, ranks them among the most useful and stupendous works ever executed by man.<sup>1</sup>

Let us glance at the chief capital of ancient Peru, the city of Cuzco,<sup>2</sup> the heart of the empire in which centred all the roads like the arms of the government. Peru was not the name of the empire, but was given by the Spaniards in mistake. The natives with pardonable pride called their country *Tavántinsúyu*, or the Four Quarters of the World, and, as if in token of the truth thereof, from the great city of Cuzco where hundreds of thousands lived happily, with no want, no poverty, and but little disease, rayed forth four great roads to the four points of the compass, and the four provinces of the empire.

Cuzco, too, was divided into four quarters, and the various races that gathered there lived each in the quarter nearest its own province, and each by law wore the general costume of the province, modified of course in some measure by individual taste, but never so much as to hide the place or the rank to which they belonged.

The capital was thus a miniature of the empire. Each of these provinces was ruled by a viceroy, or royal deputy, and a council, and these viceroys not only sent continual reports to the sovereign or Inca residing in Cuzco of the condition of the people, the weather, crops, etc., but a certain part of every year they convened in Cuzco to pay their respects to the Inca, and listen to his plans for the improvement or extension of the empire, thus forming a sort of Cabinet to the Crown.

The decimal system invented by the French and adopted by all scientists was used by the Incas of Peru in their government with remarkable results. Such things as the finding of an unknown

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<sup>1</sup> *Le grand chemin de l'Inca était un des ouvrages les plus utiles et en même temps des plus gigantesques que les hommes aient exécuté.—Humboldt.*

<sup>2</sup> It was situated about the middle of present Peru.

dead body, or a mysterious disappearance which we so often read of in our newspapers was an impossibility in Peru, for every person was numbered, not in the sense of having a tag, but in the sense of that Scriptural passage which informs us that in the eyes of a truly paternal deity every hair of our heads is numbered. So in Peru, there was no one so insignificant as not to receive the attention of the government.

The nation at large was divided into decades, or tens, and every tenth man was an officer, or high servant of the rest, his duty



MODERN CUZCO.

being to see that they enjoyed all their rights, to solicit aid for them from the government when necessary, and to bring offenders to justice. Justice, so often a bitter jest with us, was a reality in Peru, for in case of neglect the judge had to pay the penalty of the guilty, and he had only five days to decide cases.

These decades were grouped in fives, tens, and hundreds, up to ten thousand, each head of a decade being under the supervision of a man representing five decades sometimes, but generally ten; or in other words each hundred men had nine special officers and one general captain, each thousand men the same, every captain of one grade being a subordinate of the next higher till ten thou-

sand was reached. The whole empire was arranged in departments of ten thousand with a special governor appointed from the Inca nobility.

Under this system authority was so subdivided and graduated, and had so many mathematical checks on it that individual oppression or domination was almost impossible. Officialism or bureaucracy was prevented from being an evil by making it all-pervasive.

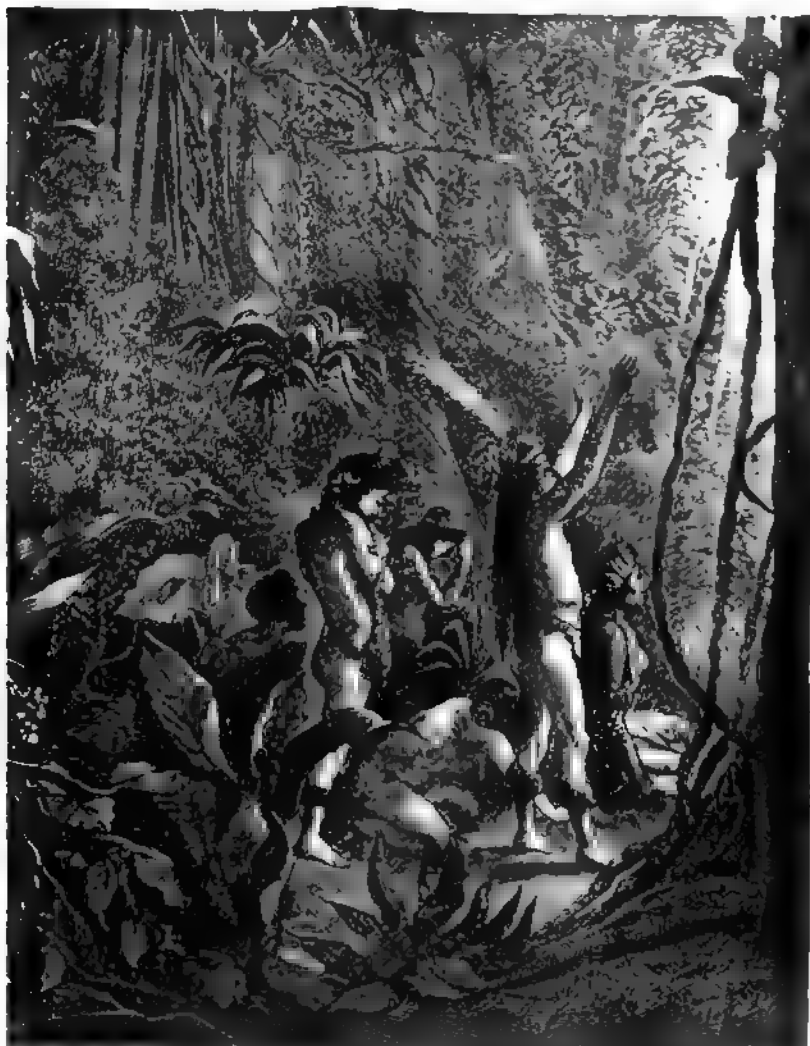
Not only was every man accounted for from his birth to his death, but he felt that he counted in the vast sum of serene happiness which radiated from the sacred person of the Inca, who was at once the hereditary high priest of the national religion, and the loving manager of his people's material affairs, watching over the minutest concerns of their daily lives. This was not felt to be, as some administrations in France have been, a vast system of espionage, but a sympathy of the great man with his children that was tireless and almost sleepless.

The Peruvian felt always a line of communication vibrating from himself to his sovereign, for although there were no courts of appeal, and the few laws were very severe, the rights of the individual were safeguarded by a committee of visitors which at certain periods perambulated the kingdom, investigating the character and conduct of the magistrates, and punishing in a summary way any judicial errors or delinquencies. Nor this alone, for the lower courts had to make monthly reports of all cases to the higher, and these to the viceroy, so that the Inca seated at Cuzco could review, reach out and rectify any abuses.

There being no money in Peru, few laws were needed, and crime was rather a rarity, and at the time of the invasion was probably becoming rarer, because death was the penalty of the most grave violations of law, and criminals were thus prevented from perpetuating themselves.

The crimes of theft and murder were capital, and so was a breach of the marital vow, though it was justly provided that extenuating circumstances might be taken into consideration by the judges to soften the sentence. Blasphemy against the Sun or against the Sovereign, — an exceedingly rare offence, — and burning a bridge were death.

Removing landmarks, turning a water-course from a neighbor's land to one's own, and destroying a house were rigorously punished, as for instance, by a public flogging. Yet no needless



EARLY PERUVIANS WORSHIPPING THE SUN.

cruelty was displayed. No ingeniously prolonged torments such as we used to have in the mediæval period of our civilization were permitted among the mild and polished Peruvians.



But we must consider their religion in order to understand fully the vastness of the authority which a Peruvian Inca must have possessed in order to be able to produce such a majestic fabric of government composed of harmonized minutiae like a huge temple built of many little bricks, and furthermore to be able to hand it from sire to son for centuries with improvement instead of impairment.

This religion was primarily a worship of the sun, whom they identified as the source of all spirit and force in the universe, just



LIGHTING THE SACRED FIRE.

as our modern science identifies that luminary as the parent of all the celestial phenomena of our system. The late dictum of science, that our earth and all its potentialities had no separate creation, but was at some unimaginably distant epoch shot forth

from the sun as a flying spark or cooling cinder of fiery nebulous matter, was an old accepted belief with the Peruvians.

The earth was sun-born, and all its children were of that high origin, but they had fallen from their first estate according to the Peruvian, as well as the Judaean tradition, and stood in sore need of redemption from their degraded habits of worshipping widely and wildly nearly everything in nature, of making war their pastime and cannibalism their festivity. Therefore the Sun-God in his pity sent two of his direct children, Manco Capac and Mama Oello Huaco, to gather the natives into communities and teach them the arts of a softer, sweeter, and serener life, — a life more worthy of their originally divine descent. Rarely do fables bear such practical fruit as was the case in Peru.



AN EARLY INC'A AND HIS QUEEN.

*(From an old Spanish drawing.)*

This celestial pair, brother and sister, husband and wife likewise, were bidden, so says the fable, to advance along the high plains near Lake Titicaca, bearing with them a great wedge of gold, and where the wedge should slip from their hands and sink into the ground, there they were to abide and found the City of the Sun. They had gone but a short space in the valley of Cuzco when the miracle occurred, and proved itself completely by the wedge sinking speedily into the earth and disappearing forever. Here was founded the Holy City, and from the holy pair were descended, so the people believed, the Inca race who ruled them.

High descent is not such a vain thing, after all, as it often seems at first blush to a philosopher, if those who have it strive to live up to it. And it appears to be admitted that the Inca sovereigns were as deeply conscious of what was due from them as demi-divinities to the people they swayed, as they were of what was due to them in the matter of reverence and honor. The French motto "*Noblesse oblige*" was exemplified in the lives of the Peruvian princes to a wonderful degree.

Before considering the minute details of the policy developed by these extraordinary monarchs, perhaps a brief picture of an Inca's personal pomp might be of interest and value. The Inca was placed, by his being the head of the Church as well as of the State, so immeasurably above all his subjects that even the haughtiest of the nobles who claimed descent from the same divine luminary could not venture into his presence except barefoot, and bearing on the shoulder a slight burden in sign of servitude or homage.

As the sun is the source of all force, so the Inca was the fountain of all honor, power, or wealth. He raised armies and usually led them in person, whenever an extension of the empire among the barbarous tribes to the East was planned. He imposed taxes, made the laws, and appointed the judges. Louis XIV. of France was, according to his own epigram, himself, the State, but a Peruvian Inca was more; he was Church and State in one.

And the Inca never forgot the supreme seriousness of the part assigned him by destiny in the drama of this earth-life. He assumed a pomp in his style of living and an exclusiveness

such as few kings could conceive or sustain. His dress was of the finest wool dyed in divers colors and crusted profusely with bits of gold and jewels. A many-colored, many-folded turban crowned his head, blazing with jewels, and with a tasselled fringe of deep scarlet, while two feathers of a rare and strange bird, called the *coraquenque*,<sup>1</sup> standing upright in the turban gave a certain touch of ærial or winged grace to the dazzling splendor of the royal head-dress.

But though the Inca was, or felt himself to be, so superior to even the highest of his subjects, he condescended occasionally to fraternize with them, and took especial pains to inspect the condition of the lower classes and to provide for



AN INCA TRAVELLING.

their pleasures. At some of the religious festivals he presided in person, instead of by deputy, and even entertained at his table some of the great nobles, complimenting them on their management of his provinces or his armies, and even drinking the health of such as he was most inclined to honor.

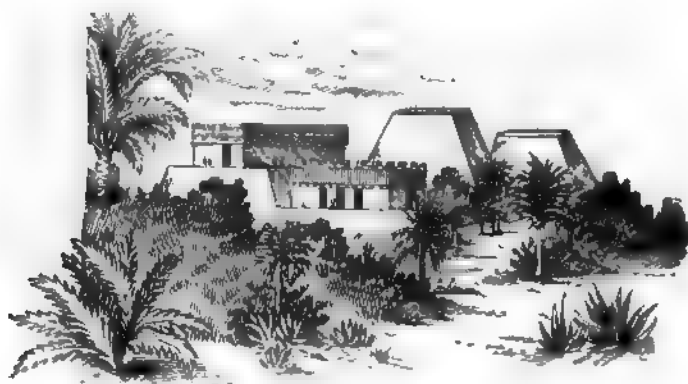
At intervals of several years he made a circuit of his vast estate, or empire, carried in a sedan chair, stopping at the governmental inns along the route, or at some of his many palaces in the great towns.

As he passed along the grand roads which the genius of his

<sup>1</sup> These birds were only found in a desert among the mountains, and it was death to touch them, as they were reserved for royal headgear.

ancestors had conceived, and which he kept in perfect condition, the glad populace crowding from adjacent villages strewed flowers before him and sang songs, as they carried forward his baggage from one village to the next. Now and then he made a longer stop to listen to grievances, or to settle points referred to him from legal tribunals, and wherever he halted in this way the people regarded the spot thereafter as holy ground.

The palaces of the Inca were not of imposing exterior, being low and long with rather small apartments not communicating with each other, but opening into a common square or courtyard. The



A GOVERNMENTAL HOTEL.

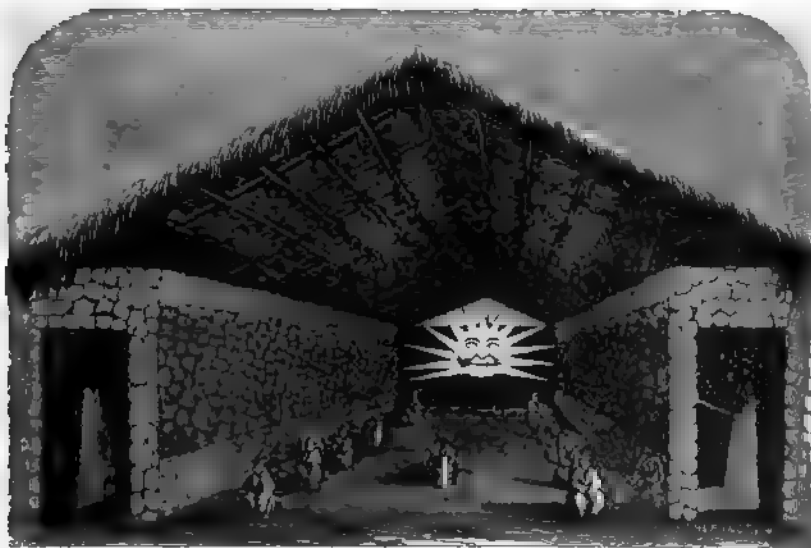
sides were of massive stone, and the roofs were of wood or in some places only a thatch of rushes.

But, inside, the wealth of the empire flooded floor and wall with splendor, and dazzled the senses with a barbaric drunkenness of magnificence. Gold and silver wrought into strangely shapen vessels, images of animals and plants made of the same costly stuff, and tapestries of gorgeously colored wool as delicate in texture as it was rich in hue would have tired the vision by their profusion, had it not been relieved by the marvellous variety in shape and arrangement.

The favorite retreat of the Incas from cares of state was at Yucay, about twelve miles from Cuzco. Here, amid groves and gardens they loved to linger with their favorite wives, for though the rest of the people were monogamous the Incas as a rule were

not. The queen wife, as among the Egyptians, was generally a sister, this being a part of their religious duty as descendants from the first Inca pair who were brother and sister.

Here they had baths that put to shame those of the Roman emperors; huge tanks of gold into which crystalline waters delicately perfumed were conducted through subterranean pipes of silver, while flowers of rarest hue and richest odor grew crowding over the margins; and side by side with the natural flowers and graceful shrubs that sprang up without coaxing in this temperate region of the tropics were planted parterres of a kind never seen



A TEMPLE OF THE SUN.

in Europe, myriad forms of floral and vegetable life skilfully imitated in gold and silver.

Among these what most astonished the Spaniards were reproductions of Indian corn—that most beautiful growth among American grains—where the workmanship was so exquisite that an ear of gold was half displayed nestling among broad leaves of silver with a light feathery tassel of the same metal dangling gracefully from its top.

Should such a sketch of Peruvian opulence stagger the reader's faith, let him reflect that the Andes teemed and still teem with

gold and silver, and that none of the ore taken from the mines was converted into use as money but all belonged to the Inca to be converted into beauty. But the display of kingly wealth such as the Spanish historians attest may fairly cause surprise when coupled with the fact that in this respect an Inca owed nothing to inheritance.

His tremendous treasures were of his own amassing, for at death all his palaces but one, with all their contents just as he had left them, were closed up forever. The reason for this was the belief that the soul of the departed might or would return to earth sometime, and they wished him to find everything just as he left it before he took his journey among the stars.

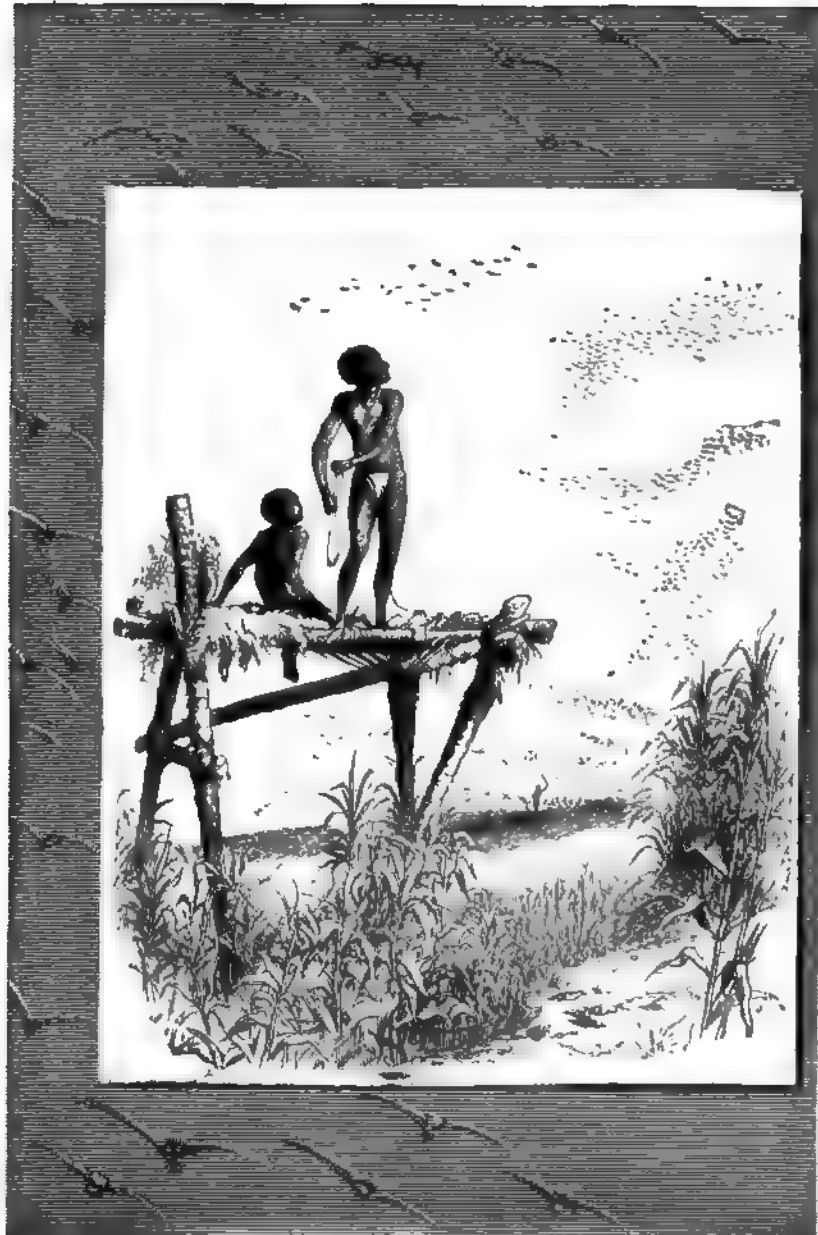
When an Inca died, or in his own language "was called home to the palaces of his father the Sun," his funeral was even more solemn and gorgeous than his life. His bowels were removed and buried in the temple of Tampu, fifteen miles from Cuzco, and with them were buried some of his gold and jewels, and some of his servants and favorite wives.

As in India, where a similar custom prevailed even into this century till abolished by the British, many of the immolations on the part of the women were voluntary; and it is of record that sometimes the women when denied this doom of conjugal devotion took the religious rite into their own hands and killed themselves over the grave.

This curious ceremony was followed by a year of general mourning, the people grieving in processions and the poets singing the virtues and glories of the departed as if to stimulate his successor to still higher achievement. The Peruvians were more skilful than the Egyptians in the wretched device of prolonging the integrity of the body beyond the limit set to it by nature, and this skill produced a spectacle that filled the Spaniards with an awesomeness which even for years continued to affect them.

On entering the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco one might see, ranged face to face, the men on the right, and the women on the left, the embalmed bodies of all the kings and queens of the Inca race; while on the walls of the temple shone many a dazzling reproduction in gold of the sacred, all-beholding sun.

These bodies, dressed precisely as in life, sat on golden chairs,



PERUVIAN BOYS GUARDING A GRAIN FIELD.



with their heads bent slightly forward and their hands crossed over their bosoms. It seemed like an assembly of priests at some mysterious devotion, and was so startlingly like life that the Spaniards at first found difficulty in believing that it was merely a museum of mummies.<sup>1</sup>

A very strange custom prevailed in regard to these "dead, but sceptred sovereigns who still ruled men's spirits" from their temple and their tomb. On certain festivals each was brought out with great ceremony into the public square of the capital and a banquet was served before this kingly "death's head at a feast," the guests partaking in the presence of the royal phantom with the same forms of courtly etiquette as though he were a living king.

Note has been made of the legislative functions of the empire, showing how they began and ended in the Inca, like the curve of a circle returning on itself. The fiscal regulations and the laws respecting property were equally curious.

The whole territory was divided into three parts; one for the sun, that is, for the maintenance of the national religion, another for the Inca, and the last for the working-classes. These proportions varied in different provinces according to the amount of population, and the greater or less quantity of land needed by the people.

The lands were divided, *per capita*, in equal shares, and as it was provided by law that every Peruvian should marry on attaining a certain age, when this happened the commune in which he lived furnished a dwelling and a lot of land, an additional portion being granted for every child, the amount for a son double that for a daughter.

This division of the soil among the workers was renewed every year, and the possessions of a tenant increased or diminished according to his family. Such a provision might be fancied fatal to any feeling of attachment to the soil, or to that desire for improving it which generally results from permanent ownership.

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<sup>1</sup> After the conquest the Peruvians hid these royal effigies lest the Spaniards should profane them; but five of them were discovered years after, and the historian Garcilasso saw them in 1560, "perfect as life," he says, "without so much as a hair or an eyebrow wanting." As they were borne through the streets of conquered Cuzco, the populace knelt down with tears and groans, and were deeply touched when they beheld some of the Spaniards doffing their caps in sign of respect to departed greatness.

But it is probable that the law in its practical operation confirmed the first occupant in possession year after year, making him a tenant for life, even though his offspring might die, unless, of course, part of his land were actually needed for other members of the community.

The cultivation of the entire territory was done wholly by the people, who first planted and tilled the lands belonging to



MODERN LLAMAS AS BEASTS OF BURDEN.

the church, next the lands of the old, the sick, the widow, the orphan, and of soldiers who were away in actual service, and these duties of religion and of morals having been performed, the people were then allowed to till their own grounds, each for himself, but with the understanding that he must assist his neighbor whenever sickness or the burden of a young family

might demand. Finally came the cultivation of the lands especially appropriated to the crown or the Inca.

It speaks well for the government that in this agricultural arrangement the lands of the Inca were ranked last, and this cultivation of the king's lands was turned into a sort of holiday performance, for the men, women, and children, summoned by musical instruments from the central tower of each neighborhood, came clad in their gayest apparel, and went through their labors singing the popular songs which were so soft and pleasing in character that after the conquest many of them were set to music by the conquerors.

A like system prevailed as to manufactures. The llamas, or Peruvian sheep, belonged exclusively to the Church and to the Inca. A large number were sent every year, from the colder regions where they fed, to the capital for the consumption of the court, and for the religious sacrifices, but these were only the males, and their flesh was not eaten by the common people.

At the season of shearing all the wool was put in public storehouses and then dealt out to each family as it was needed. In the lower or warmer part of the empire cotton was furnished by the Crown in the same way to the people for their garments. After the workers had made their year's supply of clothing, they were required to make the clothes of the Inca and the court officers.

While engaged in both these tasks, committees of inspection visited them to make sure that each household employed the materials furnished for its use in the manner intended, and also to see that everybody in each household, from the child of five to the old granny able to hold a distaff, did their share in this coöperative work.

No one, except the very old, or the sick, could eat the bread of idleness in that empire of order, for law had made impossible the parasitic forms that hang on our civilization and may some day drag it down to chaos and a just oblivion. Idleness, indeed, was a crime in Peru, and industry was made a matter of public honor and rewarded with special prizes.

A similar course was pursued in regard to all other manufactures, special skill in any craft having a tendency, of course, to make that craft hereditary in certain families, and the government



A CHIMUAN PRINCESS.

wisely directing that those who were employed in more arduous or dangerous labors should have shorter hours; as, for instance, those who worked in mines or quarries.

The object of this mild semi-religious despotism was not to get as much work as possible out of a man and use him up in a few years, but to make him work just enough to keep him in good health and keep the general government in a like condition.

Fortified against the pressure of penury on one side, and saved from the degrading passion of avarice on the other, by there being no such mysterious, inanimate mischief as money breeding discord among them, the Peruvians had a fair chance to cultivate the real graces and dignities of life, which are few in number, and do not need far-seeking.

But it was a despotism, and though all fared well and were happier on an average than any race to-day, some fared better than others, possessed a larger share of authority, had finer houses, and walked more proudly in each other's eyes. For there were two orders of nobility in this empire; the first and most important of which was that of the Inca race who boasted a common descent with their sovereign, and basked in the reflected splendor of his celestial origin.

These nobles of the blood royal were utilized as officers all over the kingdom. They wore a peculiar dress just as Chinese mandarins do to-day, and like Chinese mandarins are said to have spoken a special language, not entirely intelligible to the common people.

They alone were admissible to the offices of the priesthood, and the choicest part of the public domain was assigned for their support. For a long time the laws made exception in their favor and just as an early English noble could plead his rank in bar of certain accusations, so an Inca nobleman was held incapable of crime except against one of his order.

The other nobility was that of the curacas who were the caciques or chiefs of recently conquered nations or their descendants. It was the policy of the Peruvian government, when it added by conquest a new tribe to its empire, to retain the ruler of such tribe in his office, and to take his son to the Peruvian capital to be educated.

These sons were thus hostages for the fidelity of the father and, by receiving a governmental education at Cuzco on terms of perfect equality with the sons of the native nobility, they were converted into contented and valuable officers when it came time to appoint them to positions of trust and importance.

They generally succeeded their father in the office of curaca, though it appears that in some provinces the Inca permitted the people to elect their own rulers — a strange germ of democracy or



A PERUVIAN VICEBOY RECEIVING REPORTS BY QUIPUS.

home rule to find in a despotism dead three hundred and fifty years ago!

So well regulated was the Peruvian government that our cumbrous, costly, and extremely uncertain system of taking the census would have filled them with amazement or amusement. Their census was being taken all the time and verified itself from month to month.

The nature of all service required and the amount of all commodities needed in the government of the smallest village were reported month by month to the Inca in his state palace at Cuzco, and a register was kept of all the births and deaths throughout

the country, so that exact returns of the population were made every year; and at certain intervals resurveys of the country were taken so that, furnished with complete statistical details, it was easy for the government, after determining the quantities and qualities of work required, to distribute it among the respective provinces best fitted to perform it. For the different provinces of the country furnished persons peculiarly suited to different employments; one district supplying the most skilled miners, another the most skilled workers in metals or in wood.

The artisan was provided by the government with the materials, and was only required to give a certain portion of his time to the public service. He was then succeeded by another for an equal term, and all engaged in government work were maintained for the time at the public expense.

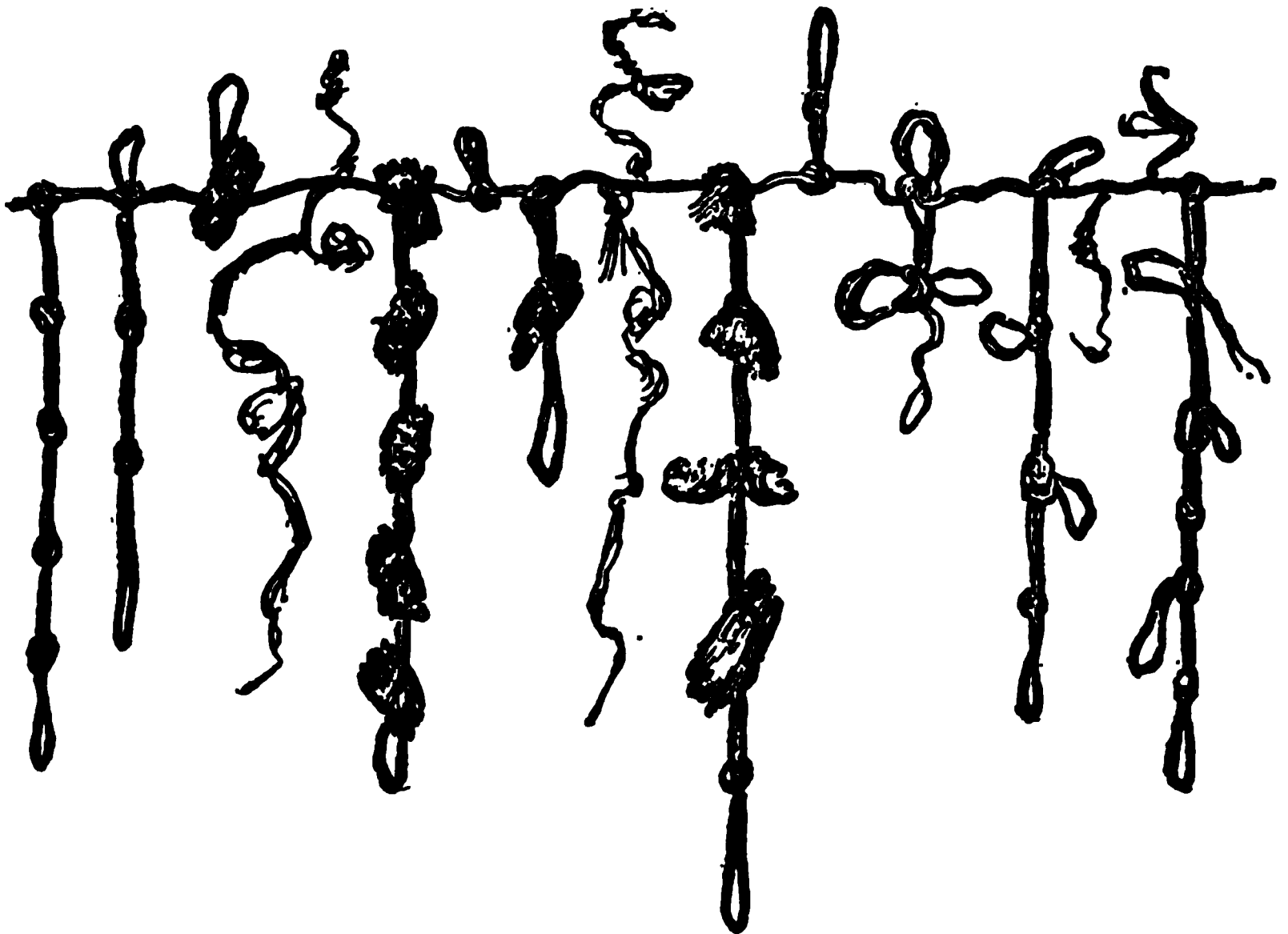
By this constant rotation of labor, and by this study of the special aptitude of each individual, it was intended that no one should be over-burdened, but each have time to provide for his own household. And in the judgment of a Spanish historian who was *corregidor* of Cuzco directly after the conquest, there was no flaw discoverable in this system of governmental distribution, so perfectly was it adjusted to the needs and abilities of the artisan.

The Peruvians had no written language, although they had a literature which the Spaniards found full of beauty and sublimity, and their poets, or *haravecs*, as they were called, were numerous. Their means of transmitting their histories and of communicating with one another were twofold.

Like the early Greek rhapsodists who from father to son, by oral teaching, transmitted the poems of Homer till a later age gathered them into books, the Peruvian literature was always from mouth to mouth, a living literature that recited itself constantly to the people, each historian before he died training a younger one in all his knowledge.

In addition to this method of preserving thought they had what is called the quipu, which was a cord about two feet long made of different colored threads tightly intertwined, with a quantity of smaller threads suspended in the fashion of a fringe. These threads were of different colors and were tied in knots.

The colors denoted objects; white stood for silver, yellow for gold. They sometimes, too, represented abstract ideas; white signifying peace, red war, etc., but though they were used as means of communicating ideas, they were chiefly valuable for arithmetical purposes; the knots serving for ciphers and being



THE QUIPU.

combined in such ways as to represent numbers to any amount.

All the statistics of the empire were forwarded from the different provinces in this fashion, and these skeins of many colored threads, collected and carefully preserved, constituted the national archives. The Spaniards bear witness to the rapidity of their calculations by these means, and at the same time their accuracy.

Clever as were the Peruvians in manipulating their curious language of knots and colors, they were quick to perceive the superiority of an alphabet and of written signs to convey or conserve ideas, when this new method was made known to them by their conquerors.

This point is illustrated in a very striking anecdote told by Garcilasso, a descendant of the Incas who wrote in Spanish a little after the conquest. It is given by him as an additional



cause for Pizarro's barbarity to the captive Inca, Atahualpa, who after a long imprisonment was sentenced to be burnt at the stake.

As the faggots were being kindled, a priest besought the Inca to embrace Christianity and be baptized, promising that if he did his burning should be commuted to the milder punishment of death by strangulation. The Inca yielded, was Christianized and garroted. Garcilasso's story is this.

While in prison Atahualpa, having noticed Spaniards reading, asked a Spanish soldier to write the name of God on his thumb nail. This done, the captive monarch held up his thumb to several of his guards, and as they read it and each pronounced the same word, the penetrative mind of the monarch was pleased with a new science of which his own civilization presented no likeness.

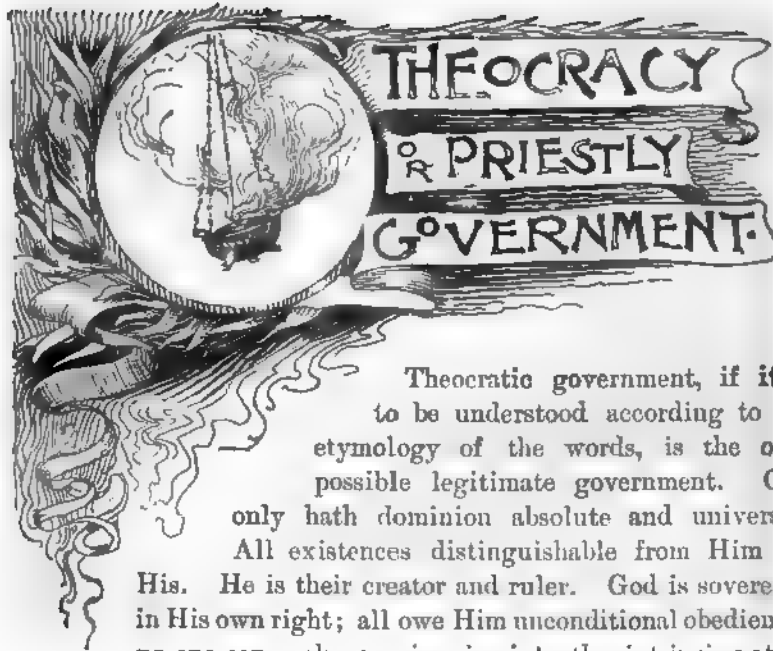
But when he displayed the inscription to his chief captor, Pizarro, that chief said nothing, and the Inca, inferring instantly that he could not read, as was the fact, conceived a contempt for a leader less educated than the men he led.

This contempt the luckless barbarian was not sufficiently politic to conceal, and Pizarro, learning it, thus received the additional sting of a wound to his vanity as a stimulus to his natural cruelty.

Hence one the darkest pages in Spanish history—a page almost as dark as that in which the honest historian has to tell how the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England roasted a whole town of Indian women, children, and old men, firing on all sides at those who sought escape from the conflagration, which is humorously called “An Indian Barbecue” by the Puritan author who wrote an account of it.



## IX.



Theocratic government, if it is to be understood according to the etymology of the words, is the **only** possible legitimate government. God only hath dominion absolute and universal. All existences distinguishable from Him are His. He is their creator and ruler. God is sovereign in His own right; all owe Him unconditional obedience; no one can make any inquiry into the intrinsic nature of His commands before obeying; inquiry can only be made into what is commanded and whether it is really God who commands.

Briefly put, this is the basis in principle upon which every theocratic or priestly government has been established from the beginning. The early human sovereign combined in his personality both the spiritual and temporal authority. In the start it should be remembered these powers were not detached the one from the other, but were both united in the person of the patriarch, or *pater-familias*, the patrician of early Roman history who was both priest and king for his own family, household, or *gens*. In this order of government originally the two powers were united,

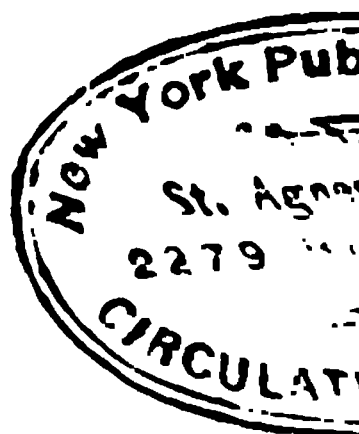
but according to Biblical history in the time and person of Nimrod the temporal separated itself from the priestly sovereignty and erected its own authority.

Nimrod proposed to found a mighty empire of which he alone would reign as absolute lord and master. Among the Gentiles, that is to say, the people who broke away from the patriarchal order and religion, it may be fairly assumed that the separation took place at a much earlier period, probably by violence, which evidently does not appear to have been the case respecting the Jewish people.

These Gentile nations to the superficial observer may appear to have become more vigorous as the priesthood became corrupt, as its influence declined, and as the secular power became more and more predominant; but it is in appearance only; it is the hectic flush of the internal disorder which presages death. In the heroic ages of Greece and Rome religious ideas were a living reality among the people and exerted their most potent influence. When these nations were most assiduous in the worship of their gods, they were at the zenith of their real power.

But when the philosophers came and undermined the belief in the popular religion, and ridiculed the popular worship, Greece became corrupt, fell an easy prey to the invader, lost her independence, and retrogressed almost into barbaric darkness. Rome, which was founded by a colony not yet idolators, became gradually vile; the power and influence of her priesthood declined, the piety of her people so renowned during her ages of progress disappeared, and the Mistress of the World entered upon her long agony under the Cæsars, those tyrants who assumed the title, when alive, of Pontifex Maximus or High Priest and claimed worship as divinities when dead.

The pagan temples were the oldest centres of learning, the oldest repositories of books, and the pagan priests the most cultured class and the first librarians. Such was certainly the case in Egypt from the earliest period, and it was largely so in the Grecian and Roman States. Culture and books were deemed something sacred that should find their home near the sanctuaries of the gods and under the watchful guardianship of the priesthood. The temple of Minerva at Athens, of Serapis in Egypt,







THE PYTHONESS OR PRIESTESS OF DELPHI.



and that of Jupiter Palatine at Rome, not to mention many others of less note, were all renowned centres of learning, and contained extensive libraries. The idea in which this practice originated, — that of making literature tributary to religion, — was both beautiful and sublime.

The Temple of Apollo at Delphi, at the foot of Mt. Parnassus, was the most remarkable on account of the celebrated Amphyctyonic League, comprising representatives of all the Grecian states formed for the purpose of avenging the pilgrims to the shrine of the Sun-god, the inhabitants of Cirrha, a neighboring town, having treated the pilgrims unjustly. This temple contained the famous oracle of which we give the most perfect illustration which modern art, by restoring ancient fragments, has been able to evolve.

A singular fact connects this marvellous home of miracles with early Christianity, namely, that the emperor Nero, who so oppressed and tortured the early Christians, plundered this beautiful pagan temple of its wonderful treasures and its magnificent works of art, and silenced the oracle. Constantine, afterwards converted to Christianity, did likewise, but the oracle regained its voice, and continued to flourish till the reign of Theodosius, having lasted, with a few brief breaks, for nearly a thousand years.

The adytum of the temple where the oracles were delivered and which our illustration depicts, was underground. Within it, over a deep, dark chasm, stood the tripod on which the pythoess or priestess sat. From the chasm rose a warm vapor with a strong, strange odor, acrid and aromatic. Chewing the leaves of the laurel, a tree sacred to Apollo, the Sun-god, the priestess after a while, very likely being affected by the vapor, fell into convulsions in which she poured forth voluminous, though not very luminous, sayings.

These fragmentary sentences were instantly jotted down by the attendant priests who turned them into hexameters or hexameter and pentameter couplets, the popular verse of the time, and gave them forth as the revelations of Apollo, Lord of Life and Light and Poesy. In the earliest days the Pythoness was a young girl, but later only women over fifty were chosen for this important office. Pythonesses had to be natives of Delphi, and old maids of



most unblemished reputation. The snakes represented in the picture were temple pets, their fangs having been drawn, and the name of the priestess, Pythia, or Pythoness, was derived from the Greek word, *πυθειν*, to rot; because, according to the tradition, on the spot where the temple was founded, the Sun-god had slain a huge serpent whose body rotting into the soil gave a magical fertility to the charming valley.

The Hebrew nation presents to us the most complete form of theocratic government which the world has ever seen. Under the patriarchs perfect freedom was enjoyed. Each family was a little state of which the father was king and priest. The faith was handed down by tradition from father to son, and great care taken to preserve the memory of important occurrences by the erection of pillars, altars, and other monuments. Abraham built altars in many places where he said Jehovah appeared to him.

When the patriarchal rule of Abraham, Jacob, and their successors had become absorbed into and overshadowed by that of the inspired law-giver, Moses, the crystallization of the Hebrew nation had begun. The basis of the national unity rested on the unity of faith in Jehovah. The latter was the Lord God of Israel, the omnipotent and omnipresent ruler of his chosen people. He directed Moses to lead them out of oppression in the land of Egypt; smote the Egyptians with plagues and with the death of every first-born, and overwhelmed Pharaoh and his armies in the waters of the Red Sea. His presence on their toilsome march through the desert was made manifest to their corporeal senses, for the Scriptures say, "The Lord went before them to show the way by day in a pillar of cloud and by night in a pillar of fire; that He might be the guide of their journey at both times."

And when they grew hungry in the wilderness and murmured for the flesh-pots of Egypt, He fed them on manna for forty years, until they reached the borders of the land of Canaan. Then on Mount Sinai He declared His solemn covenant: "If therefore you will hear My voice and keep My covenant, you shall be My peculiar possession above all people, for all the earth is Mine. And you shall be to Me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation."

And the Scriptures say, "All the people answered together: All that the Lord hath spoken, we will do." Thus was the cove-

nant agreed upon; and three days later when, as the Scriptures say, "All Mount Sinai was smoking, because the Lord was come down upon it in fire," He delivered to His chosen people amid the thunders and lightnings those commandments, laws, and precepts which constitute the most sublime moral code the world has ever bowed down before. Whereupon the twelve tribes of Israel by the foot of the mountain, at an altar surrounded by twelve pillars, offered whole burnt offerings to the Lord, promising to keep all the laws and ordinances which they had received. And Moses sprinkled the blood of the victims upon the people saying, "This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." Thus the covenant was solemnly ratified, and the Hebrew nation established as a theocracy.

Some of these Mosaic laws look singular if they are viewed from the standpoint of the modern political economist. For instance, the Lord said, "Observe the rest of the Sabbath to the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard and shalt gather the fruits thereof; but in the seventh year there shall be a Sabbath to the land of the resting of the Lord; thou shalt not sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard" (Lev. xxv. 2, 3, 4).

If such a law were proposed to-day nearly all our economists and statisticians would quickly demonstrate that to carry it into effect would lead to wholesale want and starvation among the masses of the people, and that the proposal could only emanate from some one bereft of sense. Yet it does not appear that the Israelites suffered want at any time from a strict observance of either the Sabbath day or of the Sabbath year. Possibly this observance gave them an opportunity to solve the question of over-production of food crops which is such a stumbling-block to our economists; or probably syndicates, trusts, usury and land-speculation not being known in Israel proved a blessing.

Again the Mosaic ordinance runs, "And thou shalt sanctify the fiftieth year and shalt proclaim remission (reinstating each man in his former position) to all the inhabitants of the land; for it is the year of jubilee. Every man shall return to his possession and every one shall go back to his former family, because it is the

jubilee and the fiftieth year. You shall not sow nor reap the things that grow in the field of their own accord, neither shall you gather the first fruits of the vines; because of the sanctification of the jubilee, but as they grow you shall presently eat them. In the year of the jubilee all shall return to their possessions. The land also shall not be sold forever; because it is mine, and you are strangers and sojourners with me. If thy brother be impoverished and weak of hand and thou receive him as a stranger and sojourner, and he live with thee, take not usury of him nor more than thou gavest; fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury nor exact of him any increase of fruits" (Lev. xxv. 10, 11, 12, 13, 23, 35, 36, 37).

These laws meant a periodical plenary remission of debt, an unconditional return of the land to the original owner or his heirs in the year of jubilee, and a most positive prohibition of usury.<sup>1</sup> Not in the diluted modern sense which means a very high rate of interest, but any interest at all, and it is worthy of note the prohibitory injunction is repeated in the sacred text. A curious thought arises from the reading of these statutes: How the land monopolists and money changers of the nineteenth century would rage if an attempt were made to put these precepts of Jehovah into actual operation. How conclusively the former would show that the feudal tenure under which they buy and sell and hold title is much superior to that indicated by the Lord, and the latter class would no doubt forcibly insist that Moses knew nothing of brokers' boards with its "bulls and bears," and that if he lived in our civilized day he would worship with them the golden calf set up at the foot of Sinai by his brother Aaron. And many of our political economists would endorse these conclusions and claim, as Alphonso of Castile respecting the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, that they could have given the Lord many valuable suggestions, had they been present when He declared the land was His, not to be sold forever, and denounced the exaction of interest

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<sup>1</sup>A distinguished Jewish Rabbi of Boston believes that the spirit of these laws among his ancient people was not respected, but was circumvented in various ways, but this seems rather a libel on the race, for it is more likely that the Jews were not always so keenly commercial a people as centuries of forced habitation among nations who denied them social and political rights or outlets for intellectual energy have naturally tended to make them.



MOSES AND THE TABLES OF THE LAW.

from an impoverished brother or the taking back more than was given him.

The Mosaic statutes and ordinances along with the others delivered by his successors from time to time formed the whole code of public laws of the Jews for a period of fifteen hundred years, or up to the time of Christ, and they are practically binding on the world of Judaism at the present time, save in those matters which relate to the national organism which long ago ceased to exist. Joshua was chosen successor to Moses immediately preceding the death of the latter. Afterwards judges ruled in Israel and special leaders were raised up by God to deliver His people from the oppression of neighboring nations which, we are told in Holy Writ, invariably resulted from their grievous sins, chief among which was the sin of idolatry. Again and again they fell; but always on repenting, Jehovah, remembering the covenant which He had made with their fathers, called upon the required leader to arise and deliver his people. Othniel, Aod, Samgar, Barac, Deborah the prophetess, Gideon, and others were thus called.

The command of the armies belonged to those whom the people chose or God raised up in an extraordinary manner; but none were subject to them but the country or tribes that chose them or to whom God gave them for deliverers. The rest of the people, disorderly and in confusion abusing their liberty, often exposed themselves to the insults of their enemies which made them ask for a king. In their vain imaginings the novelty of kingly rule possessed a fascination for them. When Gideon delivered them from the Midianites they wanted him to be king, saying: "Rule thou over us and thy son and thy son's son." But he answered: "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you, but the Lord shall rule over you." But again they clamored to Samuel for a king, who rebuked them, reminding them of the covenant of Sinai and warning them of the tributes which a king would exact to support a standing army, an institution yet unknown in Israel, and of the tithes which they must furnish to support the royal state, but they would not hear them but still persisted in calling for a king. And Saul was anointed and set over them by Samuel, who was succeeded by David, Solomon, and

a long line of monarchs, the salient points of whose reigns are to be found in the Biblical record down to the time of the Babylonian captivity.

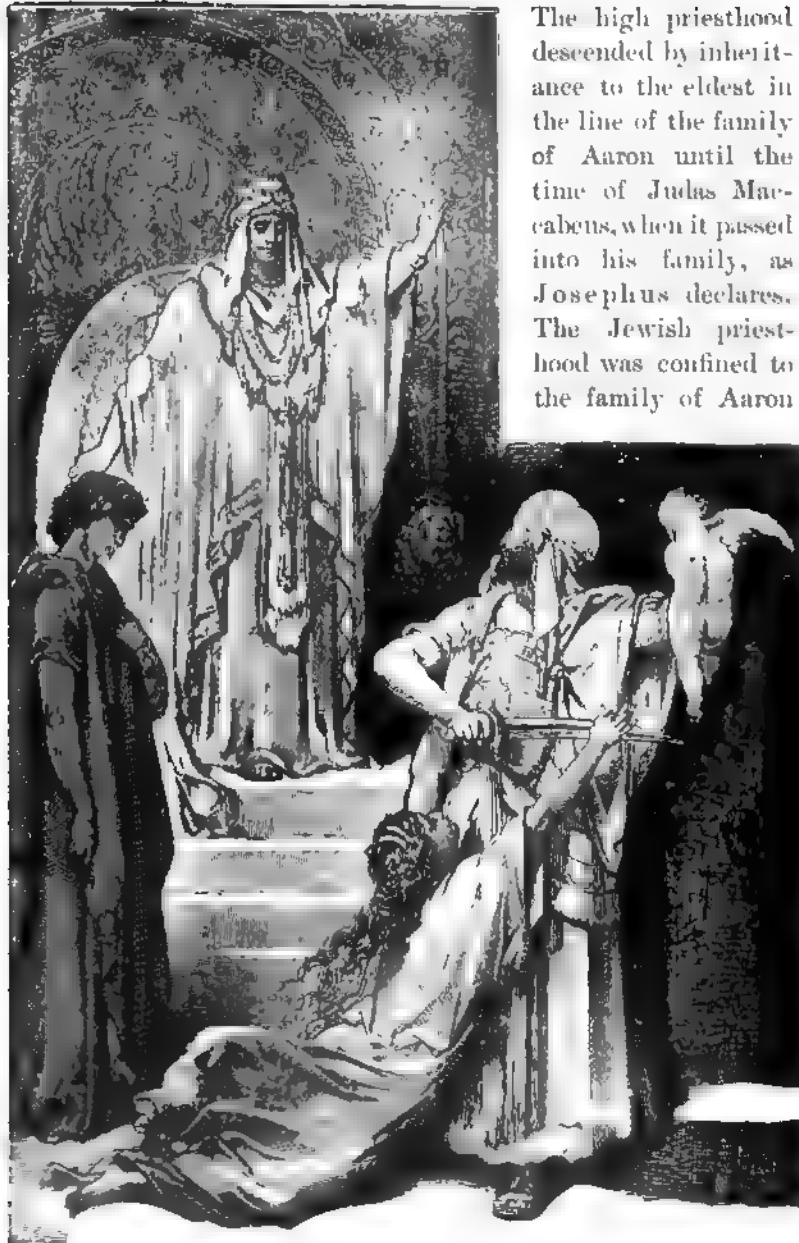
The wisdom of Solomon is much doubted by modern optimists, who do not believe that life is to be summed up in his saying "All is vanity and vexation of spirit," but the practical sense of the great King, of which an example is given in the illustration, had spread his fame everywhere. Barrenness among the Jews was accounted a stigma, and two women laid claim to the same baby. Whereupon, to discover who was the real mother, Solomon calmly ordered the child to be divided between them. The real mother protested against the killing, exclaiming, "No, no! he is not mine." "But he is," said the wise King, "for the other woman kept silence and you spake."

The large picture near the end of this chapter represents a marriage festival among the Jews in the days of Solomon and is indicative of the high sanctity the Jews attached to marriage even at a period when polygamy prevailed among the rich and aristocratic classes.

Shortly after the reign of Solomon the Hebrew nation began to decline. The division among the people into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah augmented the evil. Among the ten tribes who bore the name of the kingdom of Israel corruption and wickedness prevailed, while Judah, consisting of the two tribes of Benjamin and Levi, the latter embracing the whole priesthood, preserved the tradition of the primitive faith, and a more strict observance of the law.

After the return of the exiled nation to Jerusalem from the seventy years' captivity in Babylon, they selected for their government a council of seventy-two elders, called the Sanhedrim, presided over by the high priest, which form of government lasted until the dispersion. They rebuilt their temple and city. They were never so faithful to God as after their return from Babylon. They had experienced the fulfilment of all the prophecies regarding their exile, and henceforth not a symptom of idolatry can be discovered amongst them.

The pure theocracy which they had again adopted was to continue until the work of the coming Messiah had been accomplished.



The high priesthood descended by inheritance to the eldest in the line of the family of Aaron until the time of Judas Maccabæus, when it passed into his family, as Josephus declares. The Jewish priesthood was confined to the family of Aaron

KING SOLOMON DECIDING A CASE.

of the tribe of Levi exclusively. They first attended to the tabernacle and afterwards to the temple. Although the whole tribe of Levi were Levites and connected with the temple, only the Aaronic family were permitted to offer sacrifice or do anything about the altar. The other tribes paid tithes to the Levites, who paid one tenth of that which they received to the priests. The latter were also entitled to the first fruits and a large portion of the offerings made in the temple. The duties assigned to the Levites were first defined by Moses and afterwards by David. The latter appointed some to guard the temple's gates, others to sing psalms, while others were to guard the treasures.

Maimonides lays down the conditions under which the functions of the Levite could be exercised. He could not be admitted as a novice until he was at least twenty-five years of age, and his novitiate continued for five years so that he must be at least thirty years before his final consecration to the Lord's service. These Levites who were thirty years of age numbered in Solomon's time thirty-eight thousand, of which twenty-four thousand were to set forward the work of the house of the Lord, and six thousand were officers and judges. Four thousand were porters, and four thousand praised the Lord with instruments, all of which is related in the twenty-third chapter, first book of Chronicles. Maimonides states that in the temple there was a general officer or master of ceremonies, with fifteen assistants whose duty it was to announce the time for the solemnities, the time of sacrifice, and to assign the guard. They also had charge of the music, the instruments, and the schedule in which every one's office was marked down, the libations, the seals, the waters, the shew-bread, the incense, oils, sacerdotal robes, and vestments. The priests were divided into twenty-four classes, each class having at its head one who was called the first, or the prince of priests. Every week one of these classes went up to Jerusalem to officiate, and on Sabbath days they succeeded one another until they had all served, but on solemn feast-days all officiated together.

The prince of each class of priests assigned an entire family each day to offer sacrifice, and at the close of the week they all joined together in sacrificing. As there were a number of fami-



lies in each class, and as each family contained a number of priests, they drew lots for the performance of the different offices. This last explains the meaning of the first chapter of St. Luke which, speaking of Zachary, the father of John the Baptist, says: "According to the custom of the priestly office it was his lot to offer incense going into the temple of the Lord."

There were several defects which would exclude from ordination in the Jewish priesthood very much like some of those which prove a bar in the Catholic priesthood at the present day. Among the physical defects which excluded were fifty common to men and animals, and ninety peculiar to men alone. Those who had no bar sinister of birth, but possessed some prohibitory defect of body, were allowed to live in the department where the wood for the sacrificial fuel was kept which they were obliged to prepare for the service of the altar, being careful to reject all rotten and worm-eaten wood which it was unlawful to use. The priests while officiating were forbidden the use of wine, conversation with their wives, and had no other food than the temple shew-bread and the flesh of the sacrifice. All the rites were performed standing and barefoot with feet washed and head uncovered. Their chief duties were to keep up the fire on the altar of the burnt offerings that it might never be extinguished; to offer sacrifices, guard the sacred vessels, wash the victims, make the aspersions or sprinklings whether of blood or water upon the persons offering the victims, or upon the book of the law, to burn the incense upon the altar, to attend to the lamps, to put new shew-bread on the table, and to remove the old. It was also a part of their duty to catch the blood of the victims and sprinkle it upon the altar.

All the duties just stated were common to all the priests, but the high-priest alone was entitled to enter the holy of holies once a year on the day of expiation, and he alone could offer up the sacrifice which was prescribed for that day both for his own sins and those of all the people. Several minor ecclesiastical officials were connected with the synagogues. One read prayers and preached, and others collected alms and looked after the poor and helpless. The synagogues were also used as schools where the teachers, who were called sages, sat on benches with their pupils at their feet, — hence Saint Paul's declaration that he learned the

law at the feet of Gamaliel. Others outside the priesthood throughout the many vicissitudes of the Hebrew nation were distinguished for holiness and piety, and for being in close communion with the Almighty from whom they received extraordinary marks of the divine favor. Among these were the prophets who were called from among all the tribes, the Rechabites an ascetic and contemplative society of persons, and the Nazarenes.

To this people of the covenant, with their priesthood still wielding theocratic power in the Jewish province of the Roman Cæsars, the fulness of time had arrived and the Word made flesh, which had been promised to their patriarchs and foretold by their prophets. The Messiah was in their midst, and they knew him not. "He was in the world and the world was made by him; and the world knew him not; he came unto his own and his own received him not."

Caiaphas was the high-priest, the head of the theocracy under which the Jewish law was administered, subject to revision only in very important matters by the imperial authority. The Man of Sorrows was brought before him to answer for his teaching and doctrine. And when he answered, Holy Writ says, "The high priest rending his garments saith: What need we any further witnesses?" And they led Jesus to Pilate, the representative of Rome, accusing him. Pilate said to them: "Take him you and judge him according to your law." But they refused, insisting that Pilate should condemn him according to Roman law, which with much misgiving he did. And Jesus was crucified between two thieves.

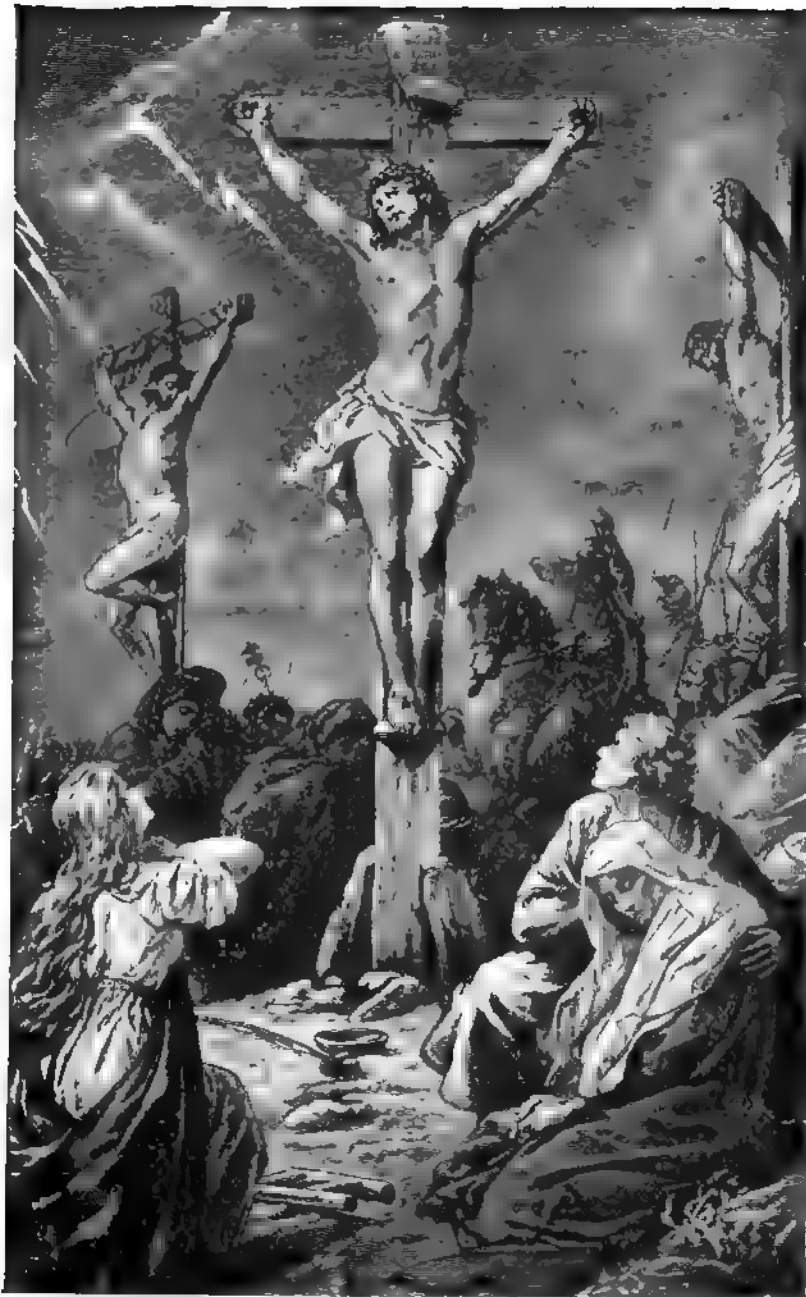
Thirty-seven years later the walls of Jerusalem were battered down by Titus, the people who had survived the terrible siege were put to the sword or carried into slavery, the walls of the temple were levelled to the ground, the holy of holies profaned, and the ground was sown with salt. About a million of Jews perished in the rebellion, and the living were dispersed among all the nations of the world where at the present hour they present the singular anomaly of a small remnant of people unassimilated to any great extent by the nations into which they have entered, although eighteen centuries have elapsed since their dispersion.

The sceptre has long passed away from the Hebrew theocracy, but the ignominious cross of Calvary in the hands of its legitimate successor became the insignia of a more potential and far-reaching power than the patriarchs or the prophets foresaw, — the symbol of an institution which was designed to bear throughout the whole world the light of truth, — to confound the wisdom of the pagan philosophers, and to sit in the judgment seat till the end of time.

The men whom Jesus first selected and organized to forward His work, His helpers, and teachers, were mostly ignorant and obscure fishermen, uncouth in appearance, and entirely unacquainted with the learning of the schools. It would seem as if the design in this selection was to confound the ordinary prudence of mankind in conducting worldly affairs which assuredly would have rejected such ignorant and unpromising instruments to teach and preach on any subject, and to show to the world that what Saint Paul calls the folly of the cross was the way of Christianity, the wisdom of God.

After the crucifixion the apostles and the multitudes whom they had converted in Judea were of one heart and mind; they formed practically but one family, and held everything in common. There were no poor among them because they who had lands or houses sold them and brought the price to the apostles for distribution among the indigent. About the year 40 the apostles separated in obedience to the injunction to preach the gospel to all nations, but before doing so they met together and composed a substantial abridgment of the Christian doctrine, which is known as the Apostle's Creed, and the chief object of which was to define and secure the unity of faith which they deemed essential. A few years later the first council of the church was assembled in Jerusalem.

A short time afterwards occurred the dramatic scene of Saint Paul standing before the Sanhedrim, which was presided over by Ananias, the Jewish high priest, who charged the prisoner with being a contemner of the law and a profaner of the temple. The head of the Jewish theocracy and the great missionary of the new faith stood face to face. The high priest, who was a very bitter enemy of the Christians, had the sentence of death prepared, when Paul reminded the Pharisees present that he had become an object



THE CRUCIFIXION.

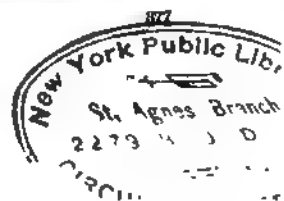
of hatred to the Sadducees for having maintained the doctrine of the resurrection. This statement kindled the fire of party spirit among the members of the Sanhedrim, the Pharisees declaring with great vehemence that they could find nothing whatever in the accused which was worthy of chastisement. Lysias, the Roman tribune, led Paul away from the warring factions, and brought him before the Roman tribunal presided over by Felix, the governor, from whom he appealed to Cæsar, and therefore, to prosecute his appeal, made his voyage to Rome to which, according to the best authorities, Peter had preceded him. Nero was Emperor of Rome just then, and was Pontifex Maximus of the Pagan priesthood. A brief examination of the condition of the world at this period can be made here with some profit to enable us to judge of the contest on which the Galilean fishermen had entered.

The Roman Empire was mistress of the world. For half a century she had practically lorded it over all the civilized, semi-civilized, and many of the barbarous nations of the earth. She was most strongly established at the birth of Christianity. The zenith of her power and prosperity was reached at about the time when Jesus the Christ was laid in the manger of the little Judean village of Bethlehem, one of its outlying conquered provinces. The time which has been termed the golden age of Augustus had opened and the gates of the temple of Janus were closed to signify peace. But society presented a most repugnant aspect underneath the surface. It furnished a picture of most revolting corruption slightly veiled by wealth and ostentation. Manners were without modesty, morals without reality, passion without restraint, laws without authority, save against the poor who were unable to purchase immunity, and religion had become a farce. Whatever pristine strength idolatry once had was exhausted by time and by the evil use to which it had been made subservient by the basest passions. The philosophers and satirical poets had dethroned the gods, and little was left to attract and satisfy the highest ideals of man's spiritual nature. "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die," pervaded the empire.

It is worthy of special note at this very time that while the greater part of the human race groaned in the most abject slavery, successful generals and soldiers, and even the most degraded and



THE HOLY FAMILY. (RAPHAEL.)



abominable monsters which have disgraced humanity, were apotheosized or elevated to the rank of gods. The bestial and depraved when dead were deified by the living. The heart of society was corrupt; moral principles had lost their force.

The zeal and intrepidity of Peter and Paul in the imperial city itself made many converts at an early date, some even within the precincts of Nero's palace. Paul in his epistle from Rome to the Philippians mentions the fact in his greeting, saying, "All the saints salute you, especially they who are of *Cæsar's* house."

But Nero proposed to sweep these contemners of the gods, the despicable Christians, from the city of Rome, not exactly because he feared or hated them, they were too insignificant as yet, but to gratify a cruel caprice and impelled probably by a sub-conscious antipathy to teachings of which he must have heard from the courtiers. The pretext of the monster was worthy of him.

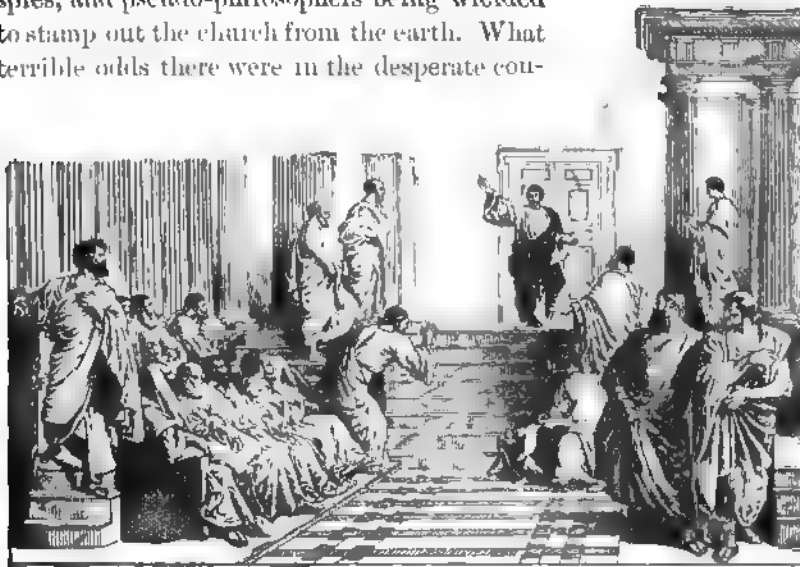
He ordered the city to be set on fire in many places, as the simplicity of the ancient houses displeased him, and he wished to have them replaced by more ornate edifices, and also to give the populace who were hungering for excitement a spectacle which would outrival the taking of Troy. Ten of the fourteen divisions of the city were destroyed, and it is alleged that the tyrant played a fiddle while watching the blazing scene from a balcony of the palace. To exculpate himself from the infamous crime, he charged the Christians with having caused the conflagration. They were arrested by his orders, and condemned to die by the most fiendish torture which his perverted ingenuity could devise.

A favorite imperial and popular amusement was to feed wild beasts in the amphitheatre with Christians or men suspected of Christianity. Some were sewed into the skins of wild beasts and hunted through the streets by savage dogs which worried and devoured them; others were crucified. Some were swathed in garments and bands soaked in pitch and other inflammable material, and tied to posts along the streets and in the gardens of the palace, where they were set on fire, when night came on, to furnish light for the locality. Within a year afterwards, June 29, A. D. 67, Saint Peter and Saint Paul were put to death by Nero's orders, the former on Mount Janiculum, being crucified head

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downwards at his express request as unworthy the honor of his Master's position on the cross, and the latter near the Fulvian waters, being beheaded, as the law provided, because he was a Roman citizen.

Thus the issue was joined between the two forces which were to contend through many centuries for the control of the civilized world. The vanguard of the Crucified One had encountered the master of many legions and to the eye of the world suffered ignominious defeat. And thus the contest raged for two hundred and fifty years; all the power of Pagan Rome, its army, courtiers, spies, and pseudo-philosophers being wielded to stamp out the church from the earth. What terrible odds there were in the desperate con-



PAUL PLEADING HIS CASE AT ROME.

flict! Passion, prejudice, power, culture, and the sword on one side,—on the other the folly of the cross, purity, humility, weakness, and fortitude. Never before had earth witnessed such scenes, and probably never again will such occur.

Again and again in the imperial city the infant church was driven to the underground refuges which it had excavated, the labyrinthine catacombs in which the remains of the dead confessors were deposited, and where the hunted survivors crouched in the darkness, cold and trembling.



Such were the times and conditions under which the Christian theocracy was assuming shape and form. The process of crystallization was slowly but efficiently at work. It had a doctrine, a hierarchy, a discipline, and a worship, all regularly but simply constituted, as befitted the church in its infancy.

The nature of its membership is succinctly given by one of its early apologists, Athenagoras, of Athens, who says: "Among us will be found the ignorant, the poor, laborers, and old women who cannot, perhaps, define by reasoning the truth of our doctrine. They do not enter into discussion, but they do good works. The most aged we honor as our fathers and mothers. The hope of another life makes us despise the present, even in the midst of lawful pleasures. Marriage with us is a holy vocation which imparts the grace necessary to bring up our children in the fear of the Lord. We have renounced your bloody spectacles,<sup>1</sup> being persuaded that there is very little difference between looking on murder and committing it."

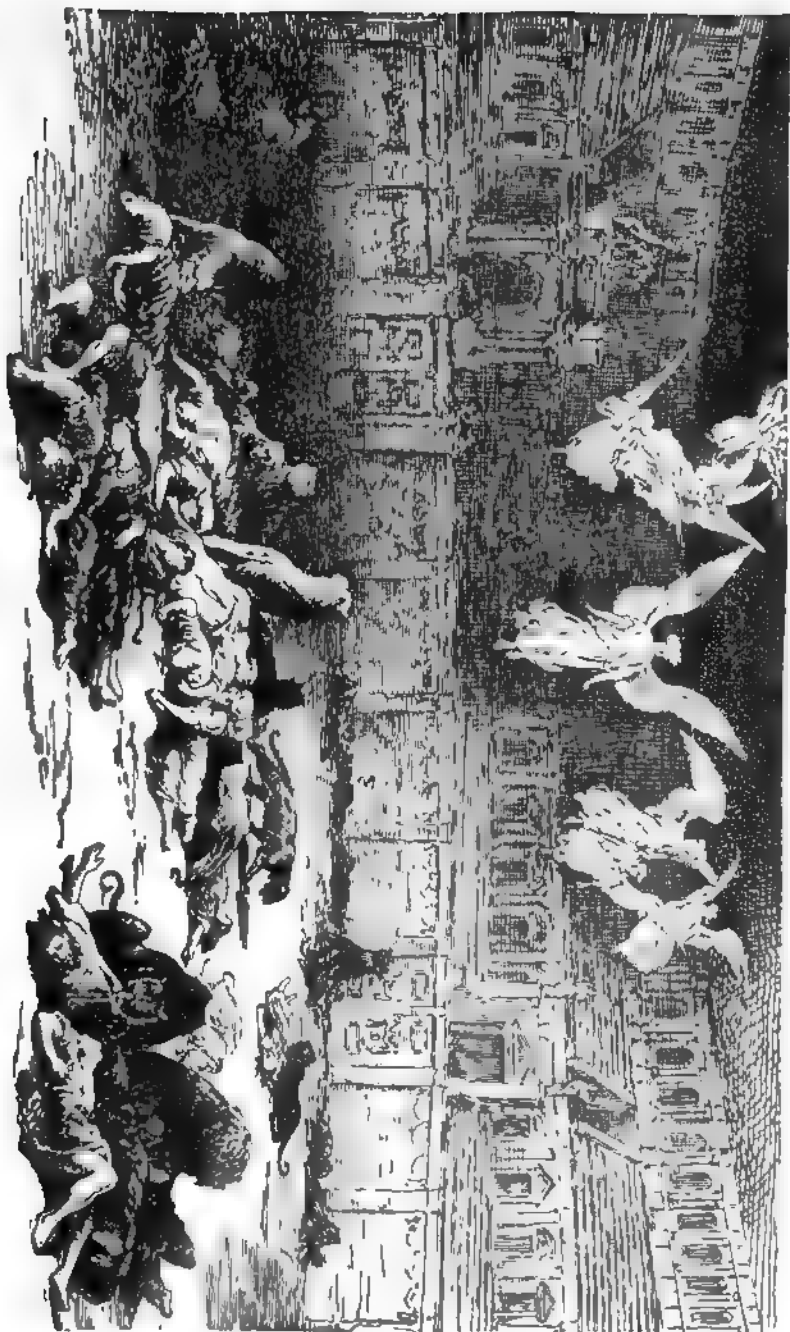
The martyrology of the church grew apace, while at the same time her membership increased in a marvellous manner in every place among all ranks and classes of society. Over thirty popes, successors of Saint Peter, won the laurel crown of martyrdom in Rome within the two hundred and fifty years which elapsed from the time of Nero to Constantine. The robust figures of Saint Gregory of Nyassa, Saint Basil, Saint Justin, Saint Cyprian, Saint Polycarp, Origen, Tertullian, and a host of others entered the arena and did valiant service during this supreme trial in combatting error and explaining the gospel. Beneath the sword of the executioners the gospel was extended. Saint Justin says: "At the commencement of the second century there is no nation among whom we do not find believers in Christ." The end of the first great struggle had arrived. The cross, which, according to the story of the time, appeared in the midday heavens before the astonished eyes of Pagan Constantine and his whole army with its letters of fire, *In hoc signo vinces*,<sup>2</sup> was about to change the face of the world.

This instrument and sign of ignominy was now adopted as the

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning the gladiatorial fights which delighted the populace.

<sup>2</sup> "By this sign thou shalt conquer."

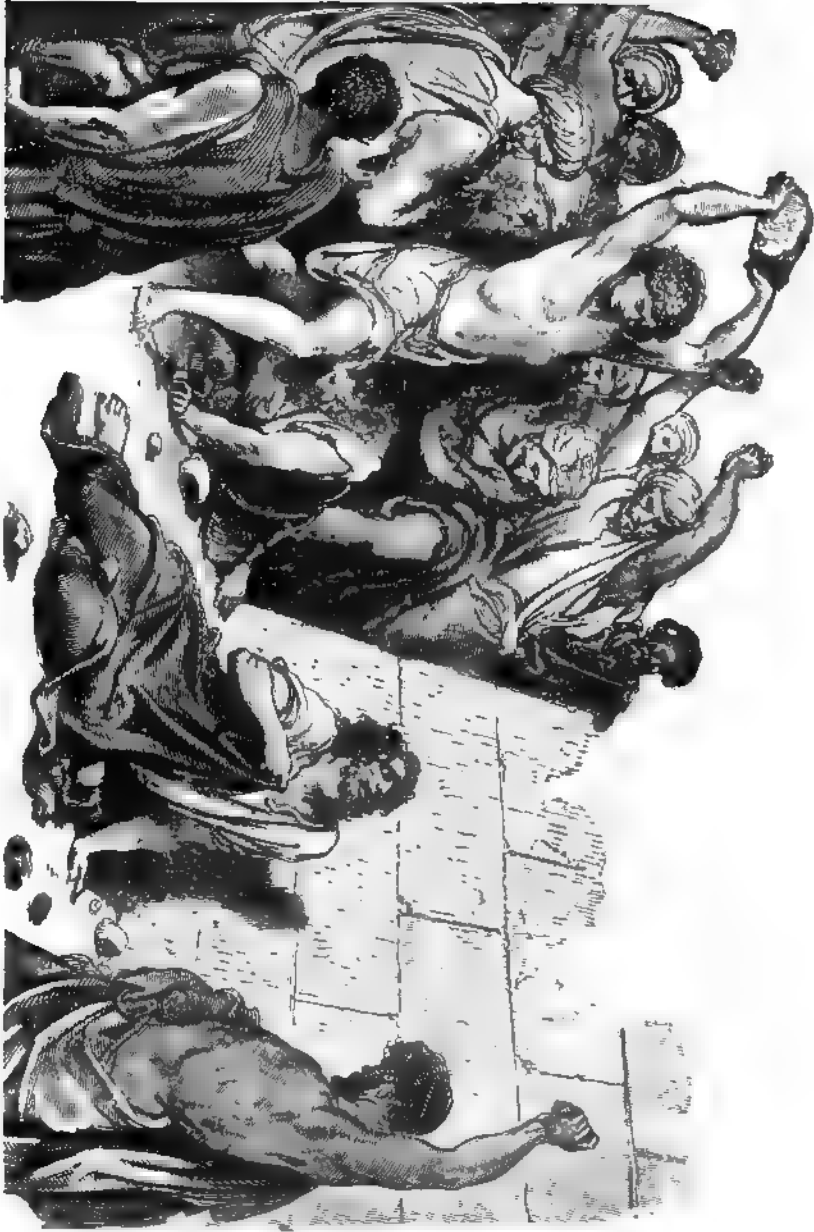


LION'S DEN WITH CHRISTIAN.

imperial standard, henceforth to be carried side by side with the ancient eagles. Constantine signalized his accession to the sovereign power in Rome by an edict in favor of the Christians. He granted them liberty. For the first time during three centuries an emperor dared openly to proclaim his sympathy for the faith of Jesus Christ. He bestowed on the Christian priests all the privileges accorded to the Pagan priests. The popes henceforward became persons of consideration, enjoying the confidence of the emperor. Thus was practically closed a combat of nearly three centuries between the doctrines of the Church of Christ and idolatrous Rome. The imperial decree was dated at Milan, A. D. 313, and was sent to all the consuls and governors throughout the empire. From this time there were two sovereignties recognized and proclaimed in the world; that of the Pope, and that of emperor.

Shortly after Constantine issued his decree of toleration, the Donatists, bishops of the African sect which followed Donatus, earnestly requested him to convene a council of the bishops of Gaul to judge of their differences with the Christians who opposed them. Constantine replied saying: "You ask judges of me, you bishops, of me who am in worldly life, and who myself await the judgment of Jesus Christ." He forwarded their memorials and papers to Melchiades, the Pope, who called a council of the bishops of Italy and Gaul in the Lateran palace to settle the troubles of the Church of Carthage. The government of the church, founded on the principle of unity in the high priesthood or supremacy of the Roman bishops, and perpetuated by an always living hierarchy, was thus recognized in one of his first acts by the first Christian Cæsar, Constantine.

The heresy of Arius of Alexandria arose at this time, which in effect was substantially a denial of the Godhead in the person of Christ. Arius and his teaching were condemned at a convocation of the bishops of Egypt and Libya, but he refused to submit, and was excommunicated A. D. 320. Very great dissension prevailing throughout the east on this account, Constantine, the emperor, was requested to assemble a council representative of the whole church, or ecumenical council, as it is expressed in the Greek language. In concert with the Pope, Saint Sylvester, he there-



THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN.

fore summoned a general council of all the bishops in the world to meet at Nice in Bithynia in the month of June, A. D. 325.

From every quarter of the known globe they assembled to the number of three hundred and eighteen bishops, exclusive of priests, deacons, and acolytes. The travelling expenses of all who attended were paid out of the public treasury. This was really the first great council of the universal church, the Council of Jerusalem, presided over by Saint Peter, consisting of but a few members, many of whom had seen the Saviour face to face. The Pope was represented at the council by his legate Osius, of Cordova, in Spain. Constantine was also present seated upon a throne. Arius and the bishops who supported him were heard in defence of their views, which were embodied in a profession of faith drawn up by themselves and laid before the assembled fathers. On a vote it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The belief of the great majority was then expressed and formulated by the papal legate, at whose dictation Hermogenes wrote it.

This profession of faith, known as the Nicene Creed, has become the received expression of Christian faith. It has stood the test of ages, and every generation of Christians have used as a solemn act of faith that formula which Osius the legate read aloud in the Greek tongue to the fathers of the Nicene Council. The creed was signed by all the bishops present save two. The council accordingly condemned them along with Arius, and anathematized the latter's writings. Constantine confirmed these decrees by his authority which gave them the force of law throughout the empire. This council also drew up several canons or rules of discipline which were termed the Apostolic Canons. They embody the whole canonical jurisprudence of the fourth century. They may be briefly summarized thus: 1. The primacy of the Roman Church. 2. Hierarchical authority of Patriarchs and Metropolitans. 3. Election and consecration of bishops. 4. Celibacy of clerics. 5. Rules for public penance in reconciling heretics. 6. Ecclesiastical discipline relative to marriage.

Respecting the Church of Rome the canon of the council says: "The primacy has always resided in the Church of Rome. Let the ancient custom then be vigorously maintained in Egypt,

Libya, and Pentapolis so that all pay the homage of submission to the Bishop of Alexandria, for so the Roman Pontiff orders. Let the same be observed in respect to the Bishop of Antioch, and so in all other provinces, etc."

The hierarchical authority of the Patriarchs is stated and defined in the thirty-ninth of the Apostolic canons. It is entitled "Of the solicitude and power of the Patriarch over the bishops and archbishops of his patriarchate, and the primacy of the bishop of Rome over all," and it proceeds to lay down the rule of government upon the lines indicated in the title. The rules for the ordination of bishops and priests, the observance of clerical celibacy, the reconciliation of heretics,



CONSTANTINE AFTER HIS CONVERSION.

and the prohibition of marriages within certain degrees of kindred, and in other respects, were set forth with considerable minuteness, all of which are easy of access to the student who desires to study them in their entirety.

From the Council of Nice, therefore, the church came forth

conscious of its power and mission, fully organized and equipped for the warfare of time on the earth. The Christian theocracy became visible henceforward to all men. Thirty-seven years later Julian, who has been termed the Apostate, was emperor. His whole family had been murdered by his predecessor Constantius. He endeavored to restore the worship of the Pagan gods and overturn Christianity, and precipitated a bitter conflict with the Galileans, as he derisively called the Christians. His proclamations were disregarded by the latter when conflicting with their faith, and they were prosecuted with the utmost rigor.

Julian even undertook to falsify the prophecy of Christ relative to the temple of Jerusalem, that one stone should not be left upon another, by rebuilding the temple. But Ammianus Marcellinus, a Pagan historian, relates as a matter of fact that Julian's workmen were driven from the ruins by balls of fire which issued from the earth, making it impossible to carry on the work. Finally, to make himself greatest of all the Cæsars, he proposed to conquer Persia, and annex it to his great empire. On June 26, A. D. 363, his army was attacked by the Persians. Julian rode rapidly into the fight without putting on his armor, when a javelin from an unknown hand pierced him through the body. Theodoret says that he flung a handful of the blood issuing from his wound towards the heavens crying out, "Galilean, thou hast conquered." His death soon followed and his anti-Christian edicts were immediately repealed by his successor.

The decline of the Roman Empire as a political entity dates from this period, that is, from the close of the fourth century. The Goths had some time previously swept down the northern forests, crossed the Danube, defeated a large Roman army under the walls of Adrianople, and held possession of a great part of the northern portion of what is now known as Turkey in Europe. The Huns and Alani, peoples unknown to the first Cæsars, came rolling along like great tidal waves from the great plain of Tartary driving the Goths before them. The country bordering on the Rhine and Danube was attacked by the Germanic tribes, the Alemanni, the Franks, and Suevi; the Persians and Nemenians were attacking the Roman posts along the Euphrates and the

Tigris. Saint Jerome writing at this time says: "The Roman Empire is falling to pieces."

In 451 Attila, the fierce king of the Huns, who claimed the



THE SCOURGE OF GOD.

official title of "The Scourge of God," swept over Europe, brushing the other tribes who had gone before from his way and capturing the chief cities of Gaul which he gave up to pillage



and to the violence of his semi-savage soldiery. The two emperors who claimed sovereignty over the empire, Valentinian and Theodosius II., tried to negotiate with him by offering him the title of General of the Empire with a large tribute which they would pay him annually. The reply which he told his ambassadors to give the emperors was, "Attila, our master and yours, orders you to prepare him a palace."

This answer meant an invasion. The semi-barbarous invaders who preceded him by half a century had been partially converted to Christianity and, although independent of imperial authority, some of them now made common cause with the imperial forces against this awful scourge, who said of himself, "The star falls, the earth trembles; I am the hammer of the universe; the grass never grows where Attila's horse has once trod." The combined armies of the Roman general Ætius and Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, met the hosts of Attila on the plain of Chalons, in France, just outside of Orleans, in June. The two armies numbered about one million of men. It was probably the bloodiest battle ever fought on earth. From sunrise until sunset the battle raged at close quarters with battle-axe, sword and spear. Three hundred thousand men lay dead, when the fight was ended by the retreat of Attila. Theodoric, the Visigoth king, fell in the conflict which his valor and skill had contributed to win for the allies.

But the next year, 452, Attila appeared on the borders of Italy with a larger army than that of the preceding year, laying waste the cities and towns on his march with fire and sword. He destroyed the large and ancient cities of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Aquileia, Milan, and Pavia. He pushed on amid the smoking ruins of the conquered cities direct for Rome, but halted near Mantua, whose inhabitants fled in dismay to the marshes where Venice now stands.

The last hour of the Roman Empire of the west seemed to have struck. The Pontiff, Saint Leo I., appeared in the camp of the barbarians. He was conducted to the tent of Attila, where he came as the representative of the God of Peace. The two stood face to face, one armed with the sword, the other with a crozier. Attila was awed by the bearing and words of the great Pontiff, of whose fame he had already heard. He heard with favor the propo-

sition of Saint Leo, and retraced his steps with his army across the Danube, where he died suddenly the following year while preparing for further devastation. Saint Leo on his return was hailed as the savior of Rome, and the enthusiastic people bestowed upon him the title of Great. A few years later and the Roman Empire of the west was utterly extinguished. The various provinces were parcelled out by barbarians whose very name was a terror to the Roman race, which was now everywhere oppressed by the rude, uncouth and unlettered conquerors. The Church alone stood between the victor and the vanquished to afford protection, mercy and peace. It was the only institution of the empire which had neither shared the overthrow nor been crushed by its fall. The conquerors saw this; they were awed and attracted by the pomp of its celebrations and ritual. The Christian religion, which these tribes and nations embraced in the course of time, gradually tamed their native fierceness, but this result of their conversion was slow and it required several generations to develop. Clovis, the king of the Franks, one day after his conversion, listening to the Bishop of Rheims reading to him of the trial of Christ before Pilate and of his crucifixion, leaped to his feet and cried out with honest indignation: "Oh, that I had been there with my Franks!"

With the greater part of the new converts it was the reluctant work of years to give up their old habits, their violent and irritable temper, a passionate love of hunting and fighting, and a rude contempt for the arts and sciences of the conquered Romans whom they now held as serfs, and over whom they claimed the right of life and death. It was necessary to humanize them first and Christianize them afterwards. The Church, therefore, labored to do this work, and during the period embracing from the fifth to the tenth century she saw nation after nation bow down reluctantly to her authority; in far-off England St Austin converted the Saxon king Ethelbert in 596, but the majority of the Hungarians were not converted until as late as the year 1000.

To protect the oppressed and to shield the persecuted in those days of turbulence and rancor, the privilege of church asylum was established, which was, in effect, that the fugitive who succeeded in reaching the precincts of the altar should not be attacked, but

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that judicial inquiry be made in the case, and the violation of this decree was enforced by the penalty of excommunication, which was a punishment of dire significance in those days.

Council after council of the Church framed laws to abridge and curb the power of the feudal lord over his serf. In a word the Church was the only authority that was generally revered during that age of iron.

‘Christianity, or rather reverence for the Church, was the most powerfully formative element of modern civilization. The ruler learned from it some rude justice; the ruled learned faith and obedience. Within the Benedictine monasteries learning found a home, when the only books in use were written by the hands of the monks on the skins of beasts.

On the dismemberment of the Roman Empire of the west, Odeacer, the first barbarian king of Italy, claimed the right to nominate the Pontiff, but the claim was not allowed. His successor, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, put forward a similar claim with a like result. Other rulers from time to time claimed this right, and when the German emperors became masters of Rome they followed the same policy and sought the right, if not to appoint the Pope, to confirm his election. The latter claim was acquiesced in for a considerable time in the person of the German emperor. Meanwhile the popes had become temporal sovereigns in their own right. The country which they thus ruled over was the city of Rome and some of the adjacent territory. Many of the princes in those days invoked the aid of the Pontiff to settle differences between them precisely as Leo XIII., the present Pope, a few years ago was called on by Germany and Spain to adjust a dispute about the Caroline Islands.

Many of these princes took the oath of fealty to the Pope and became his feudal subjects as a prudential measure, because as such they had a right to expect from him protection against foreign invasion or usurpation of their throne. They paid to him as their suzerain a small annual offering, in return for which their territory was declared under the protection of Saint Peter, after which, if anyone recklessly invaded it upon being admonished by the Pope, he was formally excommunicated.

This state of things may appear strange in the nineteenth cen-



ST. AUSTIN CONVERTING THE ENGLISH TO CHRISTIANITY.

tury, but it would be very unsafe to measure the situation of Europe in the ninth century with the standard of the present day. The two chief disturbing elements in the government of the Church, up to the eleventh century, were the exercise by some of the temporal rulers of the investiture of bishops, and their efforts by violence, intrigue and corruption to fill the papal chair with creatures devoted to their interests. The meaning of investiture claimed chiefly by the emperors of Germany was this: the emperor, having richly endowed the bishoprics and abbeys, claimed the right of naming the bishop or abbot, and investing him with the insignia of office.

Most of these offices, even if considered only from the worldly standpoint, were of great importance, as the glebe lands, the serfs, and the tithes were annexed to the office. The new incumbent, on being invested by the emperor with the episcopal ring and crozier, took the oath of fealty which required, among other things, that he should join the standard of his liege lord with all his armed retainers whenever called on to do so. In many instances of appointments, therefore, more regard was given to the bishop's military qualifications, or to the amount of money which he would pay for the office, than for his knowledge of canon law or his good morals. Men of most dissolute character among the clergy and laymen, and even minors of wealthy family, were often made bishops in this way. Under a ruler of depraved character it may be reasonably inferred that all these appointments were given to the highest bidder or greatest favorite, and that the inferior clergy under such superiors were sunk in immorality and wickedness. The popes claimed that appointing bishops in this way was in direct opposition to the ancient canon law and custom of the Church, which provided that the bishops of a province, or at least three of them, with the consent and approval of the Pontiff should elect, thus securing to the Church the right of choosing her own ministers as well as perfect freedom in the exercise of that right. The popes continually protested against the right of the sovereigns to thus introduce the feudal law within the domain of the Church, but the latter persisted in these attempts until the monk Hildebrand, Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, confronted the German emperor from the papal chair.



The other disturbing element to which reference has been made, the intrusion of popes or anti-popes by the secular power through violence, intrigue, or corruption, was equally as bad as the simoniacal intrusion of bishops, and it led to scenes and scandals in Rome which were a disgrace to Christendom. A few instances of this secular interference will serve as illustrations. The Count of Tusculum, whose tyranny had excited frequent outbreaks in Italy, and whose territory was about twelve miles from Rome, secured the election of his own son as Pope Benedict VIII., on July 20, 1012. He made a fairly good Pope, however, notwithstanding the suspicious circumstances attending his election. Immediately after his death his brother was elected as Pope John XX., on July 9, 1024.

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and to the violence of his semi-savage soldiery. The two emperors who claimed sovereignty over the empire, Valentinian and Theodosius II., tried to negotiate with him by offering him the title of General of the Empire with a large tribute which they would pay him annually. The reply which he told his ambassadors to give the emperors was, "Attila, our master and yours, orders you to prepare him a palace."

This answer meant an invasion. The semi-barbarous invaders who preceded him by half a century had been partially converted to Christianity and, although independent of imperial authority, some of them now made common cause with the imperial forces against this awful scourge, who said of himself, "The star falls, the earth trembles; I am the hammer of the universe; the grass never grows where Attila's horse has once trod." The combined armies of the Roman general Ætius and Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, met the hosts of Attila on the plain of Chalons, in France, just outside of Orleans, in June. The two armies numbered about one million of men. It was probably the bloodiest battle ever fought on earth. From sunrise until sunset the battle raged at close quarters with battle-axe, sword and spear. Three hundred thousand men lay dead, when the fight was ended by the retreat of Attila. Theodoric, the Visigoth king, fell in the conflict which his valor and skill had contributed to win for the allies.

But the next year, 452, Attila appeared on the borders of Italy with a larger army than that of the preceding year, laying waste the cities and towns on his march with fire and sword. He destroyed the large and ancient cities of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Aquileia, Milan, and Pavia. He pushed on amid the smoking ruins of the conquered cities direct for Rome, but halted near Mantua, whose inhabitants fled in dismay to the marshes where Venice now stands.

The last hour of the Roman Empire of the west seemed to have struck. The Pontiff, Saint Leo I., appeared in the camp of the barbarians. He was conducted to the tent of Attila, where he came as the representative of the God of Peace. The two stood face to face, one armed with the sword, the other with a crozier. Attila was awed by the bearing and words of the great Pontiff, of whose fame he had already heard. He heard with favor the propo-

sition of Saint Leo, and retraced his steps with his army across the Danube, where he died suddenly the following year while preparing for further devastation. Saint Leo on his return was hailed as the savior of Rome, and the enthusiastic people bestowed upon him the title of Great. A few years later and the Roman Empire of the west was utterly extinguished. The various provinces were parcelled out by barbarians whose very name was a terror to the Roman race, which was now everywhere oppressed by the rude, uncouth and unlettered conquerors. The Church alone stood between the victor and the vanquished to afford protection, mercy and peace. It was the only institution of the empire which had neither shared the overthrow nor been crushed by its fall. The conquerors saw this; they were awed and attracted by the pomp of its celebrations and ritual. The Christian religion, which these tribes and nations embraced in the course of time, gradually tamed their native fierceness, but this result of their conversion was slow and it required several generations to develop. Clovis, the king of the Franks, one day after his conversion, listening to the Bishop of Rheims reading to him of the trial of Christ before Pilate and of his crucifixion, leaped to his feet and cried out with honest indignation: "Oh, that I had been there with my Franks!"

With the greater part of the new converts it was the reluctant work of years to give up their old habits, their violent and irritable temper, a passionate love of hunting and fighting, and a rude contempt for the arts and sciences of the conquered Romans whom they now held as serfs, and over whom they claimed the right of life and death. It was necessary to humanize them first and Christianize them afterwards. The Church, therefore, labored to do this work, and during the period embracing from the fifth to the tenth century she saw nation after nation bow down reluctantly to her authority; in far-off England St Austin converted the Saxon king Ethelbert in 596, but the majority of the Hungarians were not converted until as late as the year 1000.

To protect the oppressed and to shield the persecuted in those days of turbulence and rancor, the privilege of church asylum was established, which was, in effect, that the fugitive who succeeded in reaching the precincts of the altar should not be attacked, but

that judicial inquiry be made in the case, and the violation of this decree was enforced by the penalty of excommunication, which was a punishment of dire significance in those days.

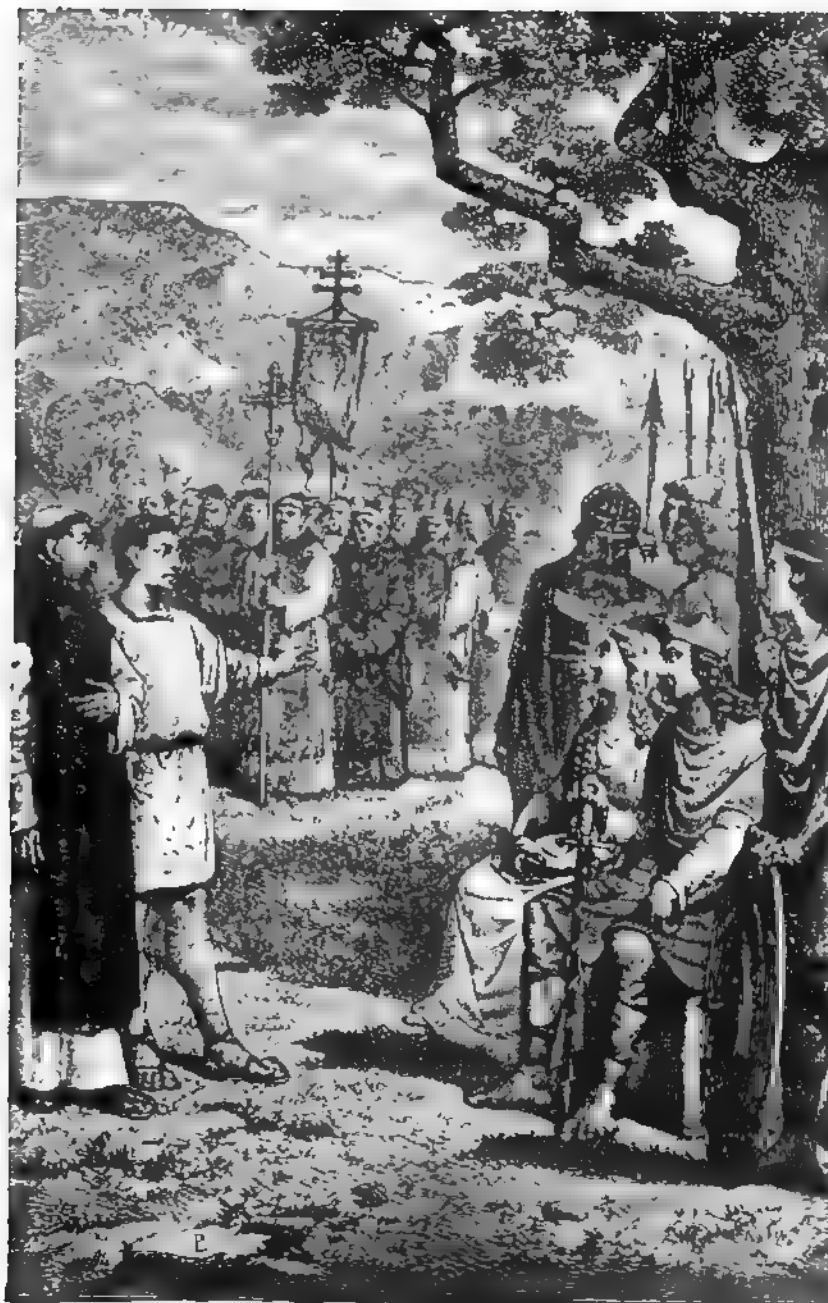
Council after council of the Church framed laws to abridge and curb the power of the feudal lord over his serf. In a word the Church was the only authority that was generally revered during that age of iron.

Christianity, or rather reverence for the Church, was the most powerfully formative element of modern civilization. The ruler learned from it some rude justice; the ruled learned faith and obedience. Within the Benedictine monasteries learning found a home, when the only books in use were written by the hands of the monks on the skins of beasts.

On the dismemberment of the Roman Empire of the west, Odeacer, the first barbarian king of Italy, claimed the right to nominate the Pontiff, but the claim was not allowed. His successor, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, put forward a similar claim with a like result. Other rulers from time to time claimed this right, and when the German emperors became masters of Rome they followed the same policy and sought the right, if not to appoint the Pope, to confirm his election. The latter claim was acquiesced in for a considerable time in the person of the German emperor. Meanwhile the popes had become temporal sovereigns in their own right. The country which they thus ruled over was the city of Rome and some of the adjacent territory. Many of the princes in those days invoked the aid of the Pontiff to settle differences between them precisely as Leo XIII., the present Pope, a few years ago was called on by Germany and Spain to adjust a dispute about the Caroline Islands.

Many of these princes took the oath of fealty to the Pope and became his feudal subjects as a prudential measure, because as such they had a right to expect from him protection against foreign invasion or usurpation of their throne. They paid to him as their suzerain a small annual offering, in return for which their territory was declared under the protection of Saint Peter, after which, if anyone recklessly invaded it upon being admonished by the Pope, he was formally excommunicated.

This state of things may appear strange in the nineteenth cen-



ST. AUSTIN CONVERTING THE ENGLISH TO CHRISTIANITY.

tury, but it would be very unsafe to measure the situation of Europe in the ninth century with the standard of the present day. The two chief disturbing elements in the government of the Church, up to the eleventh century, were the exercise by some of the temporal rulers of the investiture of bishops, and their efforts by violence, intrigue and corruption to fill the papal chair with creatures devoted to their interests. The meaning of investiture claimed chiefly by the emperors of Germany was this: the emperor, having richly endowed the bishoprics and abbeys, claimed the right of naming the bishop or abbot, and investing him with the insignia of office.

Most of these offices, even if considered only from the worldly standpoint, were of great importance, as the glebe lands, the serfs, and the tithes were annexed to the office. The new incumbent, on being invested by the emperor with the episcopal ring and crozier, took the oath of fealty which required, among other things, that he should join the standard of his liege lord with all his armed retainers whenever called on to do so. In many instances of appointments, therefore, more regard was given to the bishop's military qualifications, or to the amount of money which he would pay for the office, than for his knowledge of canon law or his good morals. Men of most dissolute character among the clergy and laymen, and even minors of wealthy family, were often made bishops in this way. Under a ruler of depraved character it may be reasonably inferred that all these appointments were given to the highest bidder or greatest favorite, and that the inferior clergy under such superiors were sunk in immorality and wickedness. The popes claimed that appointing bishops in this way was in direct opposition to the ancient canon law and custom of the Church, which provided that the bishops of a province, or at least three of them, with the consent and approval of the Pontiff should elect, thus securing to the Church the right of choosing her own ministers as well as perfect freedom in the exercise of that right. The popes continually protested against the right of the sovereigns to thus introduce the feudal law within the domain of the Church, but the latter persisted in these attempts until the monk Hildebrand, Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, confronted the German emperor from the papal chair.

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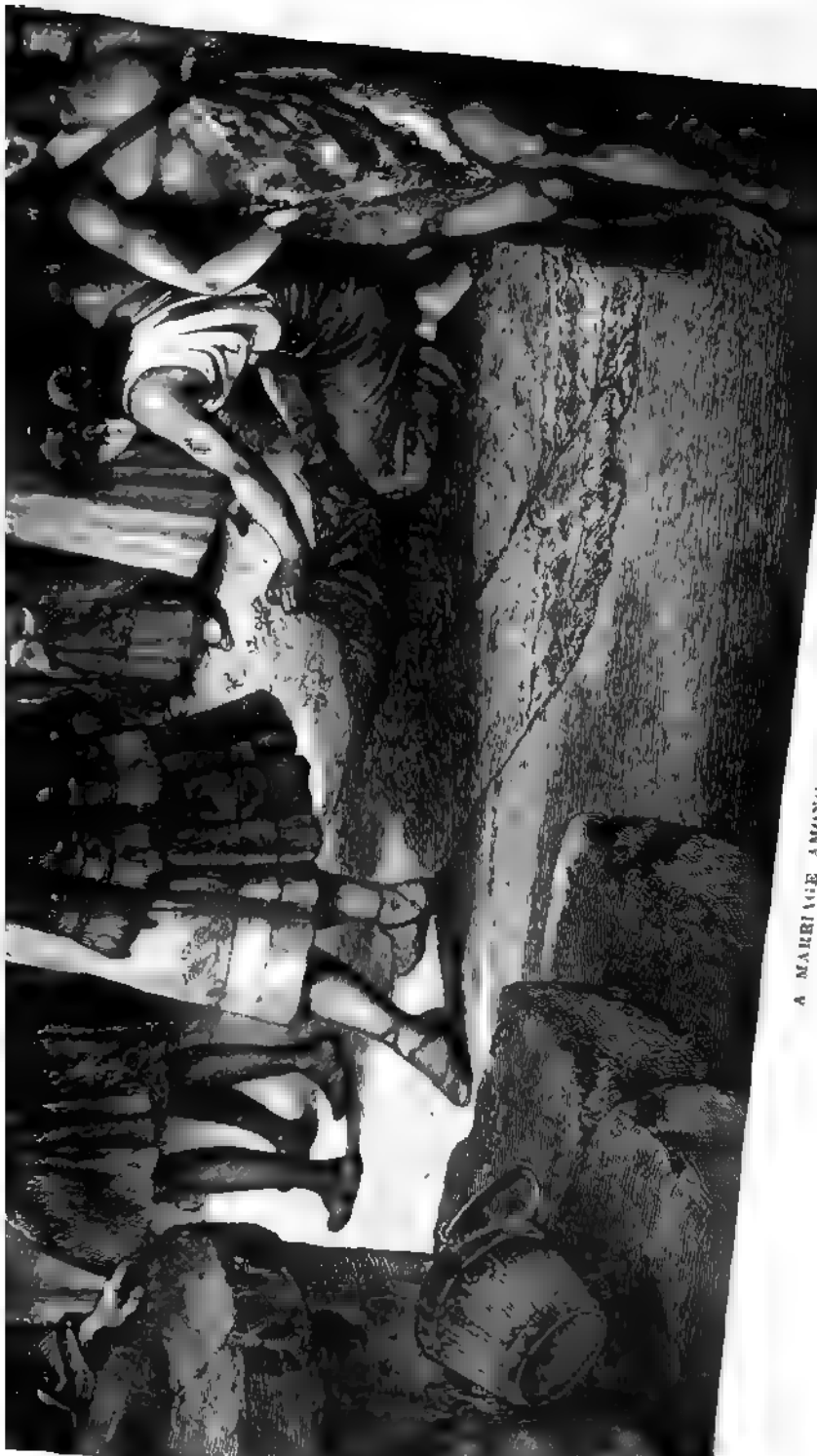
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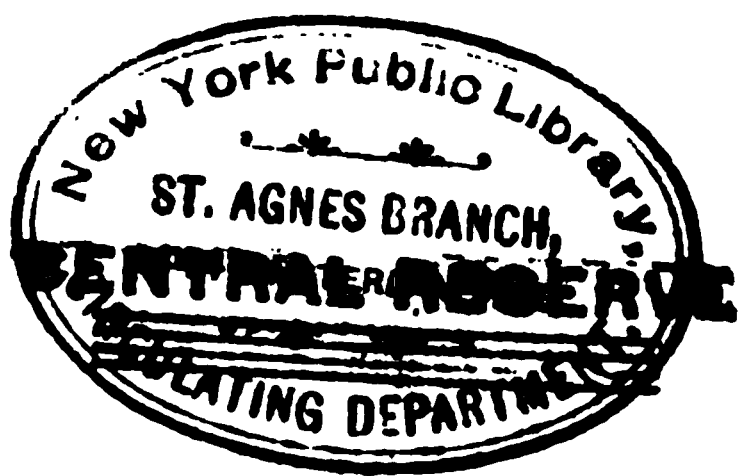
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A MARRIAGE AMONG ANCIENT JEWS.



emperor, A. D. 1061. The latter, indeed, was only a boy about ten years of age, but a certain faction of his court governed in his name. His chancellor, Guibert of Parma, sold abbacies and bishoprics whenever a vacancy occurred, and grew rich through these sales. When the news of the Pope's election reached Henry he formally declared it null and void, and nominated a bishop of Parma, notorious for his simoniacal irregularities, as an anti-Pope under the name of Honorius II. The latter, backed up by an army, marched on Rome to assert his claim, but was repulsed by the citizens, aided by Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany. After making some further trouble the anti-Pope died. Some years later when Henry IV. was but eighteen years of age he showed a most flagrant wickedness. He was already a heartless debauchee who hesitated at nothing, not even assassination, to accomplish his foul purposes. He was married to the Italian Princess Bertha when she was fifteen years old, but he put her away in a year after their marriage.

This public act aroused deep indignation in Italy and in Germany also. On the request of the Archbishop of Mentz, Germany, the Pope, Alexander II., was asked to investigate the matter, which he did by sending Saint Peter Damian to Henry's court. After Damian made a judicial examination into the matter, he told Henry that his conduct was unworthy not only of a prince but of a Christian. "If you despise the authority of the holy canons, have some regard, at least, for your reputation," said the papal legate, and to Henry's half-apologetic and sullenly given explanations he finally replied: "If you resist this advice dictated by reason and faith, the sovereign Pontiff will find himself compelled to use the thunders of the Church against you, and will never consent to crown you emperor."

It should be understood that the German emperors up to this time had been crowned by the Pope. Henry had not been crowned, hence he was simply king and emperor-elect. The young monarch quailed at Damian's threat and promised to reform; still his general conduct and morality were in no way improved, but quite to the contrary. As fast as a vacancy occurred among the prelates of the empire, he filled it with one

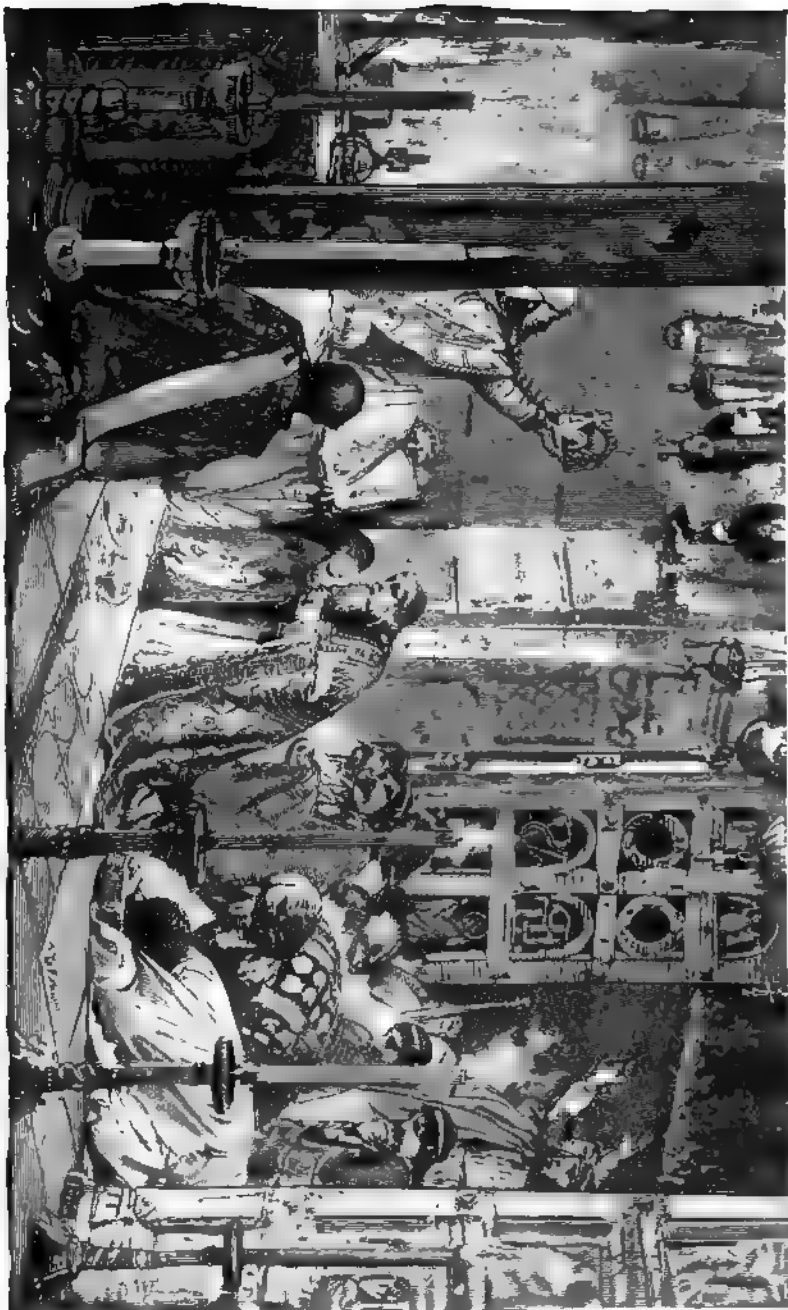
of his creatures, in many instances with notoriously immoral men. Pope Alexander II. died on April 21, 1073, and Hildebrand was elected on the following day, taking as his official name Gregory VII. The latter was the son of a Roman carpenter, became a monk of the monastery of Cluny, and was the preceptor in early boyhood of Henry IV. It was a singular coincidence in the lives of these two men that they should first meet as master and pupil, and afterwards as antagonists in the bitterest struggle which ever took place between the Pope and any temporal sovereign.

Hildebrand's election was enthusiastically received by the citizens of Rome, who knew him well, and it was applauded by all that was sound in the Christian hierarchy throughout the world. Immediately after his election, which it is alleged was forced upon him, he, designating himself as Pope-elect, despatched a delegation to Henry IV., requesting him to refuse his sanction to the election. In a letter which he sent by the delegates to the emperor the following passage was written: "Should you approve the choice made in my person, I must warn you that I shall not pass over the scandalous disorders of which all good men accuse you."

The German bishops advised Henry to refuse consent, which he was quite willing to withhold, but he was afraid to arouse the hostility of all that was pure and true in the Christian world, to whom the fame of Hildebrand, the monk, was not unknown. He, therefore, reluctantly confirmed the choice of the electors. The first act of the new Pontiff was directed against the scandals of the priesthood. A decree was issued against all priests who had bought their offices or who profaned them by looseness of conduct.

Priests were to be immediately deposed who refused to reform their lives, and the people were commanded to refuse to assist at the masses or other services of the rebel priests or to receive the sacraments from them. A storm of protestations from all sides was heard in response to the decree. The bishops of Germany, France, Italy, and other countries alleged that a great many churches must be closed if it was enforced, that it was dangerous to forbid the laity to receive sacraments from loosely living priests, as it would make laymen judges in ecclesiastical matters,

CHARLEMAGNE CROWNED BY THE POPE.





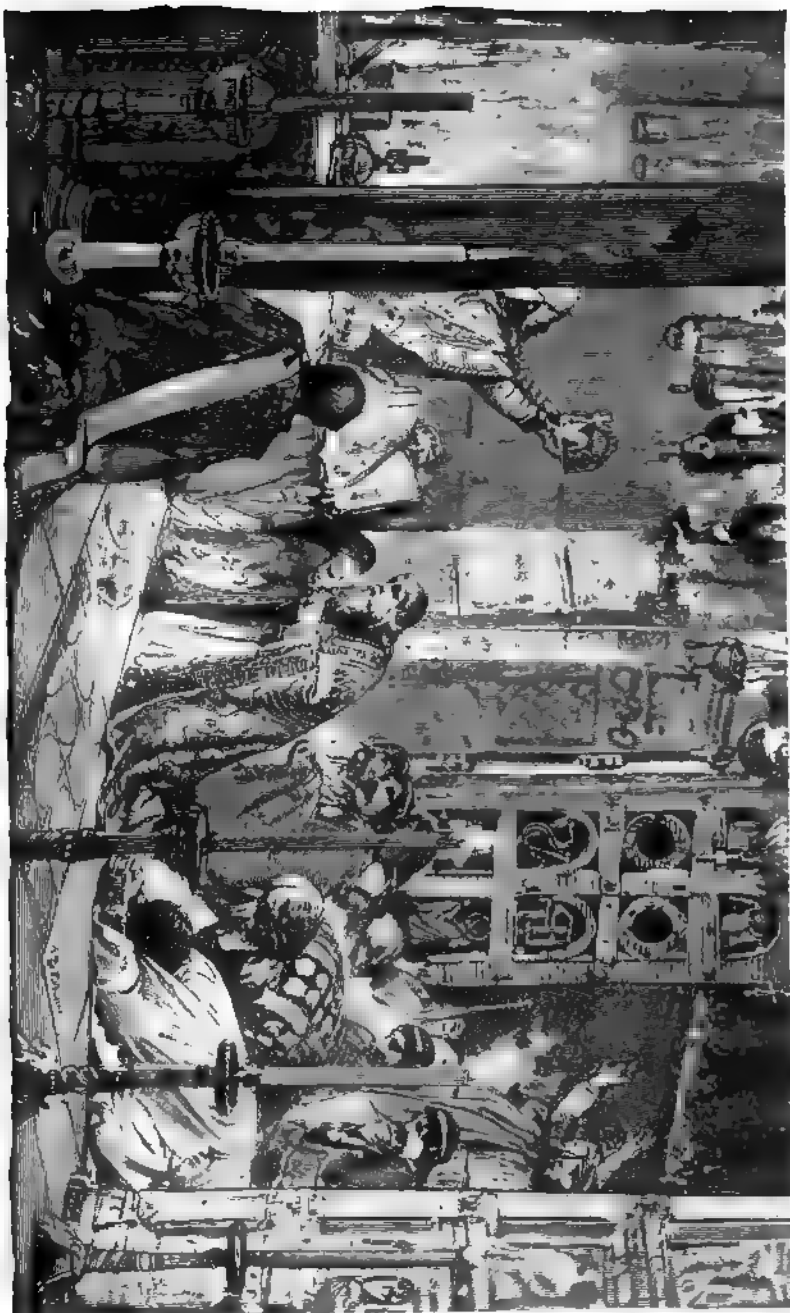
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and it seemed to imply that the efficiency of the sacrament was in measure dependent on the worthiness of the priest. Others protested upon less plausible and more unworthy grounds, showing the depth of demoralization and depravity to which the ministry had fallen.

But the iron will of Gregory intensified as the opposition increased. He sent copies of the decree to all the sovereigns, urging them to carry it into effect. A few complied, the many refused. The bishops of France and Germany rejected the decree altogether, and refused to obey it. Gregory called a council in Rome (A. D. 1075) when he issued a second decree: "Forbidding any layman of whatsoever rank, whether emperor, marquis, prince, or king to confer the investiture; and any cleric, priest, or bishop to receive it for benefices, abbacies, bishoprics, and ecclesiastical dignities of whatsoever nature. No one may keep the government of a church bought for money by a simoniacal traffic. Incontinent clerics are suspended from the exercise of all ecclesiastical functions. No priest shall contract a matrimonial alliance. He who already has a wife shall put her away under pain of deposition. No one can be raised to the priesthood, unless he first promise to observe perpetual continence. The faithful should not assist at the offices celebrated by a cleric whom they see trampling upon the apostolic decrees."

The new decree aroused the wrath of princes and prelates in many countries. Henry IV. and the bishops of Germany publicly denounced it and its author. Its promulgation in many German cities led to riotous mobs headed by disgraceful clergymen. The Pope, writing after its issuance to one of his brother monks, Hugh of Cluny, says: "Whether I turn to the west, to the south, or to the north, I see scarce a single bishop who has reached the episcopate by canonical means, and who governs his flock in a spirit of charity. As for the secular rulers, I know not one who prefers the glory of God to his own, or who sets justice above interest. The Lombards and Normans among whom I dwell I often reproach with being worse than Jews or heathen. Had I no hope of a better life hereafter, or no prospect of serving the Church here, God is my witness that I would not dwell another hour in Rome, where I have been chained for the last twenty years. Thus

PRIESTS IN PRAYER AT THE BEATENED OF COLUMBUS.



ST. AGNES BRANCH,  
444 AMSTERDAM AVE.

divided between a grief which is daily renewed and a hope, alas! too distant, I am beaten by a thousand fierce storms, and my life is but one lengthened agony."

In the meantime a formidable insurrection had broken out in Saxony because of the enormous taxes levied upon the people by the emperor. After a number of bloody battles the insurgents were defeated and large numbers were put to death for engaging in it. At its close it is alleged that Henry instigated Guibert, his chancellor, who was the simoniacal archbishop of Ravenna, to seize the pontiff, imprison him, and procure the election of another in his place who would pay deference to the emperor's wishes. The attempt to carry out this scheme was partially successful. One of the Cenci, son of a former prefect of Rome, with a band of armed men burst into the Church of Saint Mary-Major on Christmas night (A. D. 1075), and dragged the Pope from the altar where he was celebrating the midnight mass, and amid the groans and shrieks of the horror-stricken worshippers carried him off to a stronghold of the Cenci. They hoped to remove him from the city before daylight and bring him a prisoner to Germany, but the manhood of Rome had the tower of the Cenci surrounded within a few hours after the seizure. They threatened to storm the place and put to death Cenci and every member of his band.

The captor begged his prisoner to save his life from the maddened multitude, who were getting the scaling ladders in readiness to begin the assault. The Pope secured the lives of his captors, and was then borne to the Church from which he had been carried, where he continued the celebration which had been so rudely interrupted. Gregory on the very next day, December 26, wrote to Henry, saying, "We are astonished at the unfriendly bearing of your acts and decrees toward the Apostolic See. You have continued in contempt of our rescripts to bestow investitures for vacant bishoprics. We would remind you in true fatherly affection to acknowledge the empire of Christ, to think of the danger of preferring your own honor to His."

Henry made answer by calling a council of the German bishops at Worms. A formal accusation against the Pope was laid before this council in which he was charged with many infamous

crimes, one of which was that he had hired assassins to kill Henry IV. He was denounced as "a heretic, an adulterer, a ferocious and blood-thirsty beast." The council at the close of a three days session deposed the Pope, which sentence was signed by the king and all the bishops in attendance. A messenger was sent from the emperor to Rome with two letters, one for presentation to the Pope, and the other for the Roman people. The letter to the Pope ran thus:—

"Henry, by the grace of God, King, to Hildebrand. Whereas I expected from you the treatment of a father, I have learned that you act as my worst enemy. You have robbed me of the highest marks of respect due from your See; you have tried to estrange the hearts of my Italian subjects. To check this boldness, not by words but by deeds, I have called together the lords and bishops of my states. The council has received ample proofs, as you will see by the enclosed acts, that you are utterly unworthy any longer to occupy the Holy See. I have agreed to this sentence. I cease to look upon you as Sovereign Pontiff, and in virtue of my rank of Roman patrician I command you to quit the See forthwith."

The two letters were read by the imperial messenger before an assembly of the Roman clergy and nobility over which the Pope presided. The assembly desired to proceed at once to depose the emperor in the presence of his messenger, but Gregory suggested that they adjourn until the next day. Before adjourning, addressing the bishops specially, he said: "We must display the simplicity of the dove as well as the prudence of the serpent."

On the following day he addressed the assembly, reciting endeavors which he had made to induce Henry to obey the laws of the Church, and referred with powerful eloquence to the demoralized condition of the world, owing chiefly to the bad men who had been introduced into the Episcopal seats by temporal sovereigns against the continued protests of the pontiffs.

The bishops of the assembly arose and unanimously requested that Henry be excommunicated for malfeasance, misfeasance, and nonfeasance, as a public and notorious corrupter of morals, and contemner and violator of the laws of the Christian Church which he had sworn to obey. The decisive battle of spiritual service reform in Chris-



AN OFFICER OF THE PAPAL HOUSEHOLD.

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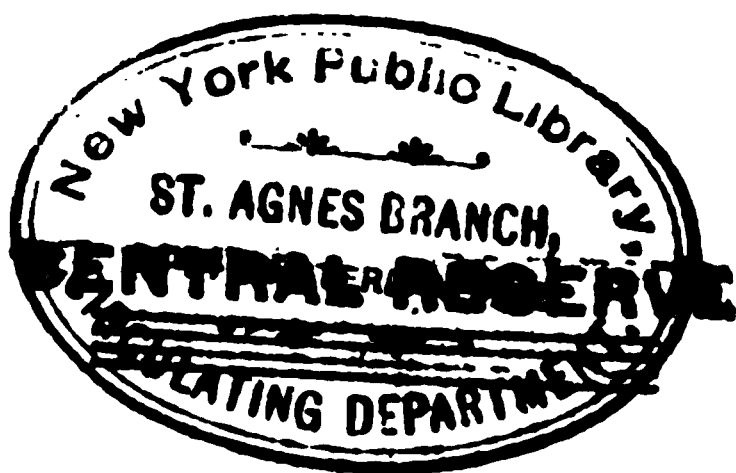
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This public act aroused deep indignation in Italy and in Germany also. On the request of the Archbishop of Mentz, Germany, the Pope, Alexander II., was asked to investigate the matter, which he did by sending Saint Peter Damian to Henry's court. After Damian made a judicial examination into the matter, he told Henry that his conduct was unworthy not only of a prince but of a Christian. "If you despise the authority of the holy canons, have some regard, at least, for your reputation," said the papal legate, and to Henry's half-apologetic and sullenly given explanations he finally replied: "If you resist this advice dictated by reason and faith, the sovereign Pontiff will find himself compelled to use the thunders of the Church against you, and will never consent to crown you emperor."

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ture, but it would be very unsafe to measure the situation of Europe in the ninth century with the standard of the present day. The two chief disturbing elements in the government of the Church, up to the eleventh century, were the exercise by some of the temporal rulers of the investiture of bishops, and their efforts by violence, intrigue and corruption to fill the papal chair with creatures devoted to their interests. The meaning of investiture claimed chiefly by the emperors of Germany was this: the emperor, having richly endowed the bishoprics and abbeys, claimed the right of naming the bishop or abbot, and investing him with the insignia of office.

Most of these offices, even if considered only from the worldly standpoint, were of great importance, as the glebe lands, the serfs, and the tithes were annexed to the office. The new incumbent, on being invested by the emperor with the episcopal ring and crozier, took the oath of fealty which required, among other things, that he should join the standard of his liege lord with all his armed retainers whenever called on to do so. In many instances of appointments, therefore, more regard was given to the bishop's military qualifications, or to the amount of money which he would pay for the office, than for his knowledge of canon law or his good morals. Men of most dissolute character among the clergy and laymen, and even minors of wealthy family, were often made bishops in this way. Under a ruler of depraved character it may be reasonably inferred that all these appointments were given to the highest bidder or greatest favorite, and that the inferior clergy under such superiors were sunk in immorality and wickedness. The popes claimed that appointing bishops in this way was in direct opposition to the ancient canon law and custom of the Church, which provided that the bishops of a province, or at least three of them, with the consent and approval of the Pontiff should elect, thus securing to the Church the right of choosing her own ministers as well as perfect freedom in the exercise of that right. The popes continually protested against the right of the sovereigns to thus introduce the feudal law within the domain of the Church, but the latter persisted in these attempts until the monk Hildebrand, Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, confronted the German emperor from the papal chair.

The other disturbing element to which reference has been made, the intrusion of popes or anti-popes by the secular power through violence, intrigue, or corruption, was equally as bad as the simoniacal intrusion of bishops, and it led to scenes and scandals in Rome which were a disgrace to Christendom. A few instances of this secular interference will serve as illustrations. The Count of Tusculum, whose tyranny had excited frequent outbreaks in Italy, and whose territory was about twelve miles from Rome, secured the election of his own son as Pope Benedict VIII., on July 20, 1012. He made a fairly good Pope, however, notwithstanding the suspicious circumstances attending his election. Immediately after his death his brother was elected as Pope John XX., on July 9, 1024.

Some of the chronicles say he was a layman when elected, and that some who voted for him were paid for doing so. No serious charge has been made against himself personally. On the death of John XX. his brother Alberic, Count of Tusculum, who had a son ten or twelve years of age, conceived the idea of placing this boy in the chair of Saint Peter. In spite of the canons of the Church, which were express in the matter, and notwithstanding the sacrilegious nature of the act, he bought the accomplishment of his criminal design with money, and the boy was elected Pope under the name of Benedict IX., on December 9, 1033. It was hoped by the upright and zealous bishops and the faithful generally that Conrad II., Emperor of Germany, would exercise in this case the right of non-confirmation for which he and his predecessors had so strongly contended with preceding popes. But he would not interfere, for he was engaged himself in selling bishoprics to the highest bidder, young or old, lay or cleric.

This boy Pope grew up a depraved wretch, a miserable, wicked and brazen sinner; but his authority as Pope was acknowledged and respected by all Christendom, even by those who most loudly denounced his personal conduct. Saint Peter Damian, who was a contemporary, called him "the poisonous viper of the Church." Darras, a Roman Catholic writer, apologizing for this blot on the papacy, says: "It is doubtless a part of the divine scheme which guides the destinies of the world that the Church should

more clearly prove the divinity of its foundation and preservation through all ages by meeting at times the deadliest shocks, by resisting even the unworthiness of its head."

The extent to which simony was carried on may be judged from the fact that when Leo IX. became Pope, about a year after the retirement of the wretched Benedict IX., he announced that he would suspend from ecclesiastical functions all whom he found tainted with the sin, but the declaration drew protests from all the Italian bishops who assured him that if he carried his threat into execution the pastoral ministry must by the very fact cease in most churches. He contented himself, therefore, with permitting them to continue in the ministry after performing public penance. This Pontiff appears to have been an exemplary man, and indefatigable in trying to reform the clergy and enforce salutary discipline as laid down by the law of the Church. Nineteen years after the death of Leo IX. the pontifical chair was vacant by the death of Nicholas II. A cardinal was despatched to the German court to consult the young prince, Henry IV., who was then a minor in the hands of a faction, in reference to the election of a pope; but the courtiers would not permit Cardinal Etienne to have access to the prince. On Cardinal Etienne's return the archdeacon Hildebrand assembled the electors, who immediately elected Alexander II.

As this election substantially opened the great struggle between Henry IV. of Germany and Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII., a few words are necessary by way of preface to a brief statement of the facts of their contest. Many writers<sup>1</sup> in discussing the quarrel between this emperor and pope have condemned Hildebrand as an ambitious monk who attempted to rule Christendom in the temporal as well as in the spiritual sphere, while many other writers, including, of course, all who accept the faith of the papacy, laud the Pontiff in highly eulogistic terms and denounce his imperial antagonist.

Pope Alexander II. was elected without the concurrence of the

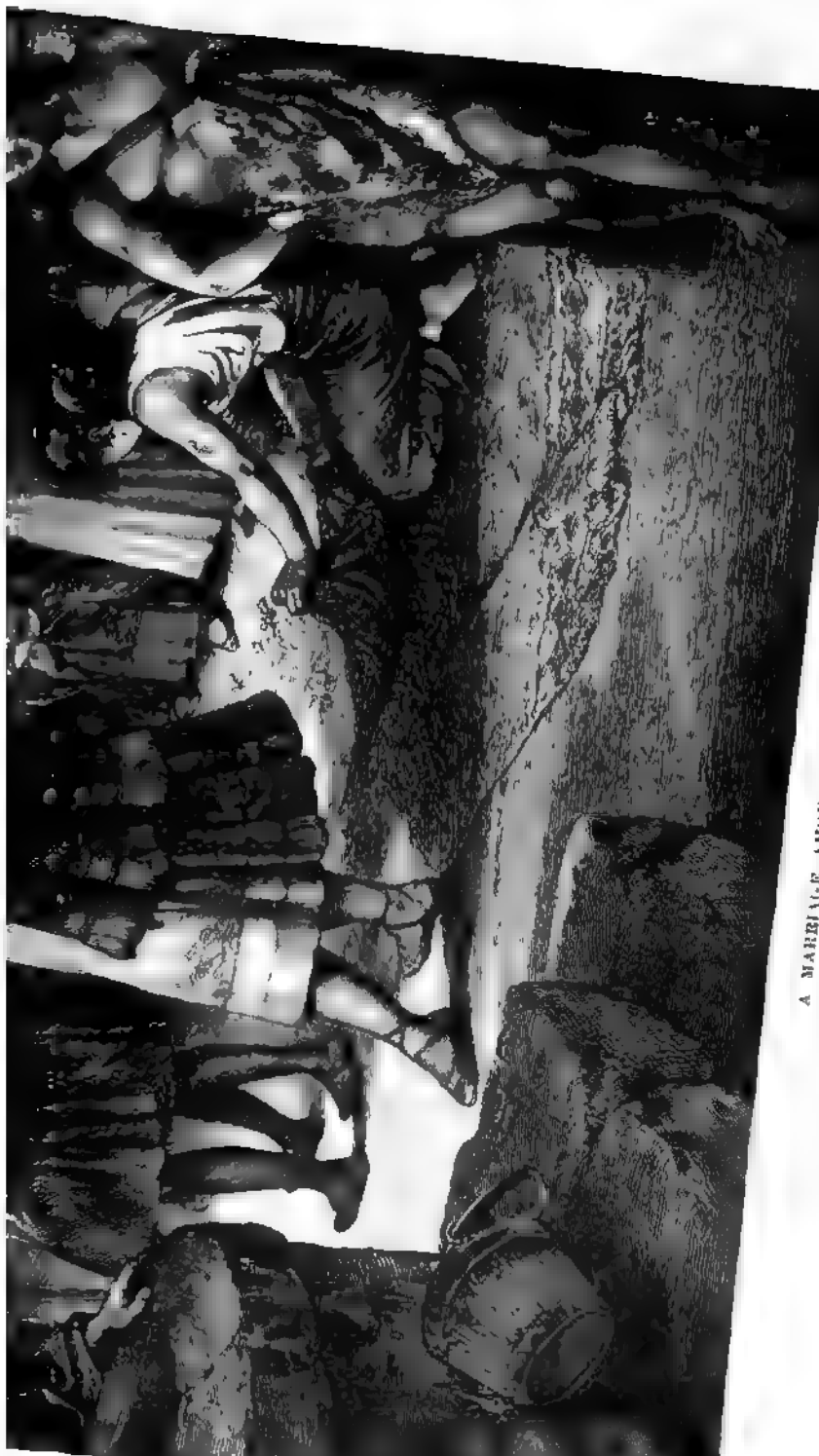
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<sup>1</sup> The facts given in these pages are taken from a very exhaustive and apparently impartial work in two volumes by Professor J. Voigt, of the University of Halle, Germany, entitled, "History of Pope Gregory VII. and of his age, from original documents." Professor Voigt is a Protestant, but is evidently unbiassed, and he quotes directly from original manuscripts which he has carefully examined.

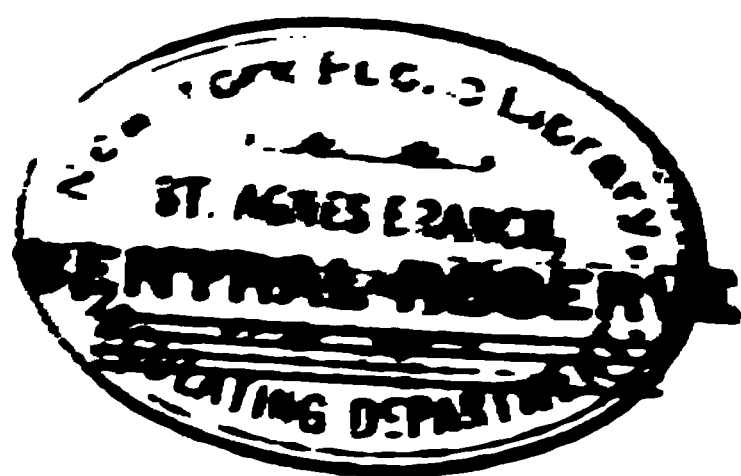








A MARRIAGE AMONG ANCIENT JEWS.



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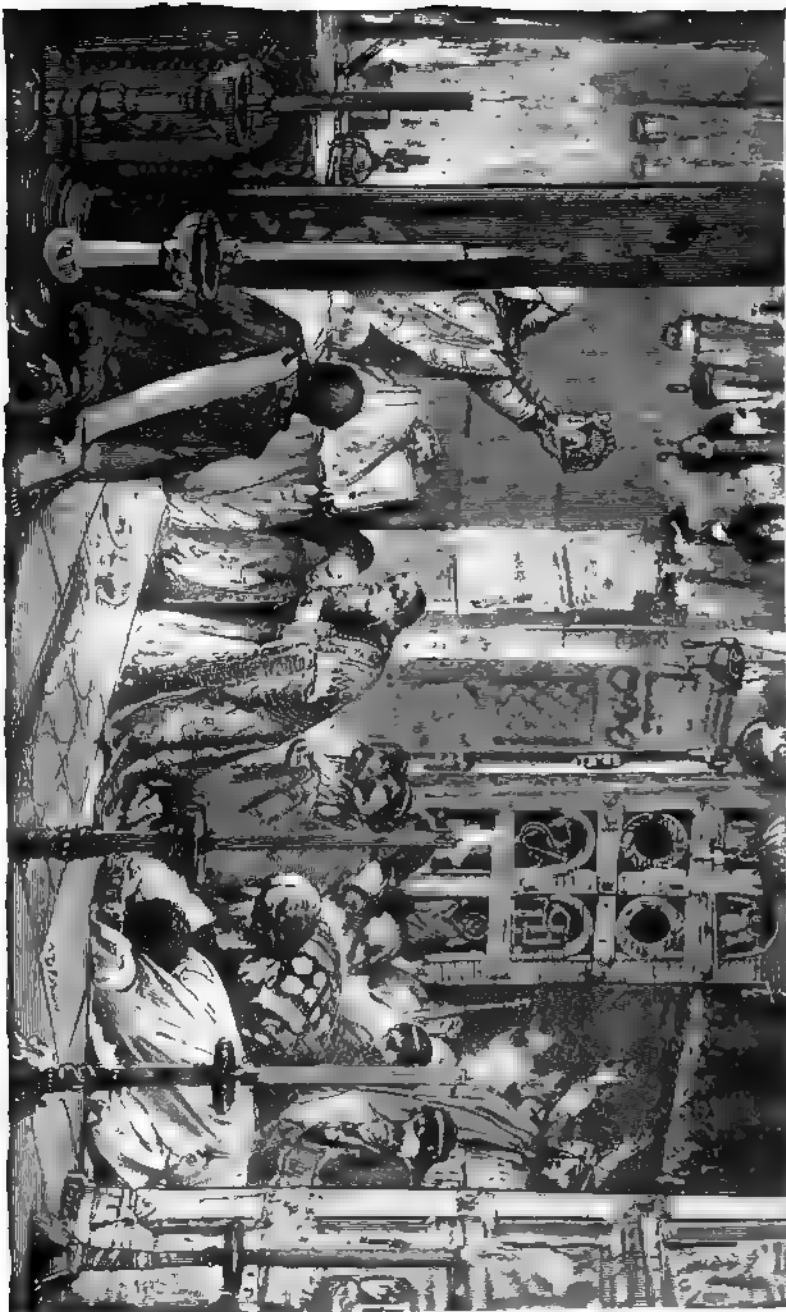
of his creatures, in many instances with notoriously immoral men. Pope Alexander II. died on April 21, 1073, and Hildebrand was elected on the following day, taking as his official name Gregory VII. The latter was the son of a Roman carpenter, became a monk of the monastery of Cluny, and was the preceptor in early boyhood of Henry IV. It was a singular coincidence in the lives of these two men that they should first meet as master and pupil, and afterwards as antagonists in the bitterest struggle which ever took place between the Pope and any temporal sovereign.

Hildebrand's election was enthusiastically received by the citizens of Rome, who knew him well, and it was applauded by all that was sound in the Christian hierarchy throughout the world. Immediately after his election, which it is alleged was forced upon him, he, designating himself as Pope-elect, despatched a delegation to Henry IV., requesting him to refuse his sanction to the election. In a letter which he sent by the delegates to the emperor the following passage was written: "Should you approve the choice made in my person, I must warn you that I shall not pass over the scandalous disorders of which all good men accuse you."

The German bishops advised Henry to refuse consent, which he was quite willing to withhold, but he was afraid to arouse the hostility of all that was pure and true in the Christian world, to whom the name of Hildebrand, the monk, was not unknown. He, therefore, reluctantly confirmed the choice of the electors. The first act of the new Pontiff was directed against the scandals of the priesthood. A decree was issued against all priests who had bought their offices or who profaned them by looseness of conduct.

Priests were to be immediately deposed who refused to reform their lives, and the people were commanded to refuse to assist at the masses or other services of the rebel priests or to receive the sacraments from them. A storm of protestations from all sides was heard in response to the decree. The bishops of Germany, France, Italy, and other countries alleged that a great many churches must be closed if it was enforced, that it was dangerous to forbid the laity to receive sacraments from loosely living priests, as it would make laymen judges in ecclesiastical matters,

CHARLEMAGNE CROWNED BY THE POPE.



not content to wait until the delivery of the sacrament was in regular conformity with the ordinance of the priest. Others proposed a more radical change in the minister's position, showing the necessity of a reformation which had already begun to which the ministry of the priest was opposed.

But the most serious measure was the opposition to the pope's decree. The pope's decree was to all the sovereigns, urging them to accept it as his will. A few complied, the many refused. The kings of France and Germany rejected the decree altogether and refused to obey it. Gregory called a council in Rome in 1545 when he issued a second decree:

"Prohibiting any secular or ecclesiastical ruler, whether emperor, cardinal, prince, or king to confer the investiture; and any cleric, priest, or bishop to receive it for benefices, abbeys, bishoprics, and ecclesiastical dignities of whatsoever nature. No one may seek the government of a church bought for money by a simoniacal traffic. Ecclesiastical clerics are suspended from the exercise of all ecclesiastical functions. No priest shall contract a matrimonial alliance. He who already has a wife shall put her away under pain of deposition. No one can be raised to the priesthood, unless he first promise to observe perpetual continence. The faithful should not assist at the offices celebrated by a cleric whom they see transgressing upon the apostolic decrees."

The new decree aroused the wrath of princes and prelates in many countries. Henry IV. and the bishops of Germany publicly denounced it and its author. Its promulgation in many German cities led to riotous mobs headed by disgraceful clergymen. The Pope, writing after its issuance to one of his brother monks, Hugh of Cluny, says: "Whether I turn to the west, to the south, or to the north, I see scarce a single bishop who has reached the episcopate by canonical means, and who governs his flock in a spirit of charity. As for the secular rulers, I know not one who prefers the glory of God to his own, or who sets justice above interest. The Lombards and Normans among whom I dwell I often reproach with being worse than Jews or heathen. Had I no hope of a better life hereafter, or no prospect of serving the Church here, God is my witness that I would not dwell another hour in Rome, where I have been chained for the last twenty years. Thus

PRIESTS IN PRAYER AT THE HEATHENED OF COLUMBUS.



ST. AGNES BRANCH,  
444 AMSTERDAM AVE



divided between a grief which is daily renewed and a hope, alas! too distant, I am beaten by a thousand fierce storms, and my life is but one lengthened agony."

In the meantime a formidable insurrection had broken out in Saxony because of the enormous taxes levied upon the people by the emperor. After a number of bloody battles the insurgents were defeated and large numbers were put to death for engaging in it. At its close it is alleged that Henry instigated Guibert, his chancellor, who was the simoniacal archbishop of Ravenna, to seize the pontiff, imprison him, and procure the election of another in his place who would pay deference to the emperor's wishes. The attempt to carry out this scheme was partially successful. One of the Cenci, son of a former prefect of Rome, with a band of armed men burst into the Church of Saint Mary-Major on Christmas night (A. D. 1075), and dragged the Pope from the altar where he was celebrating the midnight mass, and amid the groans and shrieks of the horror-stricken worshippers carried him off to a stronghold of the Cenci. They hoped to remove him from the city before daylight and bring him a prisoner to Germany, but the manhood of Rome had the tower of the Cenci surrounded within a few hours after the seizure. They threatened to storm the place and put to death Cenci and every member of his band.

The captor begged his prisoner to save his life from the maddened multitude, who were getting the scaling ladders in readiness to begin the assault. The Pope secured the lives of his captors, and was then borne to the Church from which he had been carried, where he continued the celebration which had been so rudely interrupted. Gregory on the very next day, December 26, wrote to Henry, saying, "We are astonished at the unfriendly bearing of your acts and decrees toward the Apostolic See. You have continued in contempt of our rescripts to bestow investitures for vacant bishoprics. We would remind you in true fatherly affection to acknowledge the empire of Christ, to think of the danger of preferring your own honor to His."

Henry made answer by calling a council of the German bishops at Worms. A formal accusation against the Pope was laid before this council in which he was charged with many infamous

crimes, one of which was that he had hired assassins to kill Henry IV. He was denounced as "a heretic, an adulterer, a ferocious and blood-thirsty beast." The council at the close of a three days session deposed the Pope, which sentence was signed by the king and all the bishops in attendance. A messenger was sent from the emperor to Rome with two letters, one for presentation to the Pope, and the other for the Roman people. The letter to the Pope ran thus:—

"Henry, by the grace of God, King, to Hildebrand. Whereas I expected from you the treatment of a father, I have learned that you act as my worst enemy. You have robbed me of the highest marks of respect due from your See; you have tried to estrange the hearts of my Italian subjects. To check this boldness, not by words but by deeds, I have called together the lords and bishops of my states. The council has received ample proofs, as you will see by the enclosed acts, that you are utterly unworthy any longer to occupy the Holy See. I have agreed to this sentence. I cease to look upon you as Sovereign Pontiff, and in virtue of my rank of Roman patrician I command you to quit the See forthwith."

The two letters were read by the imperial messenger before an assembly of the Roman clergy and nobility over which the Pope presided. The assembly desired to proceed at once to depose the emperor in the presence of his messenger, but Gregory suggested that they adjourn until the next day. Before adjourning, addressing the bishops specially, he said: "We must display the simplicity of the dove as well as the prudence of the serpent."

On the following day he addressed the assembly, reciting endeavors which he had made to induce Henry to obey the laws of the Church, and referred with powerful eloquence to the demoralized condition of the world, owing chiefly to the bad men who had been introduced into the Episcopal seats by temporal sovereigns against the continued protests of the pontiffs.

The bishops of the assembly arose and unanimously requested that Henry be excommunicated for malfeasance, misfeasance, and nonfeasance, as a public and notorious corrupter of morals, and contemner and violator of the laws of the Christian Church which he had sworn to obey. The decisive battle of spiritual service reform in Chris-



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that monk possessed of the spirit of hell, the vile apostate from the faith of our fathers."

They also unanimously elected the imperial chancellor, Guibert of Ravenna, as Pope Clement III., who instantly set out for Rome with an army to take possession of the pontifical office. All the disorderly clerics, all the riotous, both lay and cleric, flocked to the standard of the anti-pope, who claimed that the emperor should exercise the chief authority in the choice of popes and bishops; that no pope or bishop could be lawfully elected unless chosen by the emperor or king of Germany, and that no account was to be made of a sentence of excommunication pronounced against a temporal sovereign.

Professor Voigt says: "The pen of history refuses to record all the woes that followed in the train of this schism." Gregory stood almost alone; the mighty of earth and many of the unworthy were arrayed against him. The emperor's pope, Guibert, with the emperor and a large army, laid siege to Rome in the spring of 1082. The Romans successfully defended their city and pontiff for two years, but, wearied out at length by the rigors of the protracted siege, they sent a deputation of citizens to offer Henry the keys of the city.

The latter and his pope made their entry March 21, 1084. Guibert was formally installed as Pope, and he then crowned Henry as Emperor of Germany in the church of Saint Peter, the latter having borne only the titles of king and emperor-elect previously. Gregory VII. withdrew from Rome to Salerno where he died May 25, 1085. Around the couch on which he lay dying stood his cardinals, the faithful ones who repudiated the intruded Pope of the emperor. To these he bequeathed as his only legacy the preservation of the independence of the church. He adjured them in his last moments, saying, "In the name of Almighty God, in virtue of the authority of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, I command you to acknowledge as lawful Pope no one who is not elected and consecrated according to the canonical laws of the Church."

He then grew rapidly weaker and for a time was unable to speak, but rallying for a moment the ebbing life-forces he uttered the words which will go down to all the unborn generations of

men of every creed and country: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore do I die in exile." The last words had been spoken. The son of the Roman carpenter, the monk Hildebrand, the Supreme Pontiff, was dead. The struggle between Gregory and Henry was ended.

The student of history will perceive a certain similarity between the actors in this conflict and that which took place between Henry VIII. of England and Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester. Hildebrand was a preceptor of the German emperor in early boyhood; Fisher was a preceptor of the English monarch. Hildebrand, for maintaining the papal supremacy, was driven into exile by his pupil, while Fisher was beheaded for the same offence by his pupil.

Professor Voigt closes his History of Gregory VII. in these words:—

"It is difficult to bestow on him exaggerated eulogy, for he has laid everywhere the foundation of a solid glory. But every one should wish to render justice to whom justice is due; let no man cast a stone at one who is innocent; let every one respect and honor a man who has labored for his age with views so grand and so generous. Let him who is conscious of having calumniated him, re-enter into his own conscience."

Apparently the German emperor was triumphant; but the triumph was in appearance only. The right of temporal princes to exercise the investiture of bishops was doomed. Pope Victor III., who followed Gregory VII., took up the work which the exile of Salerno bequeathed to his successors, and his successors in turn prosecuted it until this claim was altogether relinquished by Henry V., emperor of Germany, thirty-seven years after the death of Gregory VII.

In 1196 the papacy and a French monarch, Philip Augustus, came into collision on the marriage question. The king, on a false pretext of kindred, convened some bishops who declared his marriage void with the queen, a daughter of the king of Denmark. The latter, when cited before the assembly to answer interrogatories and defend herself against her husband's charges, could not speak the language of her judges. When an interpreter trans-

lated for her the sentence of her repudiation, she could only cry out in an appeal of anguish and indignation: "Rome, Rome!" She refused to leave France and return to her father, whereupon the king confined her in a convent and married another woman. Innocent III., a man of extraordinary ability, was Pope. Some writers charge him with a boundless ambition. However that may be, he espoused the cause of the repudiated queen and summoned a council at Dijon before which Philip Augustus was

cited to appear to answer for his conduct. The king refused to appear, bidding defiance to Pope and council. The legate presiding



THE QUEEN OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS APPEALING TO ROME.

over the council in the Pope's name, and acting under his instruction, laid the French kingdom under an interdict until proper reparation should be made. The king persecuted the faithful clergy with great cruelty and civil war was provoked, many of the feudal nobles drawing the sword to protect the clergy within their fiefs.

Growing weary of the struggle, Philip made a last appeal to an assembly of all the nobles and prelates of his realm which he convoked. "What must I do?" asked Philip. "Obey the Pope,

put away Agnes, and take back your queen," they answered. The king was forced to yield and the queen was restored to her rightful station.

In regard to the state of education considerable improvement had been made in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It will, of course, be understood that printing, as we have it to-day, was unknown; that every book was produced by the slow and laborious work of writing out every word by hand.

The third general council of the Church, held at Rome by Pope Alexander III. in 1179, ordained that "since the Church of God, like a tender mother, is bound to provide for the poor both in those things which appertain to the aid of the body and in those which belong to the advancement of the soul, lest the opportunity for such improvement should be wanting to those poor persons who cannot be aided by the wealth of their parents, let a competent benefice be assigned in each cathedral church to a teacher whose duty it shall be to teach the clerks and poor scholars of the same church gratuitously; by which means the necessity of the teacher may be relieved, and the way to instruction be opened to learners. Let this practice be also restored in other churches and monasteries, if in times past anything was set apart in them for this purpose. But let no one exact a price for granting permission to teach."

Pope Innocent III., who has already been referred to, renewed this decree in 1215, and extended the law to all parochial churches. Universities arose throughout Europe to light the course of the centuries. Oxford was founded in 886, Cambridge in 915. Charlemagne founded the University of Paris about 800, and a large number of Italian universities, including that of Padua, Pisa, Pavia, Bologna, and Rome were well-known centres of learning as early as the twelfth century, each counting its students by thousands. Padua alone, the alma mater of Columbus and Vesputius, had at one time 18,000 students. Anthony Wood, the chronicler of Oxford, says that that institution in the thirteenth century had not less than 30,000 students.

The notorious politico-ecclesiastical tribunal known as the Spanish Inquisition was established by Ferdinand and Isabella toward the close of the fifteenth century. Prior to this time the Inquisition prevailed throughout Christendom as a species of



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election of a pope in Rome in April, 1378, when Urban VI. was unanimously declared elected by the cardinals, but afterwards the French cardinals protested against the legality of the election and proceeded to elect a pope under the name of Clement VII. The latter transferred himself to Avignon, in France, from which he ruled a small portion of the Christian world, chiefly France,



THE TRIAL OF A DEAD POPE.

while the pontiff in Rome was recognized as the lawful Pope by the greater part of Christendom.

The rival popes — and sometimes there were three claimants — excommunicated one another, and when they died their successors who were elected by the respective factions did likewise, and on one occasion a dead pope was actually tried by his successor. The Christian world was in deep distress, and sadly puzzled at this apparent sacrifice of the unity under one head, which was the time-honored boast of the papacy. Persons of highest reputation, revered for the holiness of their lives, were to be found on opposite sides. The unity of faith and worship was not disturbed; the only question at issue being who was the true Pope. The schism lasted until 1417, when it was ended by all the electors unanimously voting for Pope Martin V.

It would seem that the ambition of the French king fanning the ambition of certain French cardinals was the cause of this schism. The papacy in the beginning of the Middle Ages in its efforts to humanize Europe, was obliged to come into close contact, and in many instances into conflict—a few examples of which have been cited—with the temporal rulers, and thus it was drawn into the arena of politics where it was consequently subject to all its vicissitudes and dangers.

Many monasteries became a scandal and reproach to Christendom at this time. Yet a large number of the purest and holiest men and women, whose names adorn the page of Christianity, lived at this epoch, who kept their faces firmly set against the evils of the time, working in patience, silence and humility to resist the loud-voiced wrong which walked abroad at noonday. Luther at this time entered upon the stage, and the Reformation of the sixteenth century was under way. The monk of Wittenberg found all the material necessary for a great upheaval at hand; he touched the train and the explosion followed. He cried out reform on the Alpine heights and an avalanche was set in motion. He appealed from the authority of the Pope to the Bible interpreted by every Christian for himself as the only rule of faith.

A great number of sects sprang into existence immediately, some of which upheld very fantastic doctrines. When Luther reproved them and insisted upon the soundness of his own views they told him that he taught the sole authority of the Bible upon which they based their belief. One of the most numerous of these sects, the Anabaptists, protested against the payment of tithes and other dues, and maintained the right of every parish to choose and remove at will the preachers who occupied the pulpits. They supported these professions by force of arms under their leader Münzer, who called himself "Gideon sent of God to re-establish with the sword the kingdom of Jesus Christ," and the Peasants' War ensued, in which the unfortunate Anabaptists were beaten and Münzer killed. Luther had endeavored to restrain them, but finding expostulation useless, he advised the German princes by letter to "hunt these rebellious peasants like wild beasts; kill them like mad dogs: they are sold body and soul to Satan."

The Reformation spread quickly to countries outside of Germany. Henry VIII. reformed the Church in England in the course of a few years by making himself, by act of Parliament, the head of it. The cause of the Reformation in England was that Pope Clement VII. refused to grant Henry a divorce from his wife Catherine, to whom he had been married eighteen years. Henry wished for young Anne Boleyn, and he advanced the usual pretext of other royal libertines that his conscience troubled him for living with his queen because of a certain too close kinship which they bore to each other before marriage.

The Pontiff, on being appealed to for the necessary dispensation, said he would examine carefully into the matter, but could not sacrifice his conscience and trample on the laws of God. After the matter was protracted for some years, during which he tried every possible means to dissuade Henry from his purpose, a decision was rendered, deciding definitely against the divorce on which Henry had already resolved. The king was indignant and made himself pope of the English Church. He then ordered Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains, to marry him immediately to Anne Boleyn, who was soon to become a mother, and the thing was done.

The history of this royal monster, his many marriages, his treatment of his wives and subjects, are too well known to require reference at any great length here. He reformed the Church in accordance with his views. While doing so he executed two queens, one cardinal, two archbishops, eighteen bishops, thirteen abbots, five hundred priors and monks, thirty-eight doctors, twelve dukes and counts, one hundred and sixty-four noblemen of various ranks, one hundred and twenty-four private citizens, and one hundred and ten women. These executions were all for offences committed against his royal personality—against his majesty. Among these was his early preceptor, the venerable Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was eighty years of age. When Pope Paul nominated Fisher as cardinal Henry said, "Paul may send him the hat, but I will take care that he shall have never a head to wear it on."

Pope Paul III. called a general council of the Church at Trent which assembled on December 13, 1545. The council

pronounced definitely on the teachings of Luther, Calvin, Zwinglius, and other reformers, condemning them as heretical.

At this period of strife and world-wide religious contention, the organization arose which was founded by Ignatius of Loyola, and known as the "Society of Jesus." This order of priests was especially designed to counteract the influence of Protestantism. It has always appeared an object of the greatest terror to many Protestant minds. The society has been denounced with the greatest bitterness as a monster of iniquity since it first appeared in the arena of conflict, and its members from time to time have been expelled from states ruled by kings as well as from states under republican government. Even members of the Catholic Church itself have assailed it. Its brethren have been accused of pandering to the absolutism of princes, and arousing feelings of revolt among the masses at one and the same time. The following is an accurate summary of the constitution of this notable society: —

A. M. D. G. (*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*) is its motto. The end of this society is the greater glory of God. Its members are to labor for the salvation of their neighbor as for their own. Their duty toward their neighbor they discharge by means of preaching, missions, catechetical instructions, conferences with heretics, the confessional, and especially by the education of youth; their own perfection they seek by means of mental prayer, examination of conscience, the reading of ascetical works, and frequent communion.

Candidates for admission into the society are tried by a novitiate of two years, during which time all studies are laid aside, and the novices devote their time chiefly to spiritual exercises. At the end of the novitiate the novice may be admitted to the first vows, chastity, poverty and obedience, which are like those of other orders. The poverty of the members consists in their incapacity to possess either individually or collectively any income or property. They are to remain satisfied with what is given them to supply their wants.

Their colleges, however, are endowed in order that neither students nor teachers may be taken from their duties to provide for their own subsistence. After the novitiate they begin the course

BURIAL OF A MONT.



of studies — languages, *belles-lettres*, rhetoric, philosophy, theology, church history, and the Sacred Scriptures. While pursuing these studies they are to preserve the spirit of piety in their hearts by means of frequent examination of conscience, by approaching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ at least every eighth day, and by renewing their vows twice a year. When they go out of the house they should generally have a companion.

After the completion of his studies, the Jesuit performs a second novitiate, lasting one year, during which he is employed in spiritual duties and lives in retirement, perfecting himself in the knowledge of the constitutions of his order. The members of the order are divided into three classes, according to their degree of learning and virtue: —

1st. The professed, who beside the three monastic vows, chastity, poverty and obedience, make a fourth vow of absolute obedience to the Pope in regard to missions. There are comparatively few professed Jesuits or Jesuits of the four vows. From this class are chosen the general of the order and the other principal superiors. Their establishments are: the professed houses, directed by a *præpositus*; the colleges, containing at least thirteen members under a rector, and the residences in charge of a superior.

2d. The spiritual coadjutors, who are in greater number than the professed according to their talents and the constitutions of the order, and the professed in their ministry.

3d. The temporal coadjutors, or lay brothers who are received for domestic employments.

Each province of the order, as the United States for example, is governed by a provincial. At the head of the whole order is a general, who resides at Rome and enjoys full power within the limits of the constitution. Modifications can be introduced only by the general congregations. The general appoints nearly all the officers of the order to prevent whatever dissensions and intrigues might arise from elections by suffrage; these appointments are made after consulting the provincial and the proper consulters. The superiors of the various houses at stated times send reports to the general of the capacity and conduct of their subjects.

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ELEVATION OF POPE PIUS VII.



The general has six assistants whose advice he is bound to seek; they are to be tried and able men belonging to different nations, by the names of which they are respectively known. They are elected by the general congregation and form the council of the general, but without authority except that of calling a general congregation in extraordinary cases. The general congregation also elects the general's admonitor who must admonish him whenever he deems it necessary. The constitution maintains the strictest unity in the system, and in the matter of teaching it aims at repressing, with the most vigorous energy, whatever is at variance with the doctrine of the Church, leaving, as it is claimed, at the same time in matters of mere opinion, a freedom which favors the aspirations of genius.

The object of setting forth at such length the rules of this order, which has been called "the right arm of the Church," is because the average American knows as little about them as he does about the laws of the Pharaohs, and aside from their novelty it is assuredly not a matter for self-gratulation to be ignorant of the methods and aims of a society of priests which already wields such a powerful influence throughout our country. And they are by no means strangers or newcomers in this land. Bancroft, speaking of their work, says: "The history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; not a cape was turned, nor a river entered but a Jesuit led the way. . . . Thus did the religious zeal of the French bear the cross to the banks of the Saint Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully towards the homes of the Sioux, in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Elliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston Harbor." The student who desires to study the labors of the Jesuits in North America can do so with profit in Parkman's works.

The society was suppressed by the governments of the Catholic countries of Europe, not only in Europe, but in all their foreign possessions between 1758 and 1767. The charges which were made the pretext for its expulsion are undeserving serious notice. The chief charge was that a member of the order in Martinique signed a bill of exchange on another in Paris which was protested.



Louis XV., of France, had no personal dislike to the society, but his mistress, the notorious Madame de Pompadour, had a

most vindictive hatred of its members, and as she was the greatest power in the kingdom, governing Louis, the so-called Parliament, and the Minister Choiseul, the decree of banishment in France was readily obtained. A few years later Pope Clement XIV., under pressure of the Catholic governments, and much against his will, issued a bull dissolving the society. Then a most singular episode occurred. Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Catherine I., Empress of Russia, wrote to the Pope informing him that, knowing no better teachers of youth than the Jesuits, they meant to keep them in their dominions.

The situation was a unique and delicate one. By the bull of suppression the Jesuits were forbidden to continue living in communities, to receive novices, and consequently to perpetuate their order. Their General Ricci had solemnly sworn to the Pope to renounce all power and jurisdiction as superior. The other Jesuits, obedient to the papal bull although it was their death-warrant, refused the offers of Frederick and Catherine as long as the Pope did not authorize their acceptance. The latter was afraid of arousing the hostility of the Catholic powers by independent action in the premises; so he laid the proposition before them for consideration. He was informed that he might follow his wishes in the matter, provided he did so quietly and without great formal publicity. Thus the Jesuits opened their educational institutions, established their novitiates, and maintained their order in two non-Catholic countries, while they were prohibited in the Catholic states. This fact is almost as singular as the arrest and imprisonment of Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions by the Spanish Inquisition.

During the last century the conflict between the papacy and the temporal rulers continued in one form or another, the first claiming that the spiritual domain was infringed upon by the latter and *vice versa*. In France the opposition proceeded chiefly from the Parliaments strongly imbued with the principles of Gallicanism or national churchism. In Spain the decrees of the Church were always promulgated with the accompanying restriction "without prejudice to the royal prerogative."

The opposition in France was chiefly directed against the decrees relating to fines and imprisonment, in spiritual matters to

be left to the ecclesiastical power, against those forbidding duels, concubinage, and divorce, those reserving the judgment of bishops to the Pope alone, and those relating to the consent of parents deemed necessary in France for legal marriage, and not required by the law of the Church.

Joseph II. of Germany, towards the close of the century, assumed and exercised the right of settling all ecclesiastical questions within his empire; he deprived bishops of their revenues, expelled them or abolished their dioceses. By an imperial manifesto he declared all pontifical bulls subject to his ratification. Bishops were forbidden to ordain priests without the previous consent of the emperor; he suppressed a large number of the religious communities, and went so far as to fix the number of priests for each church. The Pope protested vigorously. The emperor and the bishops who supported him carried out their views of church government for a time, threatening a schism when the tidal wave of revolution which swept over Europe from Paris gave the emperor and his brother monarchs other matters to occupy their attention than things of theocratic discipline.

The French Directory had Pope Pius VI. arrested on Feb. 12, 1798, and brought to France as a prisoner, where he died in confinement August 29, 1799, because he refused to govern the Church in accordance with the notions of the gentlemen in Paris, who proposed to relieve the world of all kinds of rule save that of "the Republic One and Indivisible." Ranke, in his "History of the Popes," speaking of the death of Pius VI., says: "In truth, it seemed as if the papal power was forever at an end."

The emperor, Napoleon I., a few years later established amicable relations with Pope Pius VII., who crowned the emperor at his request in Paris. Afterwards, in 1805, he appealed to the Pope to annul the marriage which his brother Joseph, when a minor, had contracted in Baltimore, in this country, with Miss Patterson, on the ground that the lady was a Protestant and her husband was a minor. Whatever opinion one may entertain of the papacy in its religious aspect, the reply of the aged Pontiff to this monstrous demand made by the dictator of Europe is worthy of the highest commendation. Pius VII. in his reply says: "Your Majesty will understand that, upon the information thus far received by us, it

is not in our power to pronounce a sentence of nullity. We cannot utter a judgment in opposition to the rules of the Church, and we could not, without laying aside those rules, decree the invalidity of a union which, according to the Word of God, no human power can sunder."

But the emperor was not to be stopped by this refusal. At his instigation the state tribunals annulled the marriage, and Joseph married a princess of Wurtemberg. Afterwards, on the 6th of July, 1809, the emperor arrested the Pope and all the cardinals whom he was able to lay hands on, and brought them all as prisoners to Paris, so that in case the Pontiff died he would be able to determine who should be elected in his stead. But Pius VII. did not die in Paris, although he remained a prisoner in the emperor's custody until May, 1814, when he was liberated by the allied sovereigns at the downfall of Napoleon.

Pius VII., on his return to Rome, issued a bull which re-established the order of the Society of Jesus throughout the world. This Pontiff, who is with some truth called one of the greatest of modern times, governed the Catholic Church for a long time, and died on the 20th of September, 1823. Since his pontificate the conflicts between the papacy and temporal rulers have not been so fierce nor so numerous as in the past centuries. Indeed, the only great subject matter of strife has been the temporal jurisdiction which the popes exercised over the small territory known as the States of the Church, or as it is generally termed by Catholics, "the patrimony of Saint Peter."

Victor Emanuel, the King of Italy, invaded the states of the Church during the pontificate of Pius IX., the predecessor of the present Pope, and annexed them to his kingdom, making the city of Rome his capital. Most Catholics throughout the world have protested, and still protest, against this act, calling it a flagrant violation of right, and a sacrilege in a spiritual sense. They claim that the popes since the days of Pepin and Charlemagne have administered the temporalities within the Papal states as executors of the Catholic Church, and that it is impossible for the Pope to be absolutely free as the head of the Church under the jurisdiction of any flag but his own, however small the territory that flag may cover.



POPE LEO XIII.

A brief explanation of the administration of the Catholic Church, its powers and how exercised, may be of interest to the average American reader. The priesthood and governing body of the Catholic Church is the hierarchy comprising the Pope, the Bishop, and the Clergy. The Pope is the executive and supreme judicial authority. The popes were formerly elected by the cardinal bishops with the consent of the other cardinals and the clergy and people of Rome, saving also the honor due to Henry III., Emperor of Germany and king of the Romans in 1059, and to any of his successors in whose favor the Holy See should make the same reservation. But this recognition of the imperial right to interfere in the election proved to be fertile in anti-popes and great confusion, hence it was decreed by the Pope and general Council of Lateran in 1179, that elections should henceforth rest with the cardinals alone, and that in order to be canonical it must be supported by the votes of two thirds of their number. This method of election was confirmed and developed at a subsequent council in 1274, and is practically the rule at the present time.

When a pope dies the cardinals who are absent are immediately to be summoned to the conclave by one of the secretaries of the sacred college; the election is to begin on the tenth day after the death. In whatever city the Pope dies, there the election must be held. Within the ten days the conclave must be constructed in the papal palace, or in some other suitable edifice. The large halls of the palace are so divided by wooden partitions as to furnish a number of sets of small apartments all opening upon a corridor. Here the cardinals must remain until they have elected a pope.

On the tenth day a solemn mass is said in the Vatican Church, and after it the cardinals form a procession and proceed to the conclave, taking up their respective apartments as the lot has distributed them. All the entrances to the building but one are closed, and that is in the charge of officials who are partly prelates, partly officials of the municipality whose business it is to see that no unauthorized person shall enter, and to exercise a surveillance over the food brought for the cardinals lest any written communication should be conveyed to them by this channel.



Morning and evening the cardinals meet in the chapel and a secret scrutiny by means of voting papers is usually instituted in order to ascertain whether any cardinal has the required majority of the two thirds. A cardinal coming from a distance can enter the conclave after the closure, but only if he claim the right of doing so within three days of his arrival in the city. Papal elections have usually been made with reasonable despatch, yet in times of disturbance the difficulty of obtaining a two thirds majority has been known to protract the proceedings for a long time, as in the celebrated conclave of 1799, which lasted for six months.

The cardinals are not elected; they are appointed by the Pope. They have for many centuries been taken in part from all the great Christian nations, though those of Italian birth have predominated. The duties of cardinals are of two kinds: those which devolve on them while the Pope is living, and those which they have to discharge when the papal chair is vacant. Their first duty consists in taking an active part in the government of the Church, for although the Pope is in no way bound to defer to the opinions of the sacred college, as the cardinals are termed in practice, he seldom, if ever, takes an important step without their counsel and concurrence.

The cardinals now take precedence of archbishops and bishops, although it was not so formerly. At the death of the Pope they alone elect his successor. Archbishops exercise a limited species of jurisdiction over the bishops of their archdiocese. An archbishop can receive appeals from the bishops in his jurisdiction in some cases. The right also devolves upon him of appointing a vicar capitular on the death of a suffragan bishop if the chapter of the diocese fails to appoint within eight days.

A bishop is superior to simple priests, and the council of Trent defined that this superiority is of divine origin. The words of the council are, "If anyone affirm that bishops are not superior to presbyters, or that they have not the power of confirming and ordaining, or that the power which they have is common to presbyters also, let him be anathema."

In his own diocese it is a bishop's duty to teach. He is required to preach the word of God unless he be lawfully hindered, nor



can anyone, secular or regular, preach in the diocese without his leave. He must watch over purity of doctrine, especially in schools public and private. No book treating on religion can be published till it has been examined and has received his imprimatur. He must administer the sacrament of confirmation, ordain priests, and consecrate the holy oils, churches, altars, chalices, etc. He must also approve priests, and give them their "faculties" to hear confessions, administer other sacraments, etc.

He may make laws for his diocese, not, however, such as are contrary to the law of the Church. He decides in the first instance all ecclesiastical causes. He can inflict penalties, suspension, excommunication and the like. Bishops are usually selected by a majority vote of the chief priests of a diocese, and confirmed by the Pope, although the practice varies in different countries. The bishop-elect must be thirty years of age, a priest, of Catholic parentage, of good fame, able to produce the public testimony of some university or academy to his learning. Bishops are consecrated by the Pope or by a bishop specially commissioned by the Pope for the purpose.

Next in order after the bishops are the priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, ostiarii, or doorkeepers. The first three are as old, it is alleged, as the time of the apostles. In addition to these are various ecclesiastical orders of missionary clergymen, monks, nuns, and lay confraternities, all engaged in the work of the Church.

We conclude this brief survey of theocratic government, as illustrated by the Jewish theocracy and the Catholic Church, with a few observations respecting the latter. Whatever views may be entertained of her doctrines and pretensions to infallibility, the Catholic Church cannot be ignored by the learned or ignorant, by the rulers or persons ruled. She touches civilization everywhere at all points in various ways. She has a direct or at least a most powerful indirect influence on civil governments. She is a world-wide, stupendous fact well worthy the profound attention of the philosopher, the statesman, and the ordinary student of history.

In these days of more dispassionate historical investigation than could reasonably be expected at a period closer to the great



ST. PETER'S, ROME.

revolution of the sixteenth century, when men's minds were unbalanced by bitter party strife, justice can be rendered to her merits as well as to her demerits. The student of history will find among her grievous shortcomings that she has always proclaimed and maintained one great fundamental truth which is the bedrock of true civilization: that to her "there is neither Gentile nor Jew, barbarian nor Scythian; but Christ is all, and in all." The prince and the beggar, the princess and poorest peasant girl, the master and the servant, kneel side by side in her most stately temples, on terms of perfect equality, — all reduced to the same level of humble suppliants for mercy before the altar of the Crucified One.

The student will also find that her form of government is an elective monarchy combined with an aristocracy that should possess considerable merit, and a democracy at the present day at least without bitter party factions. Every Christian man of every class, no matter how lowly, is eligible to the highest offices in the Church. Many of the Popes have been chosen from the lowest walks of life. The few men of bad reputation who have occupied the pontifical chair serve to show by way of contrast the long line of august men who have adorned it by their virtues and fortitude in trying times. Macaulay, who was much opposed to the Church, in reviewing Ranke's history of the papacy, concludes by saying: "There is not and there never was on this earth a work so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that Church joins together the two great ages of human civilization.

"No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when the cameleopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the Roman pontiffs.

"This line we trace back in an unbroken series from the Pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the Pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth, and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends until its origin is lost in the twilight of fable.

"The republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the republic of Venice was modern when compared with the papacy;

and republic of Venice is gone and the papacy remains. The papacy remains, not in decay, nor a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigor.

“The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the furthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent



THE OLDEST CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.  
SAN MIGUEL AT SANTA FE.

with Austin, and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the new world have more than compensated her for what she has lost in the old. Her spiritual ascendancy extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn, countries which a century hence may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. . . .

“Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world, and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all.

“She was great and respected before the Saxon set foot on Britain — before the Frank had passed the Rhine — when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch — when idols were still worshipped in the Temple of Mecca.

“And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul’s.”

This striking tribute by a Protestant historian, this confession of a profound and brilliant scholar, that the Catholic Church appears to bear promise of permanence, tempts a scientific student of human affairs to look beneath the jewelled crust of her ceremonial and traditional assumption, to discover, if possible, a practical human explanation of her long, and strong, and still unwaning success.

Catholicism, apart from its celestial claims, is a vast historic fact. Surviving the persecutions of its enemies, and the still more dangerous persecutions that some of its benighted professors have inflicted on others, it shows to-day, in the new world especially, a fresh force in the sphere of tangible action.

Is this power the offspring of a new or simply the continuance of an old policy, not so vigorously asserted, perhaps, as in days of yore, but possibly all the more potent because veiled in some degree and quiet in its movements? It seems to us nothing new, but simply the ancient policy of restraining the high and raising the low, the same old policy pursued by her popes towards so many cruel kings and barbaric barons in the Middle Ages, which the Church is now trying to apply to the monstrosities which our present industrial system has spawned.

For what greater monstrosities can there be than such absolutely irresponsible money-kings as Andrew Carnegie who, in a nominally free nation, can hire with impunity a band of bravos to commit treason against the government by invading a sovereign



JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

State, and provoking a conflict with workmen ground down by the very capitalist whose fortune they built up?

Now the Catholic Church in London, through the person of its cardinal, Henry Edward Manning, not long ago brought about a peace between the striking dockmen and their capitalistic oppressors. This Prince of the Church, since gone to his well-earned rest, never rested during his life in his efforts to better the condition of the poor.

He stood for the masses against the classes; and in this country the princes of the Church, such as Cardinal Gibbons, whose likeness adorns this book, have always been firm in upholding the rights of the people against the anarchistic money-men who are so near to wrecking this republic on the grinning reefs of their selfishness and their greed.

The great thinkers of the Catholic Church have always been of the people and for them, maintaining the divine doctrine of the Crucified One, that the right of a human being to live and to live properly outweighs any rights of property; in brief, that a human soul is of more importance than all the gold, or silver, or brass of a Carnegie or a Gould.

Nor is it alone in their private capacities that the chiefs of the Church have shown themselves the champions of the masses. The present Pope, much to the disgust of certain Protestant sovereigns and of some American trade-kings, several years ago refused to condemn the order of the Knights of Labor.

Is it, then, a wild guess, a rash prophecy, or a fair calculation, that in the irrepressible conflict soon to come, the weight of the Catholic Church, and of all other churches with life in them, will be thrown into the scale on the side of humanity against the real Devil, the truly dangerous, debasing power that springs from vast accumulations of private property?

## X.



THE story of the Swiss Republic, its origin and development, is a political romance of intense interest.

Switzerland has been for centuries and is at this moment a more perfect democracy than any other country on earth. The average American citizen, however, knows much more about the Wars of the Roses and the Act of Settlement and the Peasant's War than he does of the fact that the people of the three Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, drew up a written constitution nearly five hundred years before the first Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, and successfully defended their ancient liberties against the powerful and rapacious countries which environed them.

This lack of knowledge should not exist. The story of Switzerland to the American should possess a peculiar fascination, for it is the history of a sister republic ancient in years, yet youthful in democratic vigor. Americans, therefore, will naturally read with sympathy a brief sketch of this interesting country. But very few works in the English language treat on the subject, — a fact which undoubtedly accounts for the almost total lack of any material information among the English-speaking people regarding Swiss institutions, their rise and growth.



In the thirteenth century the people who inhabited the upper valleys among the Alps acknowledged allegiance, as was the custom under the feudal law, to some paramount lord, — the emperor of the Roman Empire, — or some nobleman, or monastery. The bailiffs or agents whom these lords employed, becoming obnoxious to the people for attempting to exact more taxes than the ancient customs allowed, the people offered resistance, many tumults arose, and at the death of the Emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg, in July, 1291, a brief term of anarchy ensued.

At this juncture the people of the communities of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden came together to consult and devise ways and means to protect their common interests, and they framed the famous Treaty or Pact, the original of which is preserved in the archives of the Canton of Schwyz, and which may properly be described as the first federal constitution of Switzerland. The following is a correct translation of this venerable document: —

### *The First Federal Constitution of Switzerland.*

#### *Perpetual League of the Forest Cantons, 1291.*

*In the name of God. Amen.*

1. *Honor and public welfare are enhanced when agreements are entered into for the proper establishment of quiet and peace. Therefore, know all men, that the people of the valley of Uri, the democracy of the valley of Switz, and the community of mountaineers of the lower valley,<sup>1</sup> in view of the evil of the time, in order that they may better defend themselves and their own, have promised in good faith to assist each other, with aid, counsel, and every favor, with person and goods, within the valleys and without, with all power and endeavor against all and every, who may inflict upon any one of them any violence, molestation, or injury, or may plot evil to their person or goods.*

2. *And in every event, each people has promised to hasten to the aid of the other whenever necessary, and at their own expense, so far as needed, in order to resist attacks of evil-doers, and to avenge injuries. To which end they have taken oath in person to do this without deceit, and to renew by means of the present (agreement) the ancient oath-confirmed confederation.<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup>Nidwalden. Obwalden, the other part of Unterwalden, entered the confederation later.

<sup>2</sup>Upon this clause is based the hypothesis that a confederation existed previous to this time, perhaps as early as 1250. No earlier document, however, has been preserved, hence the charter of 1291 is called the First Perpetual League (*Der ewige Bund*).

3. Yet in such a manner that every man, according to his rank, shall continue to yield proper obedience to his overlord.

4. By common agreement and by unanimous consent, we promise, enact, and ordain that in the aforesaid valleys we will in nowise receive or accept any judge who has obtained his office for a price, or for money in any way whatever, nor one who is not a native or resident with us.

5. If dissension shall arise between any of the confederates, prudent men of the confederation shall come together to settle the dispute between the parties as shall seem right to them, and the party which rejects their judgment shall be an enemy to the other confederates.

6. Furthermore, it is established between them that whoever maliciously kills another without provocation shall, if captured, lose his life, as his nefarious crime demands, unless he can show his own innocence in the affair; and if he escapes he shall never return. Concealers and defenders of the aforesaid malefactors shall be banished from the valleys, until they are expressly called back by the confederates.

7. If any one of the confederates, by day, or in the silence of the night, maliciously attempts to injure another by fire, he shall never be owned as a compatriot.

8. If any one protects or defends the aforesaid evil doer, he shall render satisfaction to the person injured.

9. Further, if any one of the confederates robs another of his goods, or injures him in any way, the goods of the evil-doer, if found within



A SWITZER OF ANCIENT DAYS.

*the valleys, shall be seized in order that satisfaction may be given to the party damaged, according to justice.*

10. *Furthermore, no one shall seize another's goods for debt, unless he be manifestly his debtor or surety, and this shall only take place with the special permission of his judge. Moreover, every man shall obey his judge,—and if necessary, himself ought to indicate the judge within (the valley) before whom he ought properly to appear.*

11. *And if any one rebels against a verdict, and if, in consequence of this pertinacity, any one of the confederates is injured, the whole body of confederates are bound to compel the contumacious party to give satisfaction.*

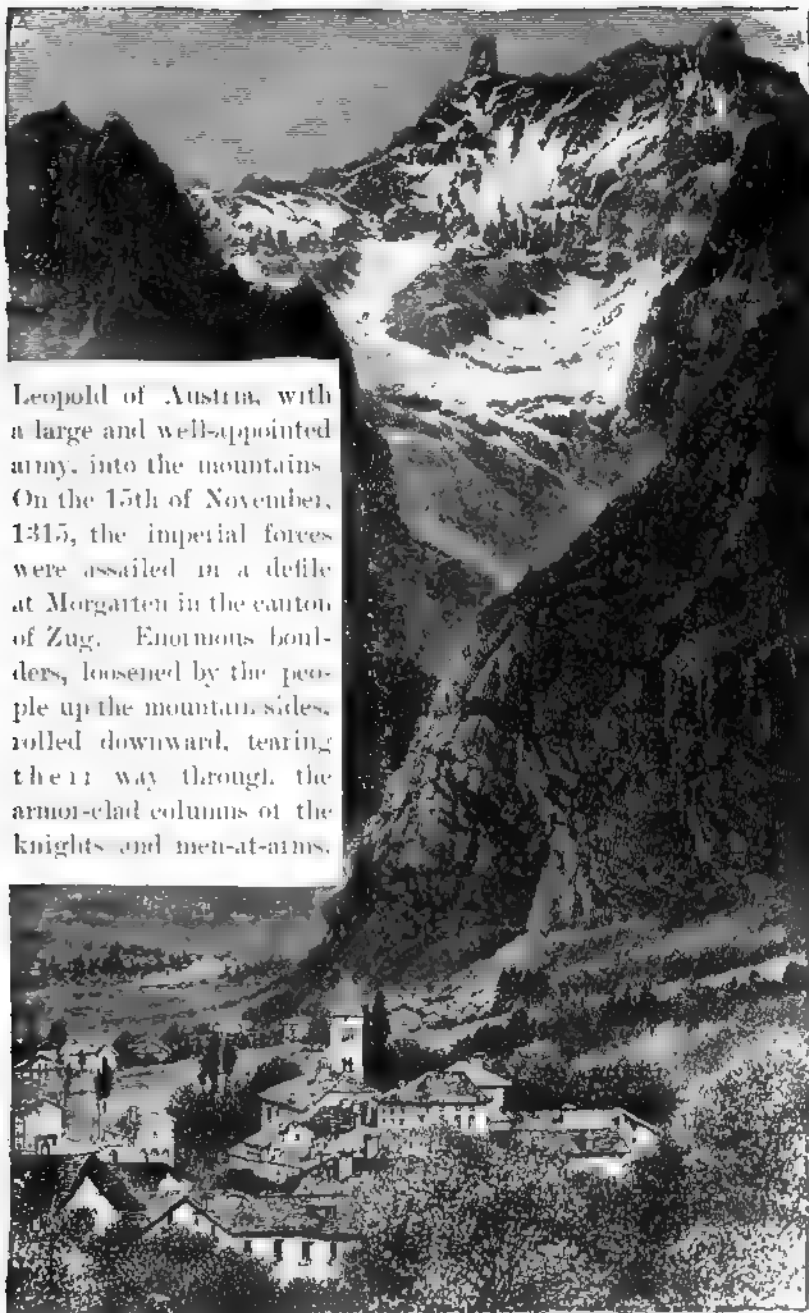
12. *If war or discord shall arise among any of the confederates, and one contending party refuses to accept proffered justice or satisfaction, the confederates are bound to assist the other party.*

13. *The regulations above written, established for the common welfare and utility, shall, the Lord willing, endure forever. In testimony of which, at the request of the aforesaid parties, the present instrument has been made and confirmed with the seals of the three democracies and valleys aforesaid. Done in the year of the Lord MCCLXXX primo. at the beginning of the month of August.*

This declaration of the forest cantons bears a powerful analogy to the declaration of the American Continental Congress of 1774. They did not throw off their allegiance to the emperor of Germany, but asserted that they would defend their rights by whomsoever assailed. Their nominal allegiance remained until it was formally abolished by treaty at Westphalia in 1648.

A secret meeting was afterwards held on the field of Grütli, by the borders of the lake of Luzerne, on the night of November 17, 1307, to make arrangements for opposing by force of arms any power which would attempt to abridge their ancient rights. Walter Fürst, with ten others of his canton, represented Uri; Werner, Stauffacher, and ten others represented Schwyz, and Arnold of Unterwalden, with ten compatriots, represented his canton. Before they separated they swore to defend their homes and one another against every oppressor, and to be "each for all and all for each."

After some years the emperor proposed to compel the stubborn Swiss to obey such laws and accept such bailiffs or governors as he chose to send them. For this purpose he despatched Duke



Leopold of Austria, with a large and well-appointed army, into the mountains. On the 15th of November, 1315, the imperial forces were assailed in a defile at Morgarten in the canton of Zug. Enormous boulders, loosened by the people up the mountain sides, rolled downward, tearing their way through the armor-clad columns of the knights and men-at-arms.

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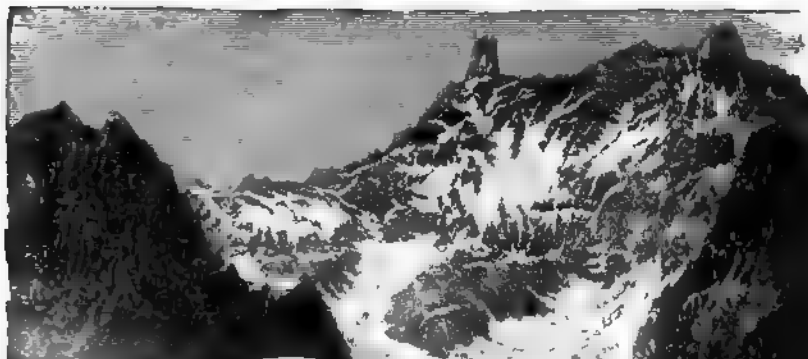
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A SWISS VILLAGE.

At the narrowest part of the defile, a terrific storm of all sorts of missiles preceded the headlong onslaught of the peasant soldiers who grappled in hand-to-hand conflict with the invaders of their homes.

The horns of the bulls of Uri sounded the charge of the confederates. The conflict was but short. The Austrian cavalry and infantry becoming inextricably mixed up impeded each other's movements, and thus were helpless before the athletic mountaineers, wielding spears and huge two-handed swords. Leopold was completely routed, leaving over half his army dead and wounded in the defile of Morgarten.

A few weeks after this great victory on the 9th of December, the representatives of the three cantons met at Brunnen and concluded a new treaty which re-affirmed the old and added some new features, one of which was that any canton which had a lord-paramount should obey him in all proper things, but should never obey him in any way against the three confederates. It was also agreed in the new treaty that neither one of the confederates should bind itself to a lord without the assent of the others; that all disputes between themselves should be settled peaceably, and that they would aid each other in case of any interference in their affairs by any outsiders.

The growth of the national germ can be readily perceived in these latest stipulations, while at the same time they acknowledged the suzerainty of the German empire. In the year 1332 the city of Luzerne with its adjacent territory joined the confederation, making the fourth state of the Union. The city of Zürich joined in 1351, and during the following year Glarus and Zug sent their Austrian bailiffs away and cast in their lot with the original confederates. In the succeeding year, 1353, Berne joined hands with the sisterhood, thus making the eighth in the galaxy of states.

In 1386, the emperor made another great effort to bring the confederates under subjection. A very large army under the command of another Leopold of Austria, a nephew of the Duke Leopold who was defeated at Morgarten, marched into the territory of the canton of Luzerne, where it was met in the open field by the confederates on the nineteenth day of July in a long and

fiercely contested battle, and finally routed after great slaughter on both sides.

This engagement is known in history as the battle of Sempach. The chronicles assert that the carnage was awful. The Austrian commander, Leopold, with the flower of the imperial chivalry, was left dead on the field. This is the battle in which we are told by Swiss tradition that Arnold of Winkelried, having perceived that the repeated attacks of his countrymen upon the Austrian square of levelled lances had proved ineffectual, conceived and carried out the sublime project of securing an entrance into the enemy's midst at the expense of his own life. Calling upon his battalion to follow him, on reaching the Austrian line he extended his arms, and seizing as many of their lance points as he could reach, gathered them against his breast holding them firmly, as he cried out, "Make way for Liberty to enter."

Through the gap thus made the Swiss entered, and falling upon the heavily armored foemen in the rear, who now proved as helpless as they had hitherto been invincible, the desperate contest was soon decided by the wholesale slaughter and complete overthrow of the imperial forces. Two years later, in 1388, the Austrians advanced a force into the canton of Glarus, but were defeated by the combined levies of Glarus and Schwyz on the 9th of April, 1388. This was practically the last attempt of Austria to enforce her rule on the confederates.

They had now for more than half a century no trouble with the outside world, their troubles and dissensions springing altogether from within. The form of their institutions and the right of suffrage were not alike in the several cantons. In the three forest cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, all the citizens were free and equal politically. The whole people of each canton met in general assembly to decide every important matter. In the municipal cantons or sovereign cities, like Berne, Zürich, and Luzerne, on the other hand, none but the burghers could vote, so that the opinions of the country people in the territories of these cities were never consulted.

Other troublesome questions arose from time to time. The municipal canton of Zürich made an alliance with Austria upon



which the canton was invaded by the troops of the confederates, and peace was only restored after a number of serious engagements in 1450. The federal bond seemed to be weak in peaceful times, but when the national existence was threatened, the people of the cantons rose as one man to defend it. In 1474, Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, captured the town of Grandson on the lake of Neuchatel by treachery, and put the Swiss garrison to death. He was attacked immediately after by the confederates and signally defeated. Again at Morat they swept his army from the field in utter confusion, and finally before the walls of Nancy, on January 5, 1477, his last army was crushed and Charles himself was killed.

On the return of peace internal troubles broke out again which threatened to become quite serious, but fortunately at a diet of the cantons held in Stanz, a new "covenant" or convention was signed on the 22d of December, 1481, which was fairly satisfactory to all concerned. At this diet two other municipal cantons, Friburg and Solothur, were admitted into the confederation, making the ninth and tenth states, and the federal sovereignty was much strengthened by this convention. Separate alliances between the cantons were prohibited, the division of booty captured in war was regulated, and other provisions made to definitely settle disputed questions which had arisen from time to time.

This Treaty of Stanz was the third solemn covenant made between the confederates since the adoption of the original charter in 1291. In point of time they occurred as follows:—

Charter of the Forest Cantons (1291).

The Priest's Charter (1370).

The Convention of Sempach (1393).

The Convention of Stanz (1481).

The cities of Basel and Schaffhausen were admitted as the eleventh and twelfth states of the confederation in 1501, and Appenzell entered the Union in 1513. These thirteen cantons or states which now constituted the confederation remained without any substantial change or modification until the close of the last century, at which time the French directory established in Switzerland what it was pleased to designate "The Helvetic Republic."

The French form of Republican government which the Swiss were forced to receive at the point of French bayonets in 1798 was almost a complete reversal of the old order of a number of dominions held together by a slight, if not a very frail, bond. The new order of things was a strong central state, with the Cantons simply integral or dependent parts or departments of the whole, the latter administered by prefects, the communal districts by sub-prefects, and the communes by agents, these officers, as was the case in France, being appointed by the central government.

A great majority of the Swiss people offered the most strenuous passive resistance to the government thus imposed



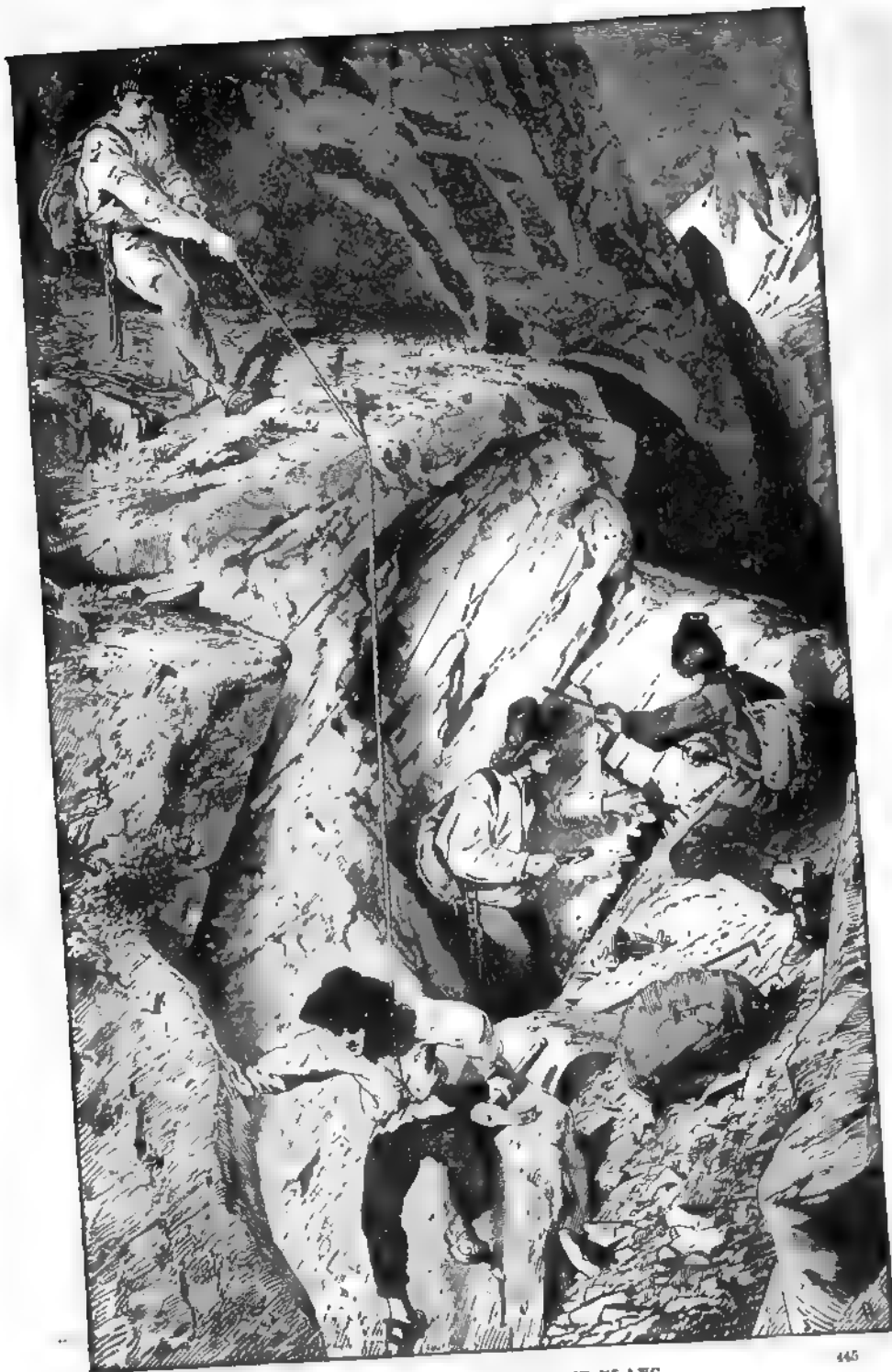
NAPOLEONIC CAVALRY CROSSING THE ALPS.

upon them, and the country was divided into two bitter factions. The very active minority, composed of the partisans of a strong central authority, was found chiefly in the cities, while the vast majority of the Federalists who believed in returning to their own methods of government were found in the rural cantons. Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and the other old cantons preferred to elect their governor than to have him selected for them. Bonaparte, after a long consultation with the representatives of both of the Swiss political parties, drew up a new constitution called the Act of Mediation, which went into effect on the 2d of February, 1803.

By the new constitution, six new cantons were added to the republic, viz., Grisons, St. Gallen, Aargau, Thurgau, Vaud, and Ticino, this making nineteen cantons in all. A diet was provided for, consisting of one deputy for each canton, but as every deputy who represented a canton containing more than one hundred thousand people had the right to give two votes on the same subject, the nineteen deputies had between them an aggregate of twenty-five votes.

The diet met once a year in June, when its members voted on all questions as they were instructed by their respective cantons, for they could not vote otherwise. This constitution lasted until the fall of the Emperor Napoleon in 1815. Valais, Neuchatel, and Geneva were admitted into the confederation in 1814, which now consisted of twenty-two cantons. After the fall of Napoleon, a federal declaration was drawn up at Zürich in 1815 by the diet at the instructions of their constituents, which was accepted by the Congress of the great European powers assembled at Vienna, and which took the place of the Act of Mediation and remained in force till 1848.

The new agreement restored nearly all the old sovereign power of the cantons, and was received with general favor. No material change was made in it until religious dissensions arose between the Catholics and Protestants, culminating in a short campaign against some of the Catholic cantons organized in the Sonderbund in 1847. These dissensions and the very natural desire of the larger cantons to have a greater voice in federal affairs than those of much smaller populations, afforded an excellent pretext to ask for a change in the federal compact.



CRYSTAL SEEKERS ON MONT BLANC.

On the 17th of February, 1848, the work of preparing a new constitution was assigned to a committee of fourteen, who completed the work by the 8th of April. This was then submitted to a vote of the cantons, all of which endorsed it by a majority vote, and it was officially promulgated on the 12th of September, 1848, as the fundamental law of the land. The new constitution provided for the first time in the history of Switzerland for the creation of two legislative chambers; one designated as the Council of the States, corresponding to our American Senate, to which each canton, large or small, sends two members and no more, while the other, styled the National Council, corresponding to our House of Representatives, is composed of deputies elected on the basis of population.

These two chambers constitute the Federal Assembly which elects the executive power or, as it is called, the Federal Council. The Swiss Presidency, therefore, is a collective institution consisting of seven members, elected by the Federal Assembly in joint session.

This really first Federal Constitution of Switzerland was revised in certain directions with the assent of the required number of cantons, and the requisite popular vote on the 29th of May, 1874, so that it is now designated as the "Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation" (of May 29, 1874).

The following are the constitutional provisions relative to the Federal Assembly, National Council of States, and Federal Council: —

*Art. 71. With the reservation of the rights of the people and of the cantons (Articles 89 and 121), the supreme authority of the confederation is exercised by the Federal Assembly, which consists of two sections or councils, to wit:*

*(A) The National Council.*

*(B) The Council of States.*

*Art. 72. The National Council is composed of representatives of the Swiss people, chosen in the ratio of one member for each 20,000 persons of the total population. Fractions of upwards of 10,000 persons are reckoned as 20,000.*

*Every canton, and in the divided cantons every half-canton, chooses at least one representative.*

*Art. 73. The elections for the National Council are direct. They are held in federal electoral districts, which in no case shall be formed out of parts of different cantons.*

*Art. 74. Every Swiss who has completed twenty years of age, and who in addition is not excluded from the rights of a voter by the legislation of the canton in which he is domiciled, has the right to vote in elections and popular votes.*

*Nevertheless, the confederation by law may establish uniform regulations for the exercise of such right.*

*Art. 75. Every lay Swiss citizen who has the right to vote is eligible for membership in the National Council.*

*Art. 76. The National Council is chosen for three years, and entirely renewed at each general election.*

*Art. 77. Representatives to the Council of States, members of the Federal Council, and officials appointed by that Council, shall not at the same time be members of the National Council.*

*Art. 78. The National Council chooses out of its own number, for each regular or extraordinary session, a president and a vice-president.*

*A member who has held the office of president during a regular session is ineligible either as a president or as vice-president at the next regular session.*

*The same member may not be vice-president during two consecutive regular sessions.*

*When the votes are equally divided the president has a casting vote ; in elections he votes in the same manner as other members.*

*Art. 79. The members of the National Council receive a compensation out of the federal treasury.*

*Art. 80. The Council of States consists of forty-four representatives of the cantons. Each canton appoints two representatives ; in the divided cantons, each half-state chooses one.*

*Art. 81. The members of the National Council and those of the Federal Council may not be representatives in the Council of States.*

*Art. 82. The Council of States chooses out of its own number for each regular or extraordinary session a president and a vice-president.*

*Neither the president nor the vice-president can be chosen from among the representatives of the canton from which the president has been chosen for the regular session next preceding.*

*Representatives of the same canton cannot occupy the position of vice-president during two consecutive regular sessions.*

*When the votes are equally divided the president has the casting vote ; in elections he votes in the same manner as the other members.*

Art. 12. Representatives in the Council of States receive a compensation from the cantons.

Art. 13. The supreme direction and executive authority of the confederation is exercised by a Federal Council composed of seven members.

Art. 16. The members of the Federal Council are chosen for three years by the councils in joint session from among all the Swiss citizens eligible to the National Council. But not more than one member of the Federal Council shall be chosen from the same canton.

The Federal Council is chosen anew after each election of the National Council.

Vacancies which occur in the course of the three years are filled at the first ensuing session of the Federal Assembly for the remainder of the term of office.

Art. 17. The members of the Federal Council shall not, during their term of office, accept any other office, either in the service of the confederation or in a canton, or follow any other pursuit, or exercise a profession.

Art. 18. The Federal Council is presided over by the president of the confederation. There is a vice-president.

The president of the confederation and the vice-president of the Federal Council are chosen for one year by the Federal Assembly from among the members of the council.

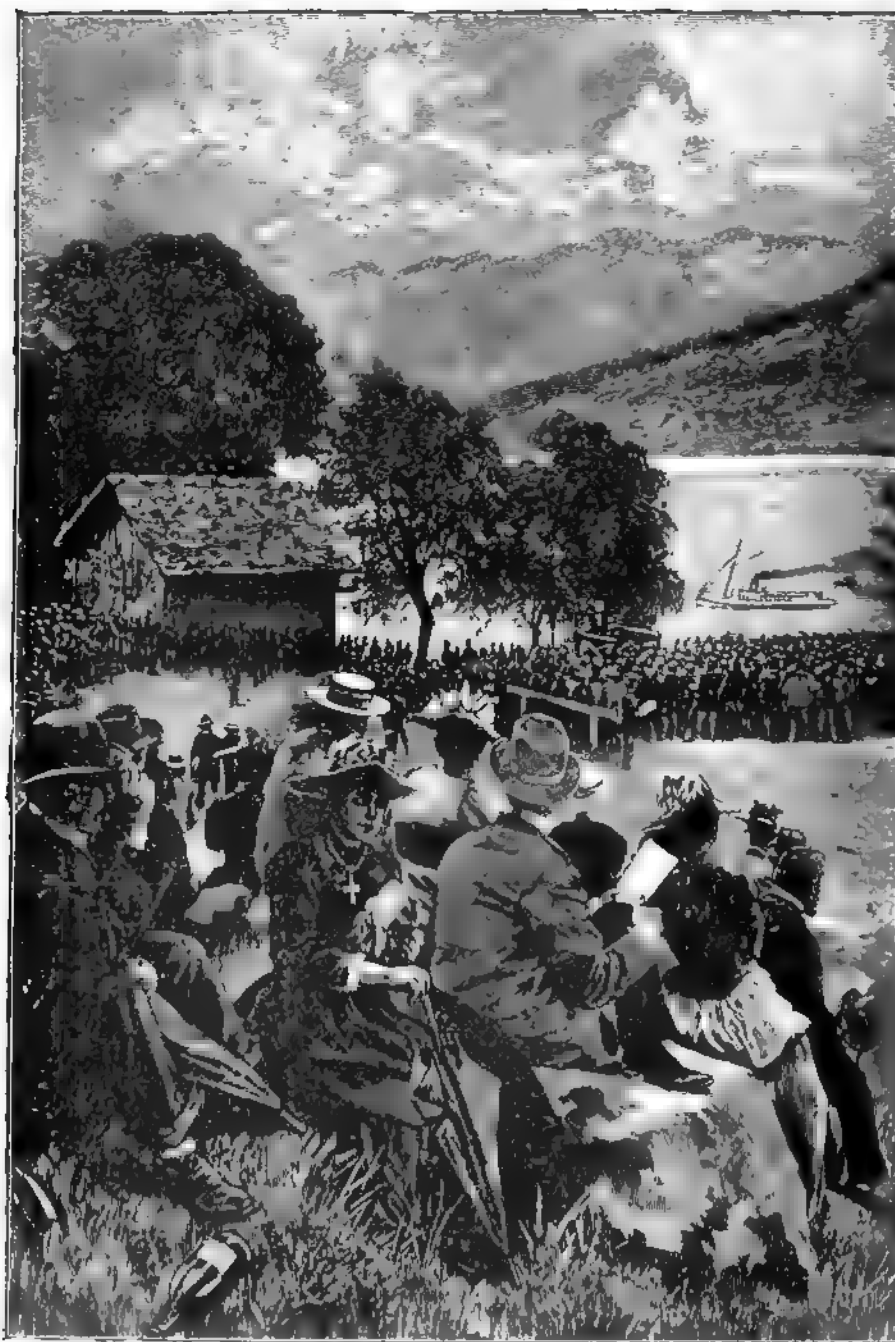
Art. 101. The members of the Federal Council have the right to speak but not to vote in either house of the Federal Assembly, and also the right to make motions on the subject under consideration.

The constitution is very long, containing about fifty per cent. more words than the Constitution of the United States. It is very specific on things touching the sovereignty of the cantons which it declares can exercise all rights and powers that they have not expressly delegated to the federal power by the constitution. The federal authority guarantees the rights and liberty of all the people, and alone has the right to make treaties with foreign states, to declare war and make peace.

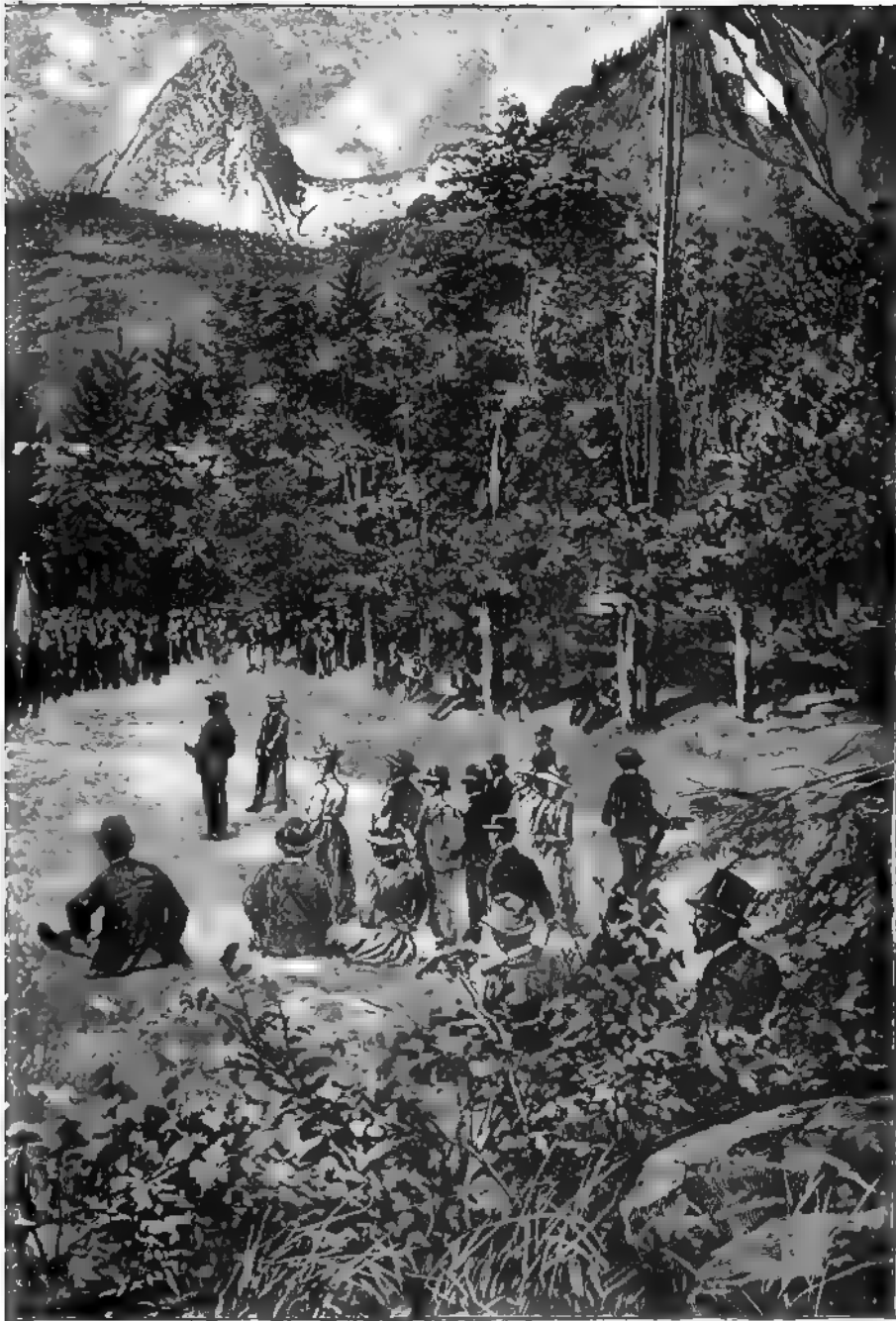
There is no standing army in Switzerland, but when the citizen soldiers are required for duty they march under the control of the federal military department. The entire strength of the volunteer army is 202,479 men. No canton has over three hundred permanent soldiers within its territory except by the express permission of the federal executive.



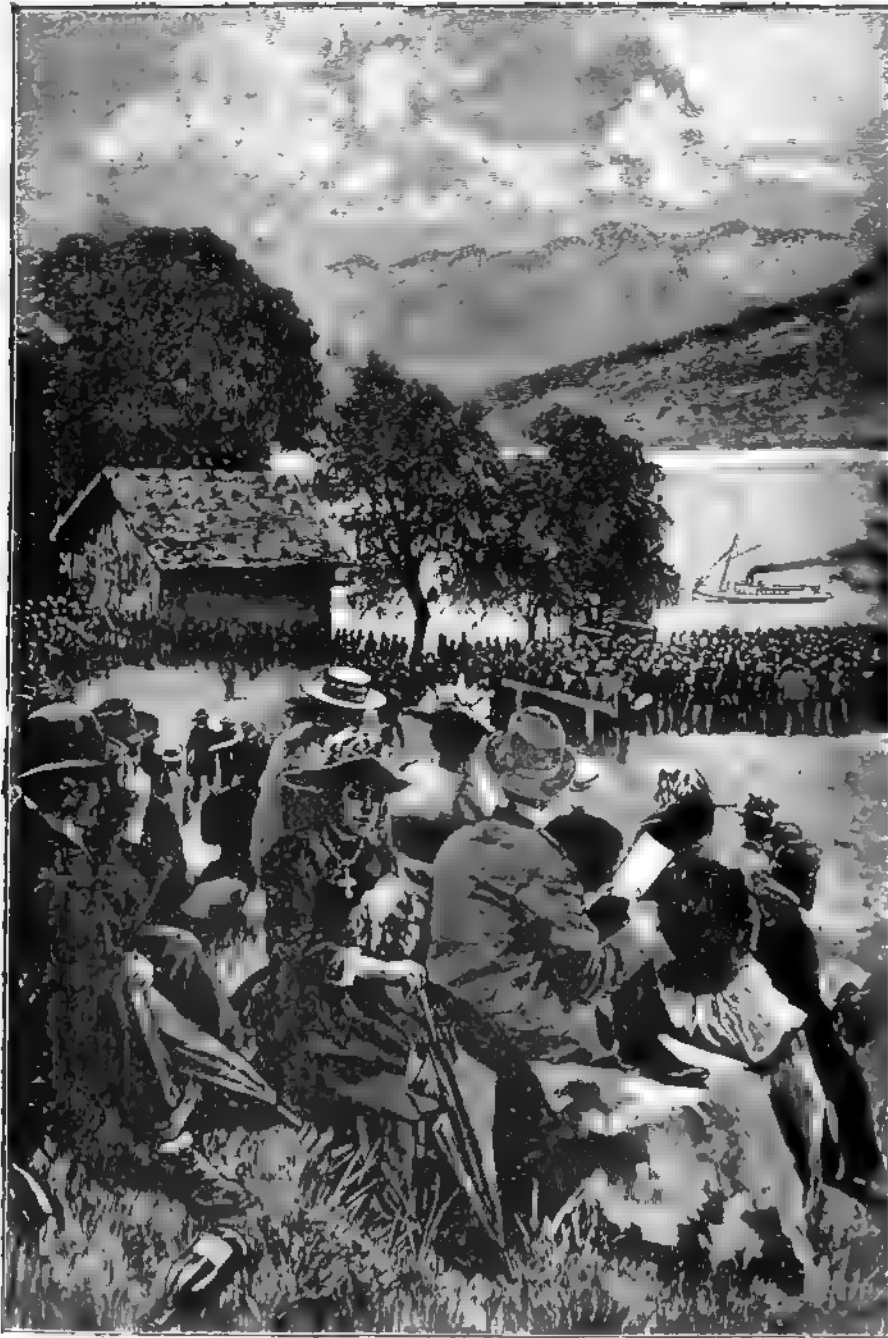




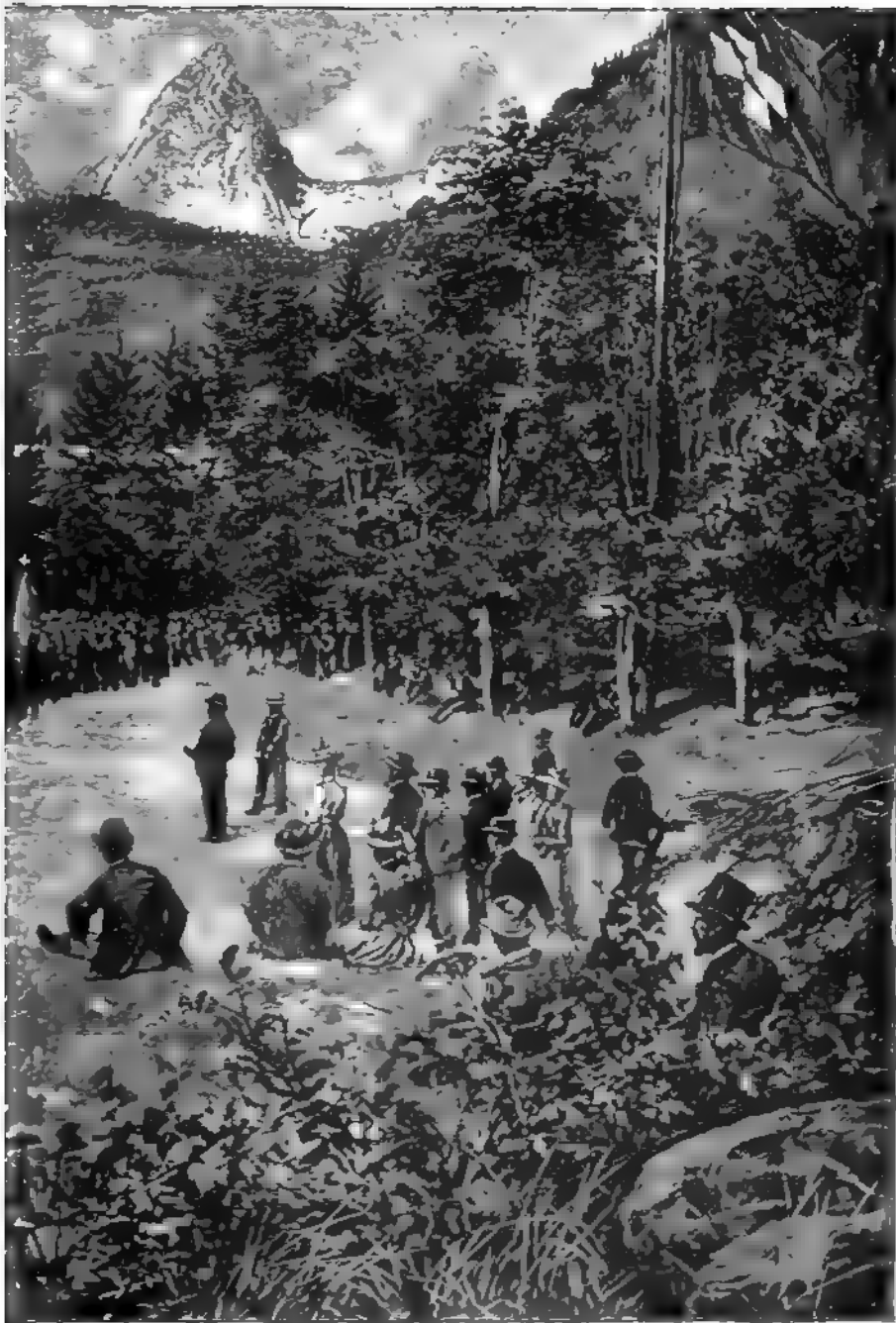
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The people, represented by the Federal Government, own and manage the entire postal, telegraphic, and telephonic systems of the country. The manufacture and sale of war-powder and of spirituous liquors is carried on by the government, and the receipts are paid into the federal treasury. This governmental manufacture of liquors insures absolute purity in such things to start with, however much they may deteriorate in passing through private hands afterwards.

All things relating to the revenue, internal and external, coinage, weights, and measure, copyright, bankruptcy, patents, and other like matters are federal concerns exclusively. The Federal Council, or Executive of Switzerland, as provided in the constitution, is elected by the two national legislative bodies who met in joint session for that purpose at the capital city, Berne. This session is held in the month of December in the chamber of the National Council or popular branch, the members of which have been elected two months previously in October for a period of three years. These newly elected members with the deputies of the upper House, or Council of the States, elect by ballot the seven members of the Federal Council who are to serve for a term of three years. Two citizens of the same canton cannot be members of the Federal Council at the same time.

The chairman and vice-chairman of the Federal Council are selected for one year from among the seven members by the Federal Assembly. The chairman thus selected bears for one year the title of President of the Swiss Confederation. At the expiration of his one year's term of office he cannot be re-elected president nor even serve as vice-chairman for the ensuing year, but must take his place as one of the ordinary members, from which it appears that our fashion of permitting a president to be his own successor, if he can so pull the strings of politics, is not in the least degree favored by the democracy of Switzerland.

The vice-chairman of one year may be selected by the Federal Assembly as president the following year, but the same member cannot be vice-chairman for two years current. The members of the Federal Council take charge one at the head of each of the seven great departments of state which are designated as follows:—

1. Foreign affairs.
2. Interior.
3. Justice and police.
4. Military.
5. Finance and customs.
6. Industry and agriculture.
7. Posts and railways.

The council meets twice a week to discuss and determine all matters of importance which come within its province. No decision which it may make is legal except not less than a majority, or four members, is present. Any one of the members can submit to either of the chambers, bills of his own initiative having relation to his own department. The council as a whole can also submit to the legislature drafts of such measures of public legislation as it deems wise.

All of the members of the executive have the right to appear on the floor of either chamber, and to speak for or against any measure, but they are not allowed to vote in either house. This privilege of addressing the law-makers in session enables the executive to explain fully, publicly, and without reserve, their purposes and policy, and the members repeatedly avail themselves of the opportunity. Is there not a hint here that our nation might take with profit — namely, to make the Cabinet officers *courtesy* members of Congress, with a voice to explain all matters, but not a vote?

A very singular spectacle, however, — at least it would appear so to the average American, — presents itself occasionally in connection with the members of the executive addressing the chambers. It has sometimes occurred that they held contrary opinions on the subject matter of the legislation under discussion, and the unique sight has been witnessed not unfrequently of one member of the executive speaking strongly in favor of a measure who was immediately followed by one of his executive colleagues in opposition.

There is really nothing strange in this, when one comprehends the democratic character of the executive, which is practically a board of managers acting within the constitution under the chairmanship of the president. But it should be understood that their

election is not a purely party victory. They are usually selected to represent, as far as practicable, all the shades of party opinion in the National Council.

There is a wholesome democratic feeling, the growth of centuries, among the majority in the Swiss Chambers, which is ready to concede that the executive should represent parties, so that the true democratic spirit may prevail.



THE PRESIDENT DELIVERING HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

The president receives about \$2,700, and each of the other members of the council about \$2,400 a year for the services they render. The Council of States, or smaller House of the Federal Assembly, consists of forty-four members. Each canton, large or small, is equally represented in this chamber by two members. In some cantons these members are elected by the legislatures, as are the senators of the United States, while in others they are elected by the whole body of the voters by



1. Foreign affairs.
2. Interior.
3. Justice and police.
4. Military.
5. Finance and customs.
6. Industry and agriculture.
7. Posts and railways.

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ballot or by the ancient democratic assembly of the people called the Landsgemeinden.

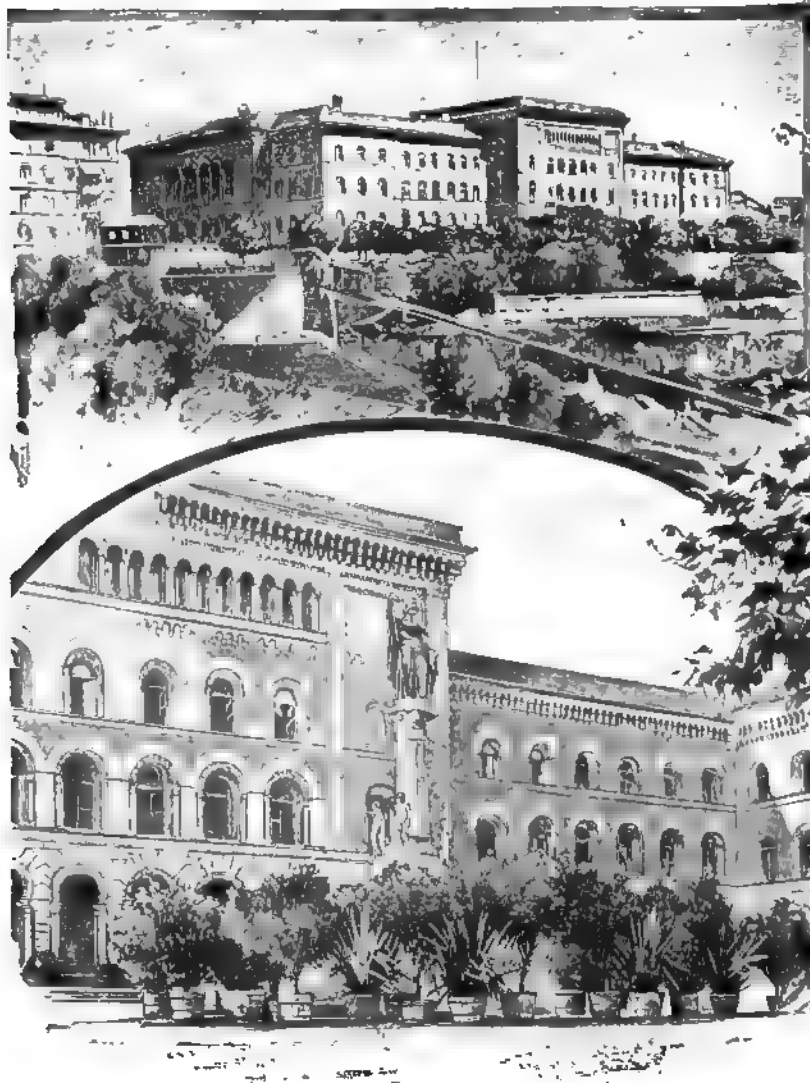
The duration of their term of office is left entirely to the cantons, so that some cantons elect for one year, and others for three years. The Council of States selects a president and vice-president from among their number in a manner similar to the National Council, but neither of these officials can be chosen from the deputies of any canton, a deputy of which was president in the ordinary session immediately preceding. Neither can deputies of the same canton serve as vice-president for two current ordinary sessions. The members of this house are paid by their respective cantons, save that when any are engaged on committee work during recess they are paid from the national treasury.

The National Council or popular branch of the Federal Assembly (or Congress) consists of one hundred and forty-nine members returned by forty-nine electoral districts. Each member is elected by twenty thousand of the whole population, but fractions of population above ten thousand are competent, according to the constitution, to elect a member. The electoral districts are laid out within the cantonal boundaries like the congressional electoral districts in the United States, but while in the latter they are determined by the legislatures of each state, the Swiss Federal Assembly attends to that business which is denied to the cantons.

The basis of representation to the National Council is the Federal census which is taken every ten years. The number of members to which a canton is entitled ranges from one returned by Uri from its one electoral district to twenty-seven returned by Berne from its six districts. Every male Swiss of twenty-one years of age is entitled to cast as many votes as there are members for his electoral district. The method of voting is entirely within the control of the cantons, and it differs very much as it does among the states of the Union. In some places the ballots are sent to the house of the voter to be marked, while in others he must present himself at the polling place to secure a ballot. How many valuable citizens there are in this land of business and money-getting who would like to have ballots sent round to their houses, and be saved the trouble of going to the polls!

The candidates to the National Council must be elected at

the first or second ballot by an absolute majority of all the votes cast, but if a third ballot is required a plurality of votes will be



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AT BERNE.

sufficient. The general election is held triennially on the last Sunday of October.

The National Council meets in Berne in ordinary session on the first Monday of June, and when it assembles again on the first Monday of December for the second portion of the session, a president and vice-president of the National Council are chosen. A special session can be held at any time when the occasion demands it. Its members are paid a sum equal to about \$4 per day for every day they are actually present during the session. But if anyone fails to answer to his name when the roll is called that day's pay is lost to him except he can give a good excuse satisfactory to the Secretary of the Chamber. Every member receives travelling expenses at the rate of about five cents a mile for every mile travelled on sessional business.

The two chambers together form the Federal Assembly. They elect the members of the Federal Council, or executive, the Federal Tribunal, or judiciary, and the general-in-chief in time of war. Their scope of power when sitting includes the making of general or special laws within the limits prescribed by the constitution.

Neither chamber of the assembly can do any valid business, unless there is an absolute majority of all the members of that chamber present. Any member of either chamber can introduce such proposals for the enactment of new laws as he deems right, and they must be acted upon as a matter of course. Any single voter or body of voters in a canton can do likewise. This is the right of initiative, as it is called.

A member of either chamber can move in his own body that certain legislation is desirable. If his general proposal is favorably received it will be referred to the Federal Council for the purpose of having a proper bill drawn upon it which will come before the assembly for discussion. Or the Federal Council may endorse the project itself, proceeding on its own initiative; or a canton can exercise the right of initiative by correspondence; or a certain body of citizens can exercise the right. It should be remembered, however, that every bill, arising through the right of initiative, must pass through the hands of the Federal Council who make such recommendations in reference to it as they deem proper before placing it before the assembly.

When a bill is laid before either chamber by the Federal

Council, a special committee is selected to consider and report upon it. When the committee report, and the bill has been debated, the vote is taken. If passed, it is then sent to the other chamber where, if the decision is also favorable, it becomes law upon its promulgation by the Federal Council in the official gazette.

But it is now subject to the referendum. If thirty thousand citizens whose names are on the voting lists, or eight cantons acting in their sovereign character, make a demand within two months after the passage of any general law not declared urgent at the time of its introduction, it must be submitted in a short time to the popular vote. If a majority of the people vote No, the measure is killed; if Yes, it becomes law. This is the famous Swiss referendum to which pure advanced democracy there is something analogous in a dissolution of Parliament in England, and an appeal to the country when a ministry is defeated by a few votes on any measure, but in our government there is nothing of this kind *yet*.

The popular initiative and referendum are the peculiar and genuine offspring of that glorious democracy whose ancestors penned the great charter of their ancient liberties in 1291, and defended it in bloody conflict only a few years after the bishops and barons wrung the reluctant, trembling signature from King John at Runnymede. The referendum means the submission of every general law passed by representatives to the people themselves for their direct action thereon. It is pure democracy. It places the veto power where in every democracy it should properly belong — in the people — not in a governor or president. It is the democratic method of the New England town meeting applied to the State and nation.

The principle of the referendum was adopted centuries ago by the diet of the thirteen cantons, the members of which had to refer (*ad audiendum et referendum*) to their respective cantons all their proceedings for endorsement or rejection. The evolutionary development of this principle secures to Switzerland to-day, as has been stated at the opening of this sketch, the best form of democratic government on earth.

There are two kinds of the referendum in Switzerland: the one

compulsory and the other optional. The compulsory form originally had but reference to one point; an amendment to the constitution which had to be submitted to the popular vote somewhat similar as a constitutional amendment would be voted upon by the States of the American Union. The optional referendum in federal matters has already been touched upon. The referendum now prevails throughout Switzerland except in a few of the old cantons of small population where the *landsgemeinden* or open air popular assemblages of all the voters make it possible to take the popular vote at once.

Sir Francis O. Adams, the late British Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland, speaking of the referendum says: "It has given back to the people of Switzerland rights originally possessed by them in most of the old cantons but partly or wholly lost in the course of time. As to the moral effect which the exercise of this institution has had upon the people we are assured that it is admitted to be salutary even by adversaries of democratic government."

The Swiss people do not dread much the wiles of the lobby, the seductive influence of the corporation attorneys, or even the direct work of the corrupter, for they have an efficient and never failing corrective at hand which they can administer immediately through the referendum. If the initiative and referendum systems prevailed in the States of the American Union, is it not likely that many bad laws would be soon wiped from our statutes and a few additional good ones enacted?

Professor Ely, in his excellent work "Taxation in American States and Cities," mentions a strong case in point where he says: "The last convention of the dominant political party in a certain State adopted a platform in which it was demanded that corporations should pay their fair share of taxes. The party pledged itself to change the laws of taxation so as to meet the requirements of this plank in their platform in case the party received a majority. The taxation of corporations was the rallying cry of the campaign. The candidates of the party received large majorities, and a bill to tax corporations was introduced in the legislature. This bill was defeated by the efforts of the attorney of one of the most powerful railroad corporations in the United

States, and of the attorney of a great telegraph company. Of these two attorneys one was president of the convention of the dominant party to which reference has been made, and the other wrote the platform."

What severer commentary could be made by a critical foreigner opposed to democratic principles on our country as a successful democracy, than the bare statement of such an incident furnishes?

Now, if the Swiss initiative and referendum prevailed in the State where the occurrence to which Professor Ely makes reference took place, no two corporation attorneys could defeat the wishes of the people nor could even the wholesale corruption of the legislature, which was unquestionably elected in that case chiefly on the issue of the proper taxation of corporations.

Every one acquainted with practical politics in the United States can duplicate Professor Ely's illustration regarding the tremendous power which corporations, syndicates, and trusts exercise in shaping legislation to their own advantage, and in most instances against the public welfare. These powers are continually defeating the will of the people by corrupting the legislatures, and the people without a referendum are powerless.

In the cantons the sovereignty inheres in the whole people perpetually, and the opening declaration of each of their constitutions asserts that principle explicitly. The constitution of Zürich, for instance, states in its first article that the power of the state rests on the totality of the people; which power is exerted directly through the voting citizens, and indirectly through the authorities and officials whom they elect or cause to be selected.

The ancient *landsgemeinden*, or open-air assemblies, which obtained among the old cantons from time immemorial, prevailed until 1848, when they were abolished by Zug and Schwyz. But the ancient custom still exists in Appenzell, Glarus, Unterwalden, and Uri.

Let us witness the time-honored proceedings in Uri. It is the first Sunday in May. The *landammann*, or governor of the canton, having attended mass in the village church, which is not large enough on this occasion to hold a quarter of the worshippers, heads a procession of the whole congregation from the



church door to the ancient place of meeting, which is a meadow not far from the town of Altdorf. The landammann is escorted by ushers garbed after the fashion of a by-gone age, in black and yellow, the colors of their canton. Upon an ancient banner, borne before him, appears the cantonal arms of Uri, a bull's head on a yellow ground, while quaintly dressed men carry aloft upon poles old wild bull's horns of enormous size, said to be the identical horns that sounded the charge for the men of Uri over four centuries ago against the mail-clad knights of Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, on the terrible field of Morat,

“ When the Switzer phalanx on the Morat field swept on  
Like a pine-clad hill  
By an earthquake's will  
Hurled the valley upon.”

The landammann, having arrived at the meadow, accompanied only by his secretary, takes up a position in the centre of the crowd at a table. The people sit or stand around this table, which is on a slight elevation. When silence is secured, the landammann makes a statement respecting all the important matters which have any bearing on the interests of the people of the canton, the voters of which are now assembled before him. When he concludes, there is profound silence for some time, for every one is offering up a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the past year's blessings; but they pray strong rather than long, and soon the business of the landsgemeinden begins.

Every man who desires to speak can do so as long as he pleases, and every subject of special interest is discussed with great decorum by the oldest men generally from the different communes of the canton. At last when all debatable matter has been disposed of the officers for the coming year are elected. The landammann, whose office has expired, now delivers up his charge to the people of the canton with an affirmation that he has injured no one voluntarily, and he asks pardon of any citizen who may think himself aggrieved.

The new landammann then stands forward, and before the assembled multitude takes the prescribed oath of office with great solemnity; after which the whole people swear to obey him, to serve their country, and respect the laws. The other state offi-



THE GREAT ST. BERNARD.

cials are now elected by a show of hands. Then the descendants of the men who helped to draw the Perpetual Alliance Treaty of 1291 adjourn for one year.

Most of the cantons have a representative form of government with provision for the referendum when duly demanded. In Basel fifteen hundred citizens can exercise the popular initiative, while the referendum is compulsory for all laws, resolutions, and conventions. In Schwyz and Vaud the referendum is optional; in the former, the demand must be made by two thousand voters; in the latter, by six thousand. In all the other cantons where the compulsory referendum does not exist, the number of voters required to demand it in writing varies from fifteen hundred to five thousand.

The State Council or executive of nearly all the cantons appoints the judicial officials of the respective canton for a term of years; then one permanent tribunal for civil and criminal causes and juries for the latter. In the French cantons the laws are based on the Code Napoleon; while the German cantons have peculiar codes of their own, and the oldest cantons have an extensive common law to which the courts give effect equally with their written law.

The communes or townships are the basis on which rests the whole structure of Republican institutions in Switzerland. The people of each possess common interests, live in the same vicinage, and are self-governed. The communes existed before the canton or the confederation, and the people firmly believe that the natural growth of Democratic liberty is upward from the commune to the canton, the latter being but an aggregation of independent communes, and from the canton to the confederation.

Each commune is practically independent within its own boundaries, but the canton exercises a slight supervision over each in matters relating to education, the repairs of roads, and so forth. A number of communes in a canton form a communal district. Some cantons have several districts; others have but one. A communal district council is elected to attend to certain duties which are prescribed by the communes forming the district. All citizens who have the right to vote have their names placed on the voting list of their commune for public inspection.



TELL ESCAPING IN THE STORM.

That the Swiss voters take a lively interest in national as well as in communal affairs may be gathered from the fact that, with less than a population of three millions (according to the census of 1880) at a voting held on November 26, 1882, under the referendum, a total of 490,149 votes were polled for and against "a law authorizing the appointment of a Federal Secretary of Education," and the measure was rejected by nearly two to one.

The communes perform many public services, and enter into many undertakings for the benefit of the people which may be characterized as essentially socialistic. These undertakings vary in their nature. For instance, in the commune of Grindelwaldt which is in the communal district of Interlaken, in the canton of Berne, each householder is entitled to a certain amount of wood annually on the payment of a small sum of money. Any householder not belonging to the commune can get wood from the communal authorities, but he must pay over fifty per cent. more for it than the resident. The money received for firewood is paid in salaries to the communal foresters, who cut the timber, plant young trees, and take care of them. The inhabitants of nearly all the communes have pasture lands in common.

But while the rules, regulations, and customs of the communes differ in these respects, the freedom which they possess to make the most of their opportunities cannot be questioned. This freedom they have preserved and defended against every attack since the beginning of their history. The local self-government of the commune has been the cradle and the schoolhouse which evolved the present Swiss Confederation.

Educated by the past, and jealous of their national birthright — liberty, — the Swiss people evidently do not propose to have it filched from them, slowly but surely, under mere forms of representative government. Hence they have safeguarded the shrine with the popular initiative and referendum. Not a few representatives, or a select committee, but the people alone, standing before the ballot-box, is their court of last resort to pass upon all important general laws.

This is true democracy, worthy of the ancient commonwealths of that mountain land which has preserved its liberty for centuries in the midst of powerful and hostile foes. Well may the

average Switzer quote these words from the play of William Tell: —

“I have thought of other lands, whose storms  
Are summer flaws to those of mine, and just  
Have wished me there; the thought that mine was free  
Has checked that wish, and I have raised my head  
And cried in thralldom to that furious wind:  
‘Blow on! This is the land of Liberty!’”

No historical sketch of Switzerland could seem complete without some mention of William Tell, but unfortunately the majority of modern authority in matters of tradition incline to the opinion that the tyrant Gesler was a very amiable administrator of justice, and that Tell was not a good enough marksman to shoot the famous apple on his son's head for the sad but sufficient reason that William Tell never existed save in the imagination of a poet who thought he ought to exist. We present a picture of him, however, according to an artist who agrees with the poet, and represents the traditionary hero escaping from a boat and the trammels of historical research on to the unshakable rock of popular love and honor.

The varied climate of Switzerland affords the people, despite the limited amount of arable ground which so mountainous a country supplies, ample opportunities for varied agriculture. On the upper reaches of the Alps grazing and the arts which depend on it are largely practised. In the warmer valleys and slopes the vine flourishes so well that wine-making is an industry in most of the cantons. Water power is of course plentiful, and linen, cotton, and woollen spinning are extensively followed, while the watches and pill-boxes of the Swiss are famous all over the world.

Switzerland is, however, too small for the support of its population. Accordingly, the Swiss, as domestic servants, inn-keepers, couriers, and waiters, are found in every city of Europe and America. Indeed, at one time, the word “Suisse” became so synonymous with hall porter, that in Paris such a functionary is still known as “a Swiss,” and in many parts of France the church beadle is still called the “Suissé.” At an earlier date they hired out as soldiers. The Bourbon monarchs had their Swiss guards, and the Pope enjoys a like luxury.

This habit of taking service abroad — as in truth had the Scots and Irish, and for much the same reason, namely, the little which was to keep them at home, obtained for these mountaineers an invidious reputation which is embodied in the proverb “No money, no Swiss,” though the proper meaning of it is, that without pay you cannot have a servant. The king in *Hamlet* says, “Where are my Switzers? Let them guard the door.” In truth, to this day, the Swiss, who is the most liberty-loving of men, and, like the Scot, the most homesick after a long separation, lives to a great extent by attending on the stranger.

Switzerland has been nicknamed the “playground of Europe.” Every year its lovely valleys and mountains are inundated with thousands of holiday makers, and hence, a large portion of its population is directly or indirectly dependent on ministering to the convenience or the amusement of this swarm of pleasure seekers. Hotel keeping on a great scale is, especially for the summer months, an important “industry.” The upland pastures are utilized for cattle breeding and dairy farming. The most enterprising of the Alpine villagers make money by acting as guides and porters to the more ambitious tourists, and even since railways have penetrated the most unpromising places there is plenty of room for the numerous people who have something to do with horses, either in the shape of drivers or of post-house keepers.

Peasant farmers are almost as numerous as in France, whole cantons being divided up into these little territories. In the well-situated localities the peasant proprietors are, as a rule, better off than their French neighbors, being educated, and very often quite refined. Moreover, when their property is small, they have generally some other occupation by which to help their income, otherwise they would sometimes be hard enough pinched.

Take, for example, the Canton Berne, one of the most thriving portions of German Switzerland. Taxes are high, and every year numbers of peasant proprietors are forced to emigrate, owing to the difficulty of keeping their heads above water. Land is dear and the peasant has, like all his class, a passion for borrowing on mortgage, either to round off his property or to improve it. There are mortgages in existence which were contracted more than two

hundred years ago, and bid fair to hang like millstones round the necks of generations yet unborn.

The new lender is, however, less tolerant than the old one. The spread of banks, railways, and joint stock companies has made it easier to invest money than formerly; the old capitalists press for their money, and the professional money-lender is apt to demand the interest when due, or foreclose without much regard for the susceptibilities of the borrower.

In the Swiss Romande, that is the French and Italian speaking portions of the country, this system has not taken such root. But the model canton, the paradise of peasant-proprietors, is undoubtedly the Canton Vaud. A Vaudois peasant, with twenty

or thirty acres of land, one half of it under vines, the rest meadow and pasture, and a bit of forest and marsh, is one of the most fortunate of men, as much to be envied as the inhabitant of Southern California who owns his homestead.

True, he works hard, but the work is pleasant, and though grapes may be a precarious crop, they seldom wholly fail, and a



A GIRL OF BERNE.



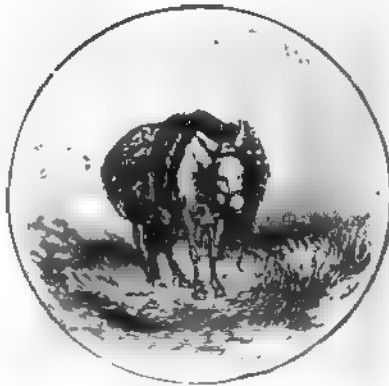
good vintage represents a fair proportion of the value of his land. The bit of forest supplies him with firewood and timber for mending his carts and repairing his house and barns; the marsh furnishes rushes for bedding his cattle. One way and another, he not only contrives to make both ends meet, but to lay by something every year as a dower for his daughters and a provision for his sons. On the sunny slopes of the Lake of Geneva, from Chillon to La Côte, many peasants may be found to whom this description would apply. And as nearly every inhabitant of these lacustrine communes has at least a bit of land, poverty in Canton Vaud is almost unknown, and pauperism does not exist.

Education, moreover, both primary and secondary, is free of cost. Every commune possesses a communal estate, the income from which is applied to the diminution of local rates, and to the bringing up and education of the children of deceased members — a Swiss commune being, in effect, a benefit society, whose members are mutually responsible for each other's support in case of need. An instance occurred not long ago of a "ne'er-do-weel" member of a Vaudois commune being paid \$1,500 to abjure his membership and betake himself with his family to America. Strangers are admitted to the freedom of a commune only by payments, which vary according to the communal possessions. In the commune of Montreux the entrance fee is about \$150. Strangers who fall into want are, if Swiss, temporarily relieved and sent to their native communes. Foreigners are simply escorted to the nearest frontier and left there.

Even in the colder Jura country, where grapes ripen with difficulty, the thrifty Vaudois have managed to extinguish pauperism, by dint of these little industries which have already been mentioned as forming part of the secondary occupation of the small farmers. The result is that, while on the French side of the imaginary line which separates the two cantons, the houses, though built of stone, are squalid, the windows dirty, the floors likewise, the men who live in them grimy, and the women frowsy; the dwellings and their inhabitants on the Swiss side of the border are smart and cleanly. Every man willing to work has the means of living, and the communal organization secures a provision as well for the sick and aged as for fatherless children.

Crossing from the Franche Comté into Canton Vaud is like stepping from a disorderly kitchen into a dainty parlor. The first habitation on the Swiss side of the border is a neat cottage with shutters painted in the Vaudois colors — green and white, and, as you may see through the open doors and transparent windows, as clean inside as it is irreproachable outside. You never find a Vaudois who cannot sign his name; you rarely find a Frenchman who can. The staple industry, after agriculture, is pill-box and clock-case making, for which suitable timber is found in the neighboring forests. There are no factories; the men work at their own houses and before nearly every cottage door is to be seen a pile of timber sawn into shapes suitable for the bench and the lathe.

On the slopes of Mont Tendre and the shores of Lac de Joux are made the finest watches in the world. Chronographs, repeaters, watches with three or four dials which give simultaneously the time of London, Paris, Berlin, and New York, act in perpetual calendar, and when cased and regulated at Geneva or Berne, sell at prices varying from \$200 to \$1,000. They might, of course, be manufactured elsewhere, but, as a matter of fact, it is only in the remote and lofty valley of Lac de Joux — La Vallée, *par excellence*, to every Switzer — that they are made, study, practice, and an aptitude which has become hereditary, having rendered the peasants of this portion of Switzerland the most skilful in the world. Yet, considering the character of their work, their wages are surprisingly low — the men making from \$3.75 to \$5.50 a week, while the work which can be done by women is paid at the rate of forty cents a day. Families, however, work at home so that their combined earnings are considerable. With few of them is watchmaking the sole profession. Nearly every one of the La Vallée people is a farmer also, and divides his time pretty equally between horology and husbandry.



THE PEASANT'S FRIEND.

How watchmaking became the sole industry of the valley, how, slowly and painfully, with what practice and patience, the people of Joux have become the deftest horologists in Christendom, would take too long to tell. They doubtless owe something to nature. The very isolation and remoteness of their position, their brief summers and silent winters, are favorable to that concentration of mind and freedom from distraction which the pursuit of so delicate a calling imperatively demands. The art and mystery of fine and complicated watchmaking are taught only to members of their own families.

Outsiders are as rigorously excluded from the profession as are laymen from practice at the British Bar, for the Jurassic horologist has no intention of making his art too cheap.

The rise of so many small industries in the French and Swiss Jura, the manufacture of pill-boxes, clock-cases, wooden pipes, spectacles, paste diamonds, and fine files, is doubtless in some measure explained by the geographical position of the country and its climatic conditions. La Vallée, for instance, is thirty-four hundred feet above sea level; the winters are hard, the summers short; the land cannot keep the population that lives on it, and a few generations ago it became necessary for the mountaineers to develop some industry or emigrate, at a time when emigration was neither easy nor popular. Manufacturing in a region utterly without coal, and, a century ago, almost destitute of roads, was clearly impossible. But there was and still is timber in abundance, and necessity suggested, in one case, the making of pill-boxes, in another, the making of clock-cases.

From clock-cases to clocks there is only a step, and the making of clocks leads, by natural transition, to the construction of watches. About the year 1706 clock and watch making was first introduced into Le Chenit, one of the three communes of La Vallée. The result has been that the population, which at one time was only one hundred and sixty, is now six thousand, and one of the most prosperous in Switzerland.

A few miles from Le Pont, at the northern extremity of Lac de Joux, lies the town of Vallorbe, consisting, like La Vallée, of a confederacy of three communes, the inhabitants of which are engrossed in the fabrication of fine files for watchmaking, and of



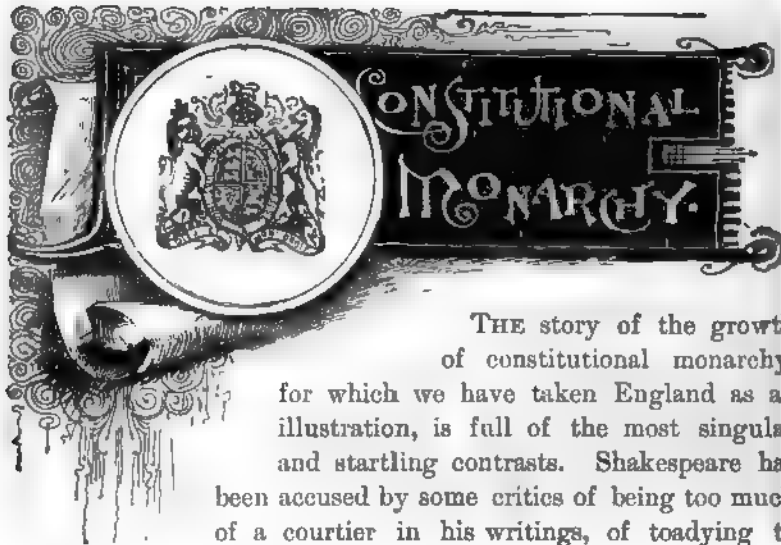
THE SWISS SENATE CHAMBER.

scythes, sickles, and other implements for local consumption. The files of Vallorbe are almost as widely known as the watch movements of La Vallée. Iron is found in the neighboring mountains, but as nowadays iron cannot be profitably smelted without coal, the file-makers use for the most part English steel, which they find best suited to their purposes, and they have a way of preparing it with charcoal and without oil which is peculiarly their own.

To this art the superiority of their files and cutlery is said to be largely, if not altogether due. There are a few large firms here. But the majority of the workmen are peasants living in their own houses and tilling their own land, devoting themselves to file-making only when the demands of agriculture admit of indoor work. Possibly were the people to apply themselves more constantly to one art, they might attain greater prosperity. The variety of pursuits relieves life of some of its monotony, and favorably affects health, character, and mind. "The workman of the country," says Vallolon Aubert, the historian of Vallorbe, "holds himself very high: he must be treated with deference by the master whom he serves, and will tolerate in him an air neither of affected superiority nor of haughty scorn.

"As touching morals, the people are religious, honest, faithful to their word, and delicate on the point of honor." *There is no poverty at Vallorbe.* When the old people are past work, they are maintained by the commune, and children who have lost one or both parents are also kept at the public charge. But in neither case is there any discredit attaching to the *protégés* of the commune. They are members of a benefit society with accumulated funds, not paupers for the support of whom their more fortunate neighbors have to pay an unwilling tax. There is a special fund for the purpose mentioned, which produces about \$1,000 a year. When it is insufficient the deficiency is made good out of the ordinary revenue of the commune, arising principally from land and forests; for the commune is bound not alone to bring up and educate, but to put to trades the children of deceased members.

## XI.



THE story of the growth of constitutional monarchy, for which we have taken England as an illustration, is full of the most singular and startling contrasts. Shakespeare has been accused by some critics of being too much of a courtier in his writings, of toadying to royalty; but when one comes to consider how full of dramatic incident, and how sadly illustrative of human destiny in its developing, rather than in its completed, state the lives of English kings have been ever since the battle of Hastings, one can readily understand that a mind like Shakespeare's might be artistically tempted to write chiefly about kings and nobles, rather than to depict the humors, follies, and disasters of the common people. One of the most quoted lines written by the great dramatist, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," is a reflection that must force itself on even the most careless and desultory reader of English annals.

William the Norman, when disembarking on the shore of England, fell flat upon his face, — a token so appalling that it roused a murmur of dismay among his men-at-arms, "Save us; 'tis a fearful omen!" But the leader, with ready presence of mind (as great men always try to do with falls or failures), turned the

tumble to advantage by shouting to his men as he picked himself up, "Fear ye, then, to see me clutching at this earth? By the splendor of God, I am only seizing my throne."<sup>1</sup>

Yet, if there were anything in signs and tokens, it might seem as if this fall of William were prophetic of the singular disasters that pursued the rest of his dynasty. Starting at first with the mere military despotism of this adventurer, who crowned himself after defeating King Harold and the Saxons, and apportioned the lands of the conquered people among his followers, the constitutional monarchy of England has evolved by a series of struggles on the part of the feudal lords against the king for more power, and of attempts by the king to raise money from the people, either for his private debaucheries, or to prosecute warlike adventures in other lands. And this conflict, now between king and nobles, then again between king and common people, has been complicated from time to time by curious encroachments and attempted encroachments on the Church by the king, and in turn by the Church on royal and popular rights.

England has not only been the most pugnacious of nations outside of her borders, but has had more internal disturbance in proportion to the length of her national life than any country with whose history we are familiar. In detailing this growth, however, there are many reigns not necessary to consider, because the popular mind was taken up with foreign wars, or because the quarrels between the nobles and the king offset each other, and the people made little or no headway in obtaining rights and privileges which to-day seem to us the merest basic necessities of comfortable existence.

For instance, although King Harold, the last of the Saxons, is a striking, pathetic figure, losing crown and life so soon after his taking the oath of office, a constitutional ceremony that marks the popular element of Saxon sovereignty as distinct from the military dictatorship of the Norman conqueror, we do not dwell upon his reign because it was so brief, full of promise for the masses, but with no chance for such promise to ripen. Nor shall we consider the reign of Alfred the Great, who was a mild paternalist trying to be a popular sovereign.

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<sup>1</sup>The same anecdote is told of Cæsar a thousand years before. Possibly the Norman duke had heard of this. Possibly it was only history repeating itself.



HAROLD, THE SAXON, TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE.




The first reign, as it seems to us, in which the people as a body came into any strong prominence and were regarded as anything more than mere pawns to be sacrificed at pleasure for the benefit of kings, knights, and bishops, was the reign of Henry II. grandson of William of Normandy, beginning in 1154. For thirty-five years Henry governed England well under the greatest difficulties. Amid personal sorrows of a heart-rending nature, this great man tried to give the whole people an orderly and comfortable government.

It is perhaps one of the greatest, and certainly, like that of George III., one of the saddest of regal histories. Henry was beset by a cohort of greedy nobles anxious for more power to oppress the people, and by a legion of lazy and tumultuous priests. He was cursed with a bad wife who encouraged his sons to plot and rebel against him, and his troubles with the Church led to an act which clouded his whole life with passionate remorse. He had hoped, by making one of his familiar friends, Thomas à Becket, in whom he thoroughly trusted, Archbishop of Canterbury, to be able to rule the turbulent priests and so have plenty of time to keep the nobles within due bounds. But no sooner was à Becket raised to this lofty eminence than he tried to turn himself into a personal rival of his monarch; not only refusing to take the oath of obedience to the ancient customs of the country, but causing every other priest, except one, to qualify this oath of allegiance by the clause, "Saving my order."

All that King Henry desired was that a certain priest, who had committed a horrible murder, should be delivered up to be tried in the same court and in the same way as any other murderer. Calling a solemn gathering in Westminster Hall, the king demanded that in future all priests found guilty before a clerical court of crimes against the laws of the land should be considered priests no longer and should be handed over to the common law for punishment. Surely, a most reasonable request on the part of a king, and a true step toward the equalization of all men before the law, that is, before the collective conscience of all men.

From the refusal of the proud prelate and his insolent priests a series of quarrels arose, in which the archbishop found countless ways of annoying the poor king, already under a continual cloud









HUBERT, AN EARLY ENGLISH JUDGE, KILLED AT THE HORNS OF THE ALTAR.



of family trouble, till one day, when Henry burst forth passionately, "Have I no one who will free me from this man?" some of his friends took it as a sign that he wished the archbishop to be murdered, and murdered he was by four knights, within the sanctuary and holding one of the horns of the altar. Hubert, an early English judge, was killed in the same way and under the same circumstances, and as the church was considered an asylum in those days, even for a criminal pursued by civil authorities, such a crime committed in the holy of holies was accounted peculiarly atrocious.

A study of Henry's character satisfies that his fatal speech, wrung from him in the torture of passion, was not the expression of a deliberate desire or hint for action; but it shadowed his life in spite of the Pope's forgiveness, because Henry II. was warm of heart and had loved the old, familiar friend who had betrayed him, and who had paid the penalty of treachery with his life.

As this monarch lay in his last illness, deserted by many of his nobles, while his army was fighting against the King of France and his own son, Richard, a treaty of peace was brought him in writing, and with it was also brought a list of English deserters from their allegiance whom he was required to pardon. That list was headed with the name of John, his favorite son. This was the last stab that cut in twain the great heart of the first Plantagenet, the first English king,



MAGNA CHARTA ISLAND.

except the Saxon Alfred, who had any conception of the rights of the common people. Turning on his side, he groaned out, "Let the world go; I care for nothing more," and cursing the hour of his birth and the children whom he left, he gave up the battle of life.

There was one sweet romance in this reign, the story of Fair Rosamond.<sup>1</sup> It tells how this great king had one jewel of true happiness, one rose of joy amid his crown of thorns; that he loved a fair girl and built her a beautiful bower in a park at Woodstock, and the bower was built in a labyrinth that could only be found by following the clue of a thread of silk. And the legend goes that the bad queen, becoming jealous, found the clue and confronted the sweet and gentle girl with a dagger and a cup of poison, giving her the choice; and the Fair Rosamond, after many tears and prayers, all fruitless, took the cup and fell dead in the happy garden where the birds sang on lovingly just the same as they had sung before.

Now there *was* a Fair Rosamond, and the king loved her and the bad queen probably hated her, but history tells us that we must give up the bower, and the labyrinth, and the silk thread, and the death by poison. As Dickens says in his charming way: "I am afraid Fair Rosamond retired to a nunnery near Oxford and died there peacefully; her sister nuns hanging a silken drapery over her tomb and often dressing it with flowers in remembrance of the youth and beauty that had enchanted the sad king when he, too, was young and when his life lay fair before him."

The next important event in the history of England was the signing of the Great Charter. This occurred on June 15, 1215, in the pleasant field called Runymede, on the banks of the silver Thames. Signing this charter was, perhaps, the most bitter pill that an English king ever had to swallow. And John, the meanest of the sons of the great Henry, did it with a very bad grace, as indeed everything in his life he did with singularly bad grace, except the extracting of teeth, for he was one of the most inventive and successful dentists on record. For if we may be permitted to indulge for a moment in the political slang of the present day, King John, up to the signing of the charter, had had

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<sup>1</sup> This name is from two Latin words *Rosa Mundi* — meaning, Rose of the World.

a great pull on all the people, but especially on the Jews, who were the most useful and the most abused inhabitants of London.

Scott, in his *Ivanhoe*, draws a very mild picture of John's character in his treatment of Isaac of York, for John, like most of his predecessors and successors in office, even down to the present reign, had always been in want, — the royal want of money. — and he utilized his prerogative to the extent of taking the richest Jew he could find and telling him that he must fill the royal coffers. On the Jew's refusal, John ordered that a tooth should be pulled out every day till he consented: on the eighth day the unhappy Israelite yielded. But the hour of reckoning came, and the charter forced from John at Runymede probably caused him more pain than was condensed in the Jew's gum-ache



KING JOHN IN ANGER.

and was doubtless productive of more good to the people than his reckless squandering of the Jew's money.

This charter provided that the Church should be maintained in all its rights; that the barons should be relieved of oppressive obligations as vassals of the crown; the barons, in their turn,



pledging themselves to relieve their vassals, the people; that the liberties of London and other cities should not be infringed; that foreign merchants should be protected; that no man should be imprisoned without a fair trial; and that to no one should there be any sale, delay, or denial of justice.

Brave words these, worthy of the brave barons who forced the mean and cowardly cur, who wore the crown, to sign them; but at the same time to the eye of posterity it seems as if the barons themselves found it almost as hard a task to live up to this charter as did the most contemptible creature that ever disgraced the English throne. Another provision of the charter was the appointment of a council of twenty-five barons to see that John kept as near to his word as possible, with power to declare war on him if necessary.

"They have given me five and twenty over-kings," cried the hampered tyrant, as in a fit of rage right after signing, he rolled on the floor of his palace, biting sticks and straw.

We now come to one of the most curious reigns in England; curious on account of the character of the king, the length of time that he was endured by the barons, and the great gains made, not *by* the people, but *for* them, in the development of constitutional government.

Henry III. began to reign as a boy, in 1216, a great council meeting at Bristol, revising Magna Charta and making Lord Pembroke Regent or Protector of England, as the king was too young to rule alone. Soon as he came of age Henry showed himself a true son of his father. He made oaths, and agreements, and promises with wonderful ease, and broke them with an ease more wonderful. Always in want of money he resorted to all sorts of tricks to obtain it, so that he gained the popular title of being "the sturdiest beggar in all England." He even took up the cross, pretending that he wished to head a crusade and rescue the tomb of the Saviour from the possession of infidels, and he got permission from the Pope to lay taxes on the English clergy. But some of the clergy stood up for their rights. "The Pope and King together," growled the Bishop of London, "may take the mitre off my head, but if they do, beneath it they may find a soldier's helmet. I'll pay nothing."

So Henry had to give up his crusade against the pockets of the priests. Then he badgered the barons in every possible way to increase his revenues, and after ten years' squabbling they made Parliament vote him a large sum which he frittered away with the usual royal rapidity. One of the most amusing things in this reign was the episode of the Sicilian throne. This happening to be empty, the Pope obligingly offered it to Henry III. for his son, Prince Edward, and gave the English king permission to levy a special tax, raise an army and invade Sicily. But the barons and the clergy, thinking that their king had already been altogether too expensive a luxury, refused to take any part in the Sicilian business, or to contribute a farthing to it by vote of Parliament. Whereupon the Pope offered his bargain to the King of France and a little while after sent to Henry III. of England a little bill of £100,000 for not having taken advantage of the papal advice and permission to possess himself of Sicily.



A CRUSADER.

Fancy, for the sake of contrast between those days and our own, the present wise and venerable Supreme Pontiff of that marvellous hierarchy, the Catholic Church, sending to our President advice, or permission, to go to war with Chili, or to annex Canada, and then sending in a little bill of \$500,000 for not taking the advice.

King Henry gave the barons so much trouble that finally the great Earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort, who, though a foreigner by birth, was admired by the men of his order for his great abilities, and beloved by the common people for his suavities, invented a check upon the regal power which appears to be the germ of the present department of English government called the British Ministry; a sort of intermediary between the commons and the crown.

This plan of Simon de Montfort, which he proposed to the abject, thoroughly scared monarch at Oxford, was no less than a Committee of Government, twelve men to be selected by the barons and twelve men by the king. Henry agreed to this, but on the return of his brother Richard from abroad summoned up courage enough to oppose the barons again ; and as they began to quarrel among themselves the Earl of Leicester left the kingdom in disgust. Then the people began to be dissatisfied, thinking that the barons were not doing enough for them, so that the chances for Henry III. to be once more the real, instead of nominal, King of England brightened up again.

It was a common kingly trick in those days to play the people off against the barons, or the barons off against the people, whichever could be done most easily ; and even to-day shrewd politicians, in certain governments supposedly popular, sometimes succeed in shaping their policies successfully for themselves, by tapping with one hand the barrels of monopolists, while with the other they tickle the people, as they fill their ears with promises of better legislation. So Henry III., or, as he should be called, Henry the Ridiculous, told the Committee of Government that he had decided to abolish them, in spite of his oath, and seizing all the money in the treasury, he shut himself up in the Tower of London. Having gained these coigns of vantage, that is, the money and the Tower, he published a letter, which he claimed to have received from the Pope, addressed to the world in general and the English people in particular, informing them that for five and forty years he had been a just and excellent king. It was very much as if Nero, who set Rome burning, should have informed the populace that he did so to demonstrate the necessity of having fire insurance companies.

But the Earl of Leicester, returning and joining the Earl of Gloucester, took several of the royal castles and advanced on London, at which the London people, who had always disliked the king, were heartily pleased. Then Henry moved out of the Tower and began scampering about the country till, managing to secure the assistance of the Scotch, he gave battle to Leicester and the Londoners, and, after losing five thousand men, was captured, whereupon the Pope promptly excommunicated the Earl of Leicester ; but as the English people loved him he became the real king,

always, however, treating his captive, King Henry, with the greatest respect, yet taking him along everywhere under guard as a piece of royal furniture.

De Montfort, in the year 1265, summoned the first parliament in which the people had any real share, and for several years he governed England with strength and tenderness combined.

A new Parliament was called in January, 1265, to Westminster, but the weakness of the patriotic party among the baronage was proved by the fact that only twenty-three earls and barons could be found to sit beside the hundred and twenty ecclesiastics. This arithmetical weakness drove Earl Simon to a constitutional change of vast import. As before, he summoned two knights from every county. But he



EDWARD I, THE SUCCESSFUL CRUSADER.

called a new force into English politics when he summoned to sit beside them two citizens from every borough. The attendance of delegates from the towns had long been usual in the county courts, when any matter touching their immediate interests was in question; but it was the writ issued by Earl Simon that first summoned the merchant and the trader to sit beside the knight of the

shire, the baron and the bishop in the parliament of the realm, and so set the example and laid the foundation of the present parliamentary system.

But King Henry's son, Edward, having escaped from custody, succeeded in gathering an army of disaffected barons, defeated De Montfort's son, and with the De Montfort banners advanced on the Earl of Leicester. The face of this greatest of mediæval English statesmen flushed with joy as he beheld his own banners advancing to greet him ; but, when on nearer coming he saw who carried the banners, he knew that the end of his just and generous life was upon him. "Lord have mercy on our souls," quoth he, "for our bodies are Prince Edward's." He fought with his little army, however, till the last ditch, and fell as a great man always falls, greatest of all in failure. His enemies mangled his body and sent it as a compliment to a certain noble dame, the wife of his worst enemy ; for those were pleasant days and compliments of this kind flew around easily as flies in summer.

But they could not unshape his memory, and for many years afterwards the people always spoke of him as Sir Simon the Righteous, crossing themselves as for a saint. And even though he was dead, and mangled, and unburied, "a prey to dogs and kites," the cause for which he died still lived and flourished. For in great causes every step taken makes the movement faster, and when once a new idea, if it is a true idea, or a just one, comes into the world, though it may suffer a temporary defeat or eclipse, it is sure to shine forth again and add to itself new lustre with every successive century.

The notion that the people really had some natural rights in the business of government, and that it was, or should be, something more than a game of greed or glory between kings and nobles, was now thoroughly alive in the English mind ; and though at the death of De Montfort, Henry III. was restored to his public functions, he was obliged to respect the great charter and the laws and customs established by the Earl of Leicester, and a period of peace ensued.

During this calm in the kingdom Prince Edward took up the cross and set out to the Holy Land on a crusade. There he had many adventures, and came back to England after the death of

his father to ascend the throne, laden with well-earned honors. As a soldier of the cross he had been a superb success, and his return through different countries was made the occasion of much international glorification, so that on his arrival in England the national pride was as deeply and widely enlisted in his favor as ever before or since in behalf of any great man. London gave him an ovation almost equal to that which was given to Disraeli in this century on his return from Berlin bringing in triumph "*Peace with Honor.*"

But they did things in those old days a little differently. It is related that the return of Edward I., or Longshanks, as he was nicknamed, was celebrated by turning the conduits of the streets and the fountains into rivers of red wine, — typical, perhaps, of the Saracen blood which his sword had set flowing; the houses were tapestried outside with silk and cloths of gold and silver; and bonfires were lit and oxen were roasted whole. But though Edward came back in a blaze of popularity he soon tumbled into trouble, — into a ditch from which his long legs were not agile enough to help him jump out with ease or grace. Of course, it was the old, old kingly trouble, — the need, or rather the want, of money.

Edward was more fertile than most of his prototypes in schemes for raising it, but in spite of his prestige, in spite of his persistence, in spite of the acknowledged strength of his character, he found even more difficulty than his weak-minded father had experienced as a financier. He attempted to tax the clergy without the permission of the Pope, but succeeded no better than his father had with the Pope's permission, and had it not been for the Jews, whom he threw into prison and then ransomed at thousands of pounds and finally banished from the kingdom, seizing all their property, he might have had to sell his palace.

And now a curious thing happened — out of a cruel murder a great benefit arose. A Norman crew, who had quarrelled with some English sailors when filling their water casks at the same place, and who had been soundly bethwacked and bethumped, attacked the first English ship they met of sufficiently small size, seized a merchant and hanged him in the rigging of their own vessel, with his pet dog at his feet. From the hanging of this merchant grew a national quarrel, and as the preparations for war

were expensive, King Edward impatiently began to attempt to raise money in arbitrary ways, and the chief barons, especially Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, strongly opposed him, refusing even to take command of his forces, and leaving the court attended by many lords.

“By G—d, Sir Earl,” said the King to Bigod, “you shall either go or hang.”

“By G—d, Sir King,” replied the Earl stoutly, “I will neither go nor hang.”

Then he adopted a rather clever means to force the clergy to pay the taxes which he had levied on them, for when they refused he declared that if they would not support his government they had no claim on it for protection, and any man might plunder them who would. This general permission, or immunity offered to the thieves and robbers of the kingdom, frightened some of the clergy into paying, but this money in hand only sharpened Edward's appetite for more. His next move was to seize all the wool and leather in the hands of the merchants, promising to pay for it when convenient. Not satisfied with that, he set a tax on the exportation of wool, but this proved the last straw.

The barons under Bohun and Bigod, at the urgency of the merchants, came together and evolved the new democratic doctrine that any taxes imposed without the consent of Parliament were unlawful, and Parliament refused to impose taxes until King Edward should reaffirm the two great charters, and solemnly declare in writing that nevermore should there be any power in the country to wring money from the people except the power of Parliament representing all ranks of the people.

Here, we see, was the germ of the phrase used by our English forefathers when they severed from England: “Taxation without representation is tyranny.” Is it not a singular proof of the average dulness of the royal brain that George III., in the eighteenth century, should not have been able to profit by the lesson which Edward I. learned in the thirteenth? If it takes five hundred years for a just idea to find permanent lodgment in the average mind of even a constitutional monarch, what slow progress must be expected in the perfection of any governmental system where power has accidentally fallen into one hand, or into a few hands!

But Edward I., in spite of his attempts to be a tyrant, after learning his lesson became one of the best administrators of the affairs of his country. To him is due the conception that Scotland, Wales, and England ought to be one country, and he set himself sturdily to the task of realizing this. But unity, which is the dream of all religions, and the doctrine of our recent science as to the composition of the material universe, is sometimes a thing very difficult to achieve between contiguous nations who seem geographically intended to be one. It is an ultimate very often just as difficult as it is desirable, and the first steps towards unity between peoples, as between individuals in friendship or in love, are often steps of pain. It was so with King Edward's dream of a perfected nationality, but he laid the foundation of that English oneness which to-day affects so strongly the civilized world.

His campaign in Wales against Llewellyn, their prince, had some singular features illustrative of the spirit of those times. When Edward came to the throne he required the Welsh prince to swear allegiance to him, as had been done to his father, but Llewellyn refused, and Edward, with a great fleet, invested the coast of Wales, forced the prince to take refuge on Mount Snowdon, starved him into an apology and a treaty of peace, and then returned to London, supposing he had reduced Wales to obedience; but the Welsh, though a gentle and hospitable people, were intensely proud, and the airs some English lingerers in Wales assumed after this treaty were a little too much.

Then was revived a prophecy made by a traditional magician named Merlin, whom Tennyson has put to more beautiful use in his poetry than probably ever resulted in Merlin's life. This prophecy was that, when English money should become round, a Prince of Wales would be crowned in London. Now King Edward had forbidden the cutting of the English penny into halves and quarters to represent halfpence and farthings, and had recently introduced a round coin. The Welsh people took this as the first part of Merlin's prophecy, and rose with great violence to complete the prophecy by overturning the English.

Llewellyn's brother, Prince David, led the revolt, surprised the castle of Hawarden, killed the whole garrison, and instantly all Wales was in a flame of insurrection. Edward, with his customary



pledging themselves to relieve their vassals, the people ; that the liberties of London and other cities should not be infringed ; that foreign merchants should be protected ; that no man should be imprisoned without a fair trial ; and that to no one should there be any sale, delay, or denial of justice.

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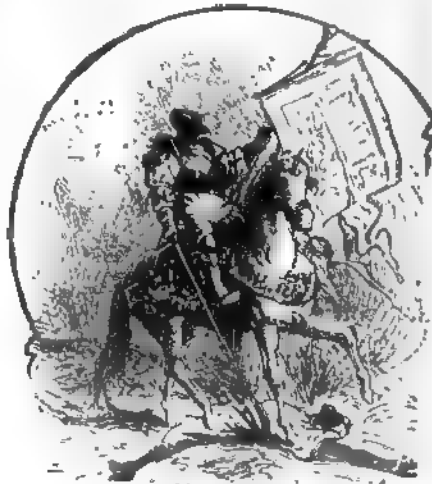
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Brave words these, worthy of the brave barons who forced the mean and cowardly cur, who wore the crown, to sign them; but at the same time to the eye of posterity it seems as if the barons themselves found it almost as hard a task to live up to this charter as did the most contemptible creature that ever disgraced the English throne. Another provision of the charter was the appointment of a council of twenty-five barons to see that John kept as near to his word as possible, with power to declare war on him if necessary.

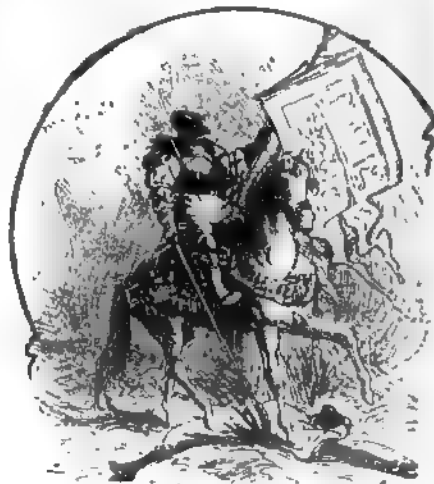
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This plan of Simon de Montfort, which he proposed to the abject, thoroughly scared monarch at Oxford, was no less than a Committee of Government, twelve men to be selected by the barons and twelve men by the king. Henry agreed to this, but on the return of his brother Richard from abroad summoned up courage enough to oppose the barons again ; and as they began to quarrel among themselves the Earl of Leicester left the kingdom in disgust. Then the people began to be dissatisfied, thinking that the barons were not doing enough for them, so that the chances for Henry III. to be once more the real, instead of nominal, King of England brightened up again.

It was a common kingly trick in those days to play the people off against the barons, or the barons off against the people, whichever could be done most easily ; and even to-day shrewd politicians, in certain governments supposedly popular, sometimes succeed in shaping their policies successfully for themselves, by tapping with one hand the barrels of monopolists, while with the other they tickle the people, as they fill their ears with promises of better legislation. So Henry III., or, as he should be called, Henry the Ridiculous, told the Committee of Government that he had decided to abolish them, in spite of his oath, and seizing all the money in the treasury, he shut himself up in the Tower of London. Having gained these coigns of vantage, that is, the money and the Tower, he published a letter, which he claimed to have received from the Pope, addressed to the world in general and the English people in particular, informing them that for five and forty years he had been a just and excellent king. It was very much as if Nero, who set Rome burning, should have informed the populace that he did so to demonstrate the necessity of having fire insurance companies.

But the Earl of Leicester, returning and joining the Earl of Gloucester, took several of the royal castles and advanced on London, at which the London people, who had always disliked the king, were heartily pleased. Then Henry moved out of the Tower and began scampering about the country till, managing to secure the assistance of the Scotch, he gave battle to Leicester and the Londoners, and, after losing five thousand men, was captured, whereupon the Pope promptly excommunicated the Earl of Leicester, but as the English people loved him he became the real king,

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shire, the baron and the bishop in the parliament of the realm, and so set the example and laid the foundation of the present parliamentary system.

But King Henry's son, Edward, having escaped from custody, succeeded in gathering an army of disaffected barons, defeated De Montfort's son, and with the De Montfort banners advanced on the Earl of Leicester. The face of this greatest of mediæval English statesmen flushed with joy as he beheld his own banners advancing to greet him ; but, when on nearer coming he saw who carried the banners, he knew that the end of his just and generous life was upon him. "Lord have mercy on our souls," quoth he, "for our bodies are Prince Edward's." He fought with his little army, however, till the last ditch, and fell as a great man always falls, greatest of all in failure. His enemies mangled his body and sent it as a compliment to a certain noble dame, the wife of his worst enemy ; for those were pleasant days and compliments of this kind flew around easily as flies in summer.

But they could not unshape his memory, and for many years afterwards the people always spoke of him as Sir Simon the Righteous, crossing themselves as for a saint. And even though he was dead, and mangled, and unburied, "a prey to dogs and kites," the cause for which he died still lived and flourished. For in great causes every step taken makes the movement faster, and when once a new idea, if it is a true idea, or a just one, comes into the world, though it may suffer a temporary defeat or eclipse, it is sure to shine forth again and add to itself new lustre with every successive century.

The notion that the people really had some natural rights in the business of government, and that it was, or should be, something more than a game of greed or glory between kings and nobles, was now thoroughly alive in the English mind ; and though at the death of De Montfort, Henry III. was restored to his public functions, he was obliged to respect the great charter and the laws and customs established by the Earl of Leicester, and a period of peace ensued.

During this calm in the kingdom Prince Edward took up the cross and set out to the Holy Land on a crusade. There he had many adventures, and came back to England after the death of

his father to ascend the throne, laden with well-earned honors. As a soldier of the cross he had been a superb success, and his return through different countries was made the occasion of much international glorification, so that on his arrival in England the national pride was as deeply and widely enlisted in his favor as ever before or since in behalf of any great man. London gave him an ovation almost equal to that which was given to Disraeli in this century on his return from Berlin bringing in triumph "*Peace with Honor.*"

But they did things in those old days a little differently. It is related that the return of Edward I., or Longshanks, as he was nicknamed, was celebrated by turning the conduits of the streets and the fountains into rivers of red wine, — typical, perhaps, of the Saracen blood which his sword had set flowing; the houses were tapestried outside with silk and cloths of gold and silver; and bonfires were lit and oxen were roasted whole. But though Edward came back in a blaze of popularity he soon tumbled into trouble, — into a ditch from which his long legs were not agile enough to help him jump out with ease or grace. Of course, it was the old, old kingly trouble, — the need, or rather the want, of money.

Edward was more fertile than most of his prototypes in schemes for raising it, but in spite of his prestige, in spite of his persistence, in spite of the acknowledged strength of his character, he found even more difficulty than his weak-minded father had experienced as a financier. He attempted to tax the clergy without the permission of the Pope, but succeeded no better than his father had with the Pope's permission, and had it not been for the Jews, whom he threw into prison and then ransomed at thousands of pounds and finally banished from the kingdom, seizing all their property, he might have had to sell his palace.

And now a curious thing happened — out of a cruel murder a great benefit arose. A Norman crew, who had quarrelled with some English sailors when filling their water casks at the same place, and who had been soundly bethwacked and bethumped, attacked the first English ship they met of sufficiently small size, seized a merchant and hanged him in the rigging of their own vessel, with his pet dog at his feet. From the hanging of this merchant grew a national quarrel, and as the preparations for war

were expensive, King Edward impatiently began to attempt to raise money in arbitrary ways, and the chief barons, especially Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, strongly opposed him, refusing even to take command of his forces, and leaving the court attended by many lords.

“By G—d, Sir Earl,” said the King to Bigod, “you shall either go or hang.”

“By G—d, Sir King,” replied the Earl stoutly, “I will neither go nor hang.”

Then he adopted a rather clever means to force the clergy to pay the taxes which he had levied on them, for when they refused he declared that if they would not support his government they had no claim on it for protection, and any man might plunder them who would. This general permission, or immunity offered to the thieves and robbers of the kingdom, frightened some of the clergy into paying, but this money in hand only sharpened Edward's appetite for more. His next move was to seize all the wool and leather in the hands of the merchants, promising to pay for it when convenient. Not satisfied with that, he set a tax on the exportation of wool, but this proved the last straw.

The barons under Bohun and Bigod, at the urgency of the merchants, came together and evolved the new democratic doctrine that any taxes imposed without the consent of Parliament were unlawful, and Parliament refused to impose taxes until King Edward should reaffirm the two great charters, and solemnly declare in writing that nevermore should there be any power in the country to wring money from the people except the power of Parliament representing all ranks of the people.

Here, we see, was the germ of the phrase used by our English forefathers when they severed from England: “Taxation without representation is tyranny.” Is it not a singular proof of the average dulness of the royal brain that George III., in the eighteenth century, should not have been able to profit by the lesson which Edward I. learned in the thirteenth? If it takes five hundred years for a just idea to find permanent lodgment in the average mind of even a constitutional monarch, what slow progress must be expected in the perfection of any governmental system where power has accidentally fallen into one hand, or into a few hands!

But Edward I., in spite of his attempts to be a tyrant, after learning his lesson became one of the best administrators of the affairs of his country. To him is due the conception that Scotland, Wales, and England ought to be one country, and he set himself sturdily to the task of realizing this. But unity, which is the dream of all religions, and the doctrine of our recent science as to the composition of the material universe, is sometimes a thing very difficult to achieve between contiguous nations who seem geographically intended to be one. It is an ultimate very often just as difficult as it is desirable, and the first steps towards unity between peoples, as between individuals in friendship or in love, are often steps of pain. It was so with King Edward's dream of a perfected nationality, but he laid the foundation of that English oneness which to-day affects so strongly the civilized world.

His campaign in Wales against Llewellyn, their prince, had some singular features illustrative of the spirit of those times. When Edward came to the throne he required the Welsh prince to swear allegiance to him, as had been done to his father, but Llewellyn refused, and Edward, with a great fleet, invested the coast of Wales, forced the prince to take refuge on Mount Snowdon, starved him into an apology and a treaty of peace, and then returned to London, supposing he had reduced Wales to obedience; but the Welsh, though a gentle and hospitable people, were intensely proud, and the airs some English lingerers in Wales assumed after this treaty were a little too much.

Then was revived a prophecy made by a traditional magician named Merlin, whom Tennyson has put to more beautiful use in his poetry than probably ever resulted in Merlin's life. This prophecy was that, when English money should become round, a Prince of Wales would be crowned in London. Now King Edward had forbidden the cutting of the English penny into halves and quarters to represent halfpence and farthings, and had recently introduced a round coin. The Welsh people took this as the first part of Merlin's prophecy, and rose with great violence to complete the prophecy by overturning the English.

Llewellyn's brother, Prince David, led the revolt, surprised the castle of Hawarden, killed the whole garrison, and instantly all Wales was in a flame of insurrection. Edward, with his customary



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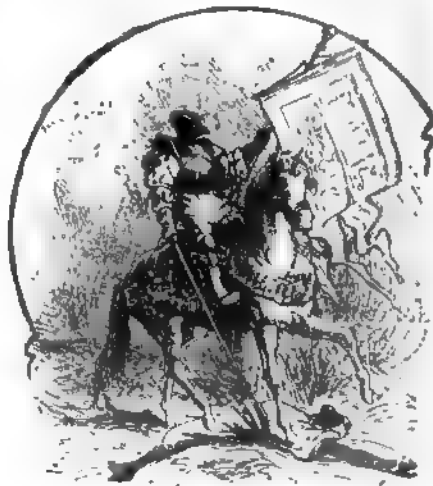
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<sup>1</sup> This name is from two Latin words *Rosa Mundi* — meaning, Rose of the World.

a great pull on all the people, but especially on the Jews, who were the most useful and the most abused inhabitants of London.

Scott, in his *Ivanhoe*, draws a very mild picture of John's character in his treatment of Isaac of York, for John, like most of his predecessors and successors in office, even down to the present reign, had always been in want,—the royal want of money.—and he utilized his prerogative to the extent of taking the richest Jew he could find and telling him that he must fill the royal coffers. On the Jew's refusal, John ordered that a tooth should be pulled out every day till he consented: on the eighth day the unhappy Israelite yielded. But the hour of reckoning came, and the charter forced from John at Runymede probably caused him more pain than was condensed in the Jew's gum-ache



KING JOHN IN ANGER.

and was doubtless productive of more good to the people than his reckless squandering of the Jew's money.

This charter provided that the Church should be maintained in all its rights; that the barons should be relieved of oppressive obligations as vassals of the crown; the barons, in their turn,

pledging themselves to relieve their vassals, the people ; that the liberties of London and other cities should not be infringed ; that foreign merchants should be protected ; that no man should be imprisoned without a fair trial ; and that to no one should there be any sale, delay, or denial of justice.

Brave words these, worthy of the brave barons who forced the mean and cowardly cur, who wore the crown, to sign them ; but at the same time to the eye of posterity it seems as if the barons themselves found it almost as hard a task to live up to this charter as did the most contemptible creature that ever disgraced the English throne. Another provision of the charter was the appointment of a council of twenty-five barons to see that John kept as near to his word as possible, with power to declare war on him if necessary.

"They have given me five and twenty over-kings," cried the hampered tyrant, as in a fit of rage right after signing, he rolled on the floor of his palace, biting sticks and straw.

We now come to one of the most curious reigns in England ; curious on account of the character of the king, the length of time that he was endured by the barons, and the great gains made, not *by* the people, but *for* them, in the development of constitutional government.

Henry III. began to reign as a boy, in 1216, a great council meeting at Bristol, revising Magna Charta and making Lord Pembroke Regent or Protector of England, as the king was too young to rule alone. Soon as he came of age Henry showed himself a true son of his father. He made oaths, and agreements, and promises with wonderful ease, and broke them with an ease more wonderful. Always in want of money he resorted to all sorts of tricks to obtain it, so that he gained the popular title of being "the sturdiest beggar in all England." He even took up the cross, pretending that he wished to head a crusade and rescue the tomb of the Saviour from the possession of infidels, and he got permission from the Pope to lay taxes on the English clergy. But some of the clergy stood up for their rights. "The Pope and King together," growled the Bishop of London, "may take the mitre off my head, but if they do, beneath it they may find a soldier's helmet. I'll pay nothing."

So Henry had to give up his crusade against the pockets of the priests. Then he badgered the barons in every possible way to increase his revenues, and after ten years' squabbling they made Parliament vote him a large sum which he frittered away with the usual royal rapidity. One of the most amusing things in this reign was the episode of the Sicilian throne. This happening to be empty, the Pope obligingly offered it to Henry III. for his son, Prince Edward, and gave the English king permission to levy a special tax, raise an army and invade Sicily. But the barons and the clergy, thinking that their king had already been altogether too expensive a luxury, refused to take any part in the Sicilian business, or to contribute a farthing to it by vote of Parliament. Whereupon the Pope offered his bargain to the King of France and a little while after sent to Henry III. of England a little bill of £100,000 for not having taken advantage of the papal advice and permission to possess himself of Sicily.



A CRUSADER.

Fancy, for the sake of contrast between those days and our own, the present wise and venerable Supreme Pontiff of that marvellous hierarchy, the Catholic Church, sending to our President advice, or permission, to go to war with Chili, or to annex Canada, and then sending in a little bill of \$500,000 for not taking the advice.

King Henry gave the barons so much trouble that finally the great Earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort, who, though a foreigner by birth, was admired by the men of his order for his great abilities, and beloved by the common people for his suavities, invented a check upon the regal power which appears to be the germ of the present department of English government called the British Ministry; a sort of intermediary between the commons and the crown.

This plan of Simon de Montfort, which he proposed to the abject, thoroughly scared monarch at Oxford, was no less than a Committee of Government, twelve men to be selected by the barons and twelve men by the king. Henry agreed to this, but on the return of his brother Richard from abroad summoned up courage enough to oppose the barons again ; and as they began to quarrel among themselves the Earl of Leicester left the kingdom in disgust. Then the people began to be dissatisfied, thinking that the barons were not doing enough for them, so that the chances for Henry III. to be once more the real, instead of nominal, King of England brightened up again.

It was a common kingly trick in those days to play the people off against the barons, or the barons off against the people, whichever could be done most easily ; and even to-day shrewd politicians, in certain governments supposedly popular, sometimes succeed in shaping their policies successfully for themselves, by tapping with one hand the barrels of monopolists, while with the other they tickle the people, as they fill their ears with promises of better legislation. So Henry III., or, as he should be called, Henry the Ridiculous, told the Committee of Government that he had decided to abolish them, in spite of his oath, and seizing all the money in the treasury, he shut himself up in the Tower of London. Having gained these coigns of vantage, that is, the money and the Tower, he published a letter, which he claimed to have received from the Pope, addressed to the world in general and the English people in particular, informing them that for five and forty years he had been a just and excellent king. It was very much as if Nero, who set Rome burning, should have informed the populace that he did so to demonstrate the necessity of having fire insurance companies.

But the Earl of Leicester, returning and joining the Earl of Gloucester, took several of the royal castles and advanced on London, at which the London people, who had always disliked the king, were heartily pleased. Then Henry moved out of the Tower and began scampering about the country till, managing to secure the assistance of the Scotch, he gave battle to Leicester and the Londoners, and, after losing five thousand men, was captured, whereupon the Pope promptly excommunicated the Earl of Leicester ; but as the English people loved him he became the real king,

always, however, treating his captive, King Henry, with the greatest respect, yet taking him along everywhere under guard as a piece of royal furniture.

De Montfort, in the year 1265, summoned the first parliament in which the people had any real share, and for several years he governed England with strength and tenderness combined.

A new Parliament was called in January, 1265, to Westminster, but the weakness of the patriotic party among the baronage was proved by the fact that only twenty-three earls and barons could be found to sit beside the hundred and twenty ecclesiastics. This arithmetical weakness drove Earl Simon to a constitutional change of vast import. As before, he summoned two knights from every county. But he



EDWARD I., THE SUCCESSFUL CRUSADER.

called a new force into English politics when he summoned to sit beside them two citizens from every borough. The attendance of delegates from the towns had long been usual in the county courts, when any matter touching their immediate interests was in question; but it was the writ issued by Earl Simon that first summoned the merchant and the trader to sit beside the knight of the

shire, the baron and the bishop in the parliament of the realm, and so set the example and laid the foundation of the present parliamentary system.

But King Henry's son, Edward, having escaped from custody, succeeded in gathering an army of disaffected barons, defeated De Montfort's son, and with the De Montfort banners advanced on the Earl of Leicester. The face of this greatest of mediæval English statesmen flushed with joy as he beheld his own banners advancing to greet him ; but, when on nearer coming he saw who carried the banners, he knew that the end of his just and generous life was upon him. "Lord have mercy on our souls," quoth he, "for our bodies are Prince Edward's." He fought with his little army, however, till the last ditch, and fell as a great man always falls, greatest of all in failure. His enemies mangled his body and sent it as a compliment to a certain noble dame, the wife of his worst enemy ; for those were pleasant days and compliments of this kind flew around easily as flies in summer.

But they could not unshape his memory, and for many years afterwards the people always spoke of him as Sir Simon the Righteous, crossing themselves as for a saint. And even though he was dead, and mangled, and unburied, "a prey to dogs and kites," the cause for which he died still lived and flourished. For in great causes every step taken makes the movement faster, and when once a new idea, if it is a true idea, or a just one, comes into the world, though it may suffer a temporary defeat or eclipse, it is sure to shine forth again and add to itself new lustre with every successive century.

The notion that the people really had some natural rights in the business of government, and that it was, or should be, something more than a game of greed or glory between kings and nobles, was now thoroughly alive in the English mind ; and though at the death of De Montfort, Henry III. was restored to his public functions, he was obliged to respect the great charter and the laws and customs established by the Earl of Leicester, and a period of peace ensued.

During this calm in the kingdom Prince Edward took up the cross and set out to the Holy Land on a crusade. There he had adventures, and came back to England after the death of

his father to ascend the throne, laden with well-earned honors. As a soldier of the cross he had been a superb success, and his return through different countries was made the occasion of much international glorification, so that on his arrival in England the national pride was as deeply and widely enlisted in his favor as ever before or since in behalf of any great man. London gave him an ovation almost equal to that which was given to Disraeli in this century on his return from Berlin bringing in triumph "*Peace with Honor.*"

But they did things in those old days a little differently. It is related that the return of Edward I., or Longshanks, as he was nicknamed, was celebrated by turning the conduits of the streets and the fountains into rivers of red wine, — typical, perhaps, of the Saracen blood which his sword had set flowing; the houses were tapestried outside with silk and cloths of gold and silver; and bonfires were lit and oxen were roasted whole. But though Edward came back in a blaze of popularity he soon tumbled into trouble, — into a ditch from which his long legs were not agile enough to help him jump out with ease or grace. Of course, it was the old, old kingly trouble, — the need, or rather the want, of money.

Edward was more fertile than most of his prototypes in schemes for raising it, but in spite of his prestige, in spite of his persistence, in spite of the acknowledged strength of his character, he found even more difficulty than his weak-minded father had experienced as a financier. He attempted to tax the clergy without the permission of the Pope, but succeeded no better than his father had with the Pope's permission, and had it not been for the Jews, whom he threw into prison and then ransomed at thousands of pounds and finally banished from the kingdom, seizing all their property, he might have had to sell his palace.

And now a curious thing happened — out of a cruel murder a great benefit arose. A Norman crew, who had quarrelled with some English sailors when filling their water casks at the same place, and who had been soundly bethwacked and bethumped, attacked the first English ship they met of sufficiently small size, seized a merchant and hanged him in the rigging of their own vessel, with his pet dog at his feet. From the hanging of this merchant grew a national quarrel, and as the preparations for war



were expensive, King Edward impatiently began to attempt to raise money in arbitrary ways, and the chief barons, especially Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, strongly opposed him, refusing even to take command of his forces, and leaving the court attended by many lords.

"By G—d, Sir Earl," said the King to Bigod, "you shall either go or hang."

"By G—d, Sir King," replied the Earl stoutly, "I will neither go nor hang."

Then he adopted a rather clever means to force the clergy to pay the taxes which he had levied on them, for when they refused he declared that if they would not support his government they had no claim on it for protection, and any man might plunder them who would. This general permission, or immunity offered to the thieves and robbers of the kingdom, frightened some of the clergy into paying, but this money in hand only sharpened Edward's appetite for more. His next move was to seize all the wool and leather in the hands of the merchants, promising to pay for it when convenient. Not satisfied with that, he set a tax on the exportation of wool, but this proved the last straw.

The barons under Bohun and Bigod, at the urgency of the merchants, came together and evolved the new democratic doctrine that any taxes imposed without the consent of Parliament were unlawful, and Parliament refused to impose taxes until King Edward should reaffirm the two great charters, and solemnly declare in writing that nevermore should there be any power in the country to wring money from the people except the power of Parliament representing all ranks of the people.

Here, we see, was the germ of the phrase used by our English forefathers when they severed from England: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Is it not a singular proof of the average dulness of the royal brain that George III., in the eighteenth century, should not have been able to profit by the lesson which Edward I. learned in the thirteenth? If it takes five hundred years for a just idea to find permanent lodgment in the average mind of even a constitutional monarch, what slow progress must be expected in the perfection of any governmental system where power has accidentally fallen into one hand, or into a few hands!

But Edward I., in spite of his attempts to be a tyrant, after learning his lesson became one of the best administrators of the affairs of his country. To him is due the conception that Scotland, Wales, and England ought to be one country, and he set himself sturdily to the task of realizing this. But unity, which is the dream of all religions, and the doctrine of our recent science as to the composition of the material universe, is sometimes a thing very difficult to achieve between contiguous nations who seem geographically intended to be one. It is an ultimate very often just as difficult as it is desirable, and the first steps towards unity between peoples, as between individuals in friendship or in love, are often steps of pain. It was so with King Edward's dream of a perfected nationality, but he laid the foundation of that English oneness which to-day affects so strongly the civilized world.

His campaign in Wales against Llewellyn, their prince, had some singular features illustrative of the spirit of those times. When Edward came to the throne he required the Welsh prince to swear allegiance to him, as had been done to his father, but Llewellyn refused, and Edward, with a great fleet, invested the coast of Wales, forced the prince to take refuge on Mount Snowdon, starved him into an apology and a treaty of peace, and then returned to London, supposing he had reduced Wales to obedience; but the Welsh, though a gentle and hospitable people, were intensely proud, and the airs some English lingerers in Wales assumed after this treaty were a little too much.

Then was revived a prophecy made by a traditional magician named Merlin, whom Tennyson has put to more beautiful use in his poetry than probably ever resulted in Merlin's life. This prophecy was that, when English money should become round, a Prince of Wales would be crowned in London. Now King Edward had forbidden the cutting of the English penny into halves and quarters to represent halfpence and farthings, and had recently introduced a round coin. The Welsh people took this as the first part of Merlin's prophecy, and rose with great violence to complete the prophecy by overturning the English.

Llewellyn's brother, Prince David, led the revolt, surprised the castle of Hawarden, killed the whole garrison, and instantly all Wales was in a flame of insurrection. Edward, with his customary

energy, crossed the Menai Strait, near where the wonderful tubular iron bridge stands to-day, by a bridge of boats that enabled forty men to march abreast. But the tide rose and divided the boats, and the Welsh fell upon the soldiers who had landed and drove them into the sea where their heavy armor caused them to drown by thousands.


Llewellyn, helped by the bad weather, gained another battle, but was finally captured, and had his head sent to London, where it was set on the Tower encircled with a wreath, some say of silver, to make it look like a ghastly coin and in ridicule of the crowning of a Prince of Wales in London prophecied by the Welsh magician. His brother David, six months afterwards, was also captured, hanged, drawn, and quartered, a barbarity which from that time became the established punishment of treason in England.

All Wales now yielded to the arms of Edward; and Edward's queen, who was with him on all his military expeditions, happening to give birth to a young prince in the Welsh castle of Carnarvon, Edward had the politic impulse to parade the little babe to the Welsh people as their countryman and to call him the Prince of Wales; thus, in his own way, fulfilling the Merlin prophecy and originating the title that has since been borne by the heir-apparent to the English throne. Having conquered the Welsh in pursuance of his cherished ambition to make Wales, Scotland, and England one nation, Edward set himself to work improving their condition, clarifying their laws, and stimulating their trade.

This is, perhaps, one of the most brilliant reigns in English history, and one is almost tempted to linger over the Scotch campaigns of this great king; but we are concerned chiefly in showing, not the military exploits of crowned statesmen, but the growth of constitutional monarchy,—a monarchy, as Tennyson puts it,

“ Broad based upon the people's will  
And compassed by the inviolate sea.”

So, noting once more, to impress it on the memory, that the reign of Edward I. marks the conception that a king cannot impose taxes without the consent of a parliament representing the people, we pass on to the reign of Edward II., the little boy who was born in Wales.



This reign is still more remarkable than the preceding for its showing the rising of the popular tide and the eating away of the stubborn rocks of royal privilege and prerogative. Tradition hath it that the dying hero, Edward I., made his son promise not to bury his bones, but to carry them about with him till his ambitious dream of uniting the three kingdoms had been fully realized, as the great Edward fondly hoped it would be by his successor. But from Edward the Great to Edward the Little the fall was tremendous. Instead of improving the opportunities left him by his father, Edward II. recalled from Gascony a certain boon-companion, a young man named Piers Gaveston, of whom Edward I. had so disapproved that he had banished him from England, and made his son swear never to bring him back; but no sooner was Edward the Little crowned than he broke his oath,—a kingly habit, according to all history.

Gaveston, from all accounts, seems to have been a handsome, indolent, insolent fellow who fancied himself a wit. He recklessly made nearly all the prominent English nobles his enemies by giving them nicknames, calling one the Hog, another the Black Dog, another the Jew and so on, and when Edward the Little made this favorite Earl of Cornwall and then Regent of the Kingdom, while he went on a journey to France to marry the French princess, and when on his return he ran into the arms of his favorite, embraced him and called him his brother, the English lords took offence, as did the people, who had never called the Gascon by his English title, Earl Cornwall, but persisted in addressing him as plain Gaveston.

At last the barons told the king bluntly that he must send his boon-companion away, and they made Gaveston take an oath that he would never come back. Their anger was redoubled when they found out that in sending him away his royal admirer had made him Governor of Ireland. A year afterwards he came back and then the queen joined the barons in taking offence at the favorite's presence.

Edward by this time being well-nigh penniless called a parliament to help him fill his coffers, but the nobles refused to convene unless he banished the favorite. On his doing this, they assembled, each in armor, and gave him the desired money, but

appointed a committee to look after his household affairs and correct abuses in the state. This committee, after some months of study, ordained that the king, instead of summoning a parliament whenever it suited his whim or convenience, should summon one once a year certainly or twice if necessary. They also decided that if Gaveston ever came back he should be beheaded, whereupon the favorite, who, like a bad penny, had returned again, was sent to Flanders.

Soon after, however, breaking this particular oath for about the seventh time, Edward the Little had his fellow-reveller back with him in the North of England, where he was trying to raise an army, not to complete the conquest of Scotland, as he had promised his father, but to oppose the nobles. They, however, followed him up, caught Gaveston, set him on a mule and carried him with the mockery of military music to Warwick Castle, or the kennel of the nobleman he had nicknamed the Black Dog. There they sentenced him to death, and he was taken out on the pleasant road near the beautiful river by which long afterwards was born sweet-hearted William Shakespeare, and in the bright sunshine of an English May-day the favorite was beheaded. This seems another step gained, namely, that an English king would not be allowed to have a counsellor or favorite who was obnoxious to the nation at large.

Edward showed considerable spirit in trying to revenge the death of Gaveston, and the civil war between the king and the barons went on for six months, the barons joining their forces with Bruce of Scotland. Then the king got another favorite, Hugh le Despenser, to help him with advice. Le Despenser was handsome and brave, but to be favorite and confidential adviser to such a king was no sinecure, and disaster after disaster followed the royal arms, although occasionally they gained a victory. Edward's queen, on account of his neglect, had long refused to live with him, and now, going back to her native country, France, she raised an army and invaded England. She was at once joined by the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, the king's two brothers, by other powerful noblemen, and finally by the very general whom her husband sent against her.

This was the beginning of the end, and marks a new encroach-

ment on royal power, the Bishop of Hereford suggesting to the queen that the wretched king, who, after running about the country like an outlaw, finally gave himself up, should be asked to resign and that his son should reign instead. This suggestion was carried out. They haled him into the House of Commons, where Sir William Trussel, the speaker, belabored him with a tremendously long and fiery speech to the purpose that everyone had renounced allegiance to him and he was no longer a king. Then Sir Thomas Blount, the royal high steward, advanced and broke his white wand, a ceremony only performed at a king's death. Edward the Little then resigned himself to his fate and they proclaimed his son, Edward III., King of England, in whose coronation chair was set the Stone of Scone on



CORONATION CHAIR OF EDWARD III., WITH  
THE STONE OF SCONE.

which the Scottish kings had been crowned, and which his grand-sire had brought from Scotland. From Edward III. we pass to the reign of his grandson, Richard II., a mere boy of eleven, who began by showing some of the courage of his famous father, Edward the Black Prince. The kingdom, as usual, was involved

in war, and the English government needing money, a poll tax of three groats a year for every one above the age of fourteen was instituted. Three groats were equivalent then to about a shilling, but making allowance for the difference of value in money at the present time would amount to about two dollars and a half.

Only beggars were exempt from this tax and clergymen were taxed more. It is rather curious to note that so long ago the clergy should have been taxed even in Catholic England, whereas lately the Supreme Court of the United States has gone to the extent of making an exception to the contract labor law in the case of the Rev. Dr. Warren, who was imported from England to be the pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity in New York.

This poll tax provoked the greatest indignation; the people of Essex rebelled against it and in the county of Kent, a county which has always had the nickname of the Bold, one Wat, a tiler by trade, killed the tax-gatherer with one blow for insulting his daughter, put himself at the head of the malcontents, joined the people of Essex, who were in arms under the leadership of a priest named Jack Straw, and taking out of prison another popular priest named John Ball, marched on London.

Some have asserted that these peasants had a socialistic intention to abolish property and declare all men equal; but it is extremely doubtful whether they aimed so high, for they stopped everyone they met, and made them swear to be true to "King Richard and the people." This was rather to be expected, for the people, not being in such direct contact with their kings as with the nobles, or feudal lords between them, frequently looked to the king as a possible protector against the extortion and oppression of the nobles.

This mob marched into London, threw open the prisons, burned all the documents in Lambeth Palace, destroyed the Duke of Lancaster's palace, the Savoy, which was considered the most beautiful in the kingdom, made a bonfire of all the law-books in the temple, and yet, singular to relate, stole nothing. Seeing one man take a silver cup at the burning of the Savoy Palace and put it in his breast, they drowned him in the Thames, cup and all.

Rather different from a London mob to-day! They waited patiently, when a proclamation was made that the king would

meet them and grant all their requests; and the king did meet one section of them, and pretended to be keeping thirty clerks up all night writing out a new charter.

Their requests were really very moderate, being simply these four: *That neither they, their children, nor any of their descendants should be held in slavery any longer by their feudal lords for any cause. Secondly, that when they rented land of these feudal lords they should be allowed to pay in money instead of in service. Thirdly, that they should have liberty to buy and sell freely in all markets; and, fourthly, that they should be pardoned for all past offences.*

Wat Tiler is said to have desired in addition to this an abolition of the cruel forest laws, which punished a starving peasant with death if he killed one of the royal rabbits, or any other game. Wat Tiler was not leading the party of insurgents with whom the king was pretending to treat, but in another part of London was breaking into the Tower, and he and his men are said to have thrust their swords even into the bed where the Princess of Wales was sleeping to see if any of their enemies were concealed under the mattresses, which would indicate that any sense of "the divinity that doth hedge a king" was at rather low ebb among the people of England.

The meeting between Wat and King Richard, which occurred the next day, furnishes another apt illustration of the temper of the times. Wat rode boldly up to Richard and said, without the usual reverence, "King, dost see all these men here?" "Ah," said the king, "why so?" "Because," said Wat, "they are all at my command and have sworn to do whatever I say."

Some affirmed afterwards that while speaking he reached over and laid a hand on the king's bridle-rein, whereupon Walworth, mayor of London, stabbed him in the back, and Wat's followers bent their bows to avenge the fall of their leader. It was a very risky moment for King Richard, but the boy had the presence of mind to spur his horse into the ranks of the rioters and shout out that Wat was a traitor, and that he, King Richard, would be their leader. Taken by surprise, the mob set up a cheer and followed the young monarch to Islington, where a body of soldiers met him and then, turning on his deluded followers, put them to the rout.



Fifteen hundred men were hung in chains as a result of this insurrection, the chains being added to their bodies to prevent their grieving kinsmen from taking them down and giving them the last sad services of interment. This was the beginning of the barbarous custom of hanging in chains and leaving the bodies to the beaks of birds.

The kingdom now was governed by ministers of King Richard's choice, he being only sixteen, but Parliament quarreled with him so about these ministers that he was obliged to consent to the appointment of a commission of fourteen for a year. On coming of age, of course he took things into his own hands again, appointed a new chancellor and a new treasurer, and announced to the people that he alone was King of England, which despotic ground he held for eight years without much opposition. Then a large cauldron of trouble — a very witch's broth of woe to the people also — began to bubble for Richard, stirred up at first, some thought, by his cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, whom he had made Duke of Hereford.

Bolingbroke had stood high in the royal favor, but lost his influence, and was forced to flee to France. His estates were confiscated and his career apparently ended. Yet the king's conduct was smoothing Bolingbroke's return, for Richard began to plunge deeply into debauchery. The Commons had granted him a duty on wool for life, but this had only whetted his avarice, — that basest of all passions. In his mad greed to raise money he outlawed seventeen counties at once so as to impose fines, and then left England and invaded Ireland. This was Bolingbroke's opportunity. He returned from France, reclaimed the estates which had been wrested from him, and being joined by the Earl of Northumberland and Westmoreland, lay in wait for the king.

Richard, returning from Ireland, deserted by his soldiers, rode from castle to castle begging for food, and at last surrendered himself. He was conducted to the castle of Flint where Henry Bolingbroke met him and dropped on his courtly knee, as if he were still respectful to this wandering shadow of a king.

"Your people complain, my liege," said Bolingbroke, "that for two and twenty years you have oppressed them bitterly. I will help you to govern them better in future."



WINDSOR CASTLE, THE QUEEN'S FAVORITE RESIDENCE.

“Fair cousin,” said the fallen king, “since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me mightily.”

Richard was then taken for safe keeping to the Tower, but before he reached there it is related that even his dog left him to lick the hand of Bolingbroke. The day before Parliament met, a deputation waited on him and told him he must resign, which he did, saying that if he had any choice he would prefer to appoint his cousin his successor.

The next day, in Westminster Hall, Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, commonly called Henry of Lancaster, arose from his seat beside the empty throne, which was covered with cloth of gold, and, making the sign of the cross on his forehead, claimed the realm of England as his right, and the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, each taking him by an arm, seated him on the throne. Thus began one of the most brilliant and picturesque periods of English history, of which Shakespeare has made immortal use and beauty in his plays.

The gains in popular government during this reign were but slight, yet there seems to have been an extension of the power of law, and with that extension a corresponding increase of respect. As an example of this extension, the beheading of a churchman, Scroop, Archbishop of York, might be adduced; for Henry the IV., like Henry the II., — whom he somewhat resembled in other respects, — was determined that every man, priest, or prince, or peasant, in his dominion should be amenable to the general laws. It is even said that Chief Justice Gascoigne sent the king's son, afterwards Harry the V., to prison simply for insulting the majesty of the law, and that the king approved of it.

But Bolingbroke, who got the throne by strategy and force, had to hold it all his life by still greater force and strategy. Plot after plot against him was unearthed and punished, and it would appear that aspiring nobles made existence such a burden for him that he actually grew tired of living. An illustration of the manner of conducting public business at this time is afforded by the fact that the first parliament Henry IV. summoned was so quarrelsome that on one day forty steel gloves were thrown on the floor among the members as challenges to mortal combat.

In a reign like this very great gains on the part of the people

were hardly to be expected; nor in the next reign, though Harry V. was a man much larger in heart, and in ability almost equal to his father. But beyond gratifying the national vanity by his fine generalship and deeds of personal prowess in France, he made little impression on the national life.

The reign of his successor, Henry VI., was marked by Parliament's reversal of the wishes of the dead king by appointing the Duke of Bedford instead of the Duke of Gloucester at the head of the Council of Regency. This reign was also marked by another insurrection on the part of the people in Kent headed by an Irishman, who called himself Mortimer, but whose real name was Jack Cade. They gathered twenty thousand strong and put forth two papers styled "The Complaint of the Commons of Kent," and "The Requests of the Captain of the Great Assembly."

They defeated a royal army sent against them, and Jack Cade himself in the armor of the dead general led his men to London. There he seized, tried, and beheaded an unpopular nobleman named Lord Say, but was unable to keep his army in order. It gave itself up to gluttonous excesses, and attempted to pillage London but was soon divided and cut in pieces, and Cade endeavoring to escape was killed. Then began the famous series of quarrels between the great houses of York and Lancaster,—the wars of the Roses.

The king became an idiot and the queen essayed to govern the country, the Duke of York sometimes being in the ascendant as a minister and sometimes the Duke of Somerset. Whichever party triumphed would seize the king, call a parliament, and make him declare the other side traitors. On one occasion it is related that the Duke of York entered the House of Lords and laid his hand upon the gold cloth that covered the empty throne as if he had a strong inclination to sit down there. This duke was a great man and when in power tried to govern well the racked country, but he fell at last by the axe of the headsman; and yet, a few years later, his son Edward, Earl of March, after making a speech to a crowd of applauding Londoners, entered the House of Lords and sat himself on the throne on which his father had laid a prophetic hand.

Edward IV. tried at first to be a popular king. He married a

London widow, one Elizabeth Woodville, and his life started happily ; but thorns sprang up under his bed of roses in the shape of her relations, who were clamorous for offices at the expense of the people, and to supply their needs and his own was a task hard and continually harder. Towards the end of his life he revived the old English idea of having a war with France, to obtain funds for which he not only got special grants from Parliament, but extorted money from the principal citizens of London in the form of loans, to which were given at the time the facetious title of "Benevolences." He went over to Calais with great pomp, but instantly accepted the peace proposed by the French king.

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result of this the whole of what we call sovereignty or public power and which we feel to be impersonal was then personal, being lodged in the individual lord. So that when Louis the Great exclaimed "*L'Etat, c'est moi*," "The State, I in the State," he was giving perfect expression to the doctrine of feudalism. 3d. The distinctive mark of feudalism was its conscious, and if one may use the term, its voriferous interdependence. All the legislative, judicial, and military institutions which united the possessors of fiefs or fens among themselves, and formed them into society were obligatory in their reciprocalness. The vassal owed service to his lord,—the lord owed protection to his vassal, and if either failed in his duty, forfeiture of land or fief ensued.

Nowadays, when what some progressive papers call the factory lord or the coal baron has paid his men the agreed-upon wages, his legal obligation ceases. He is not bound to protect them in any way, although they have given him far more valuable service than most vassals of old gave to their lords. This is, indeed, the great difference between this epoch of economic evolution and that one, that many duties have been raised from the narrow material, or legal, sphere into the ever-widening realm of morals.

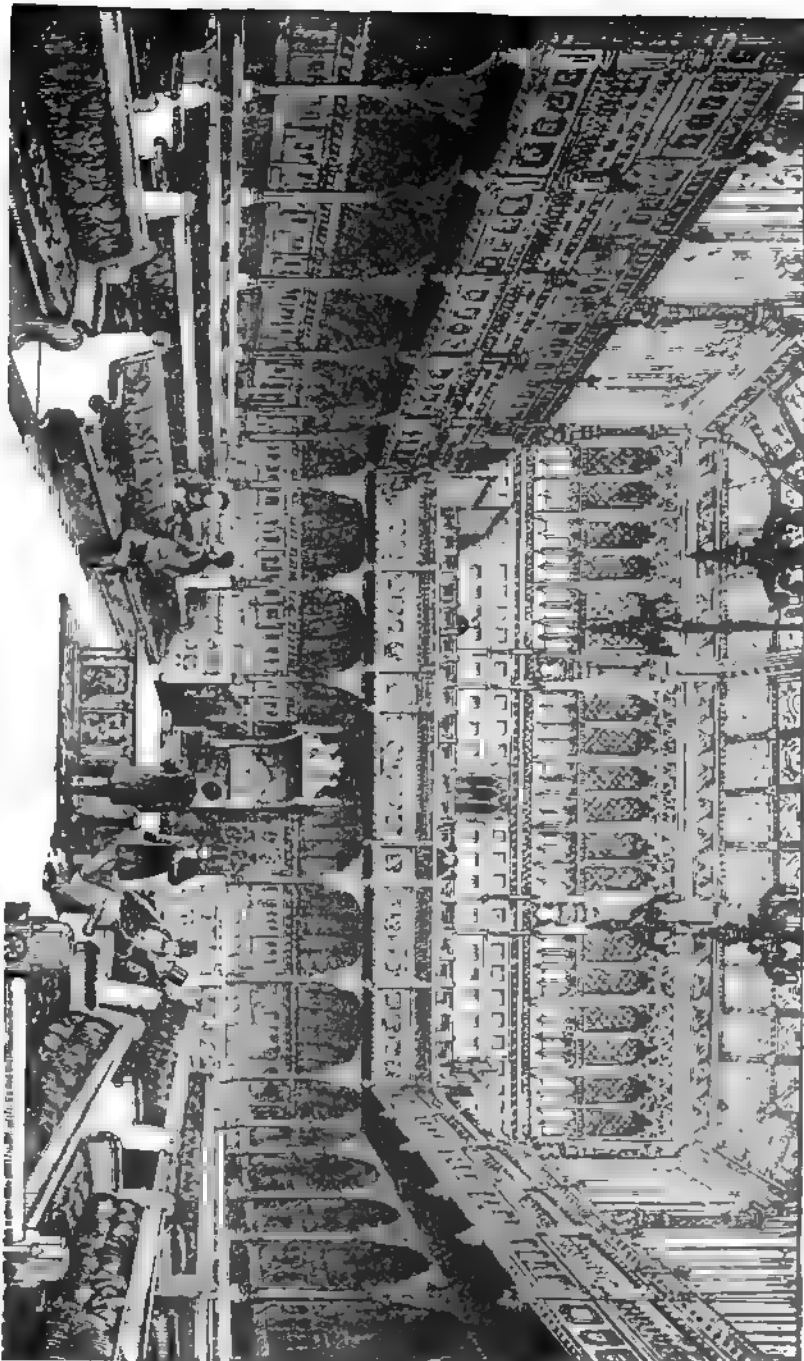
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THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.



fifteen hundred years of misapplied Christianity had produced a frightful crop of social injustice, religious intolerance, and class tyranny, this delicately humorous philosopher turned to his conception of Utopia, a country in which the struggles of natural virtue realized those purposes of equality and free fraternity for which alone society has any excuse for existence. In this wonderful book, the parent of so many modern volumes, More touches with a hand of exquisite lightness and almost caressing tenderness all the questions that affect the widest human hearts of to-day. The great problems of labor, of government, of conscience he examines, not merely with a keenness that proves the analytical power of his mind, but in the solutions which he proposes he shows himself possessed of a far-reaching originality. He is not content, like some modern anarchists, with seeking to destroy what is clearly wrong, but anxious to build on its ruins what is nearly right. In some points, such as his treatment of the labor question, he still remains far in advance of average civilized opinion, though it must be admitted that the ranks of those who hold his extremest doctrines are being rapidly increased by accessions of the most intelligent and conscientious thinkers.

The whole system of society around Sir Thomas More seemed to him, as he phrased it, "Nothing but a conspiracy of the rich against the poor." Its economic legislation he called simply the perfecting of such a conspiracy by processes of law. "*The rich are ever striving to pare away something further from the daily wages of the poor by private fraud and even by public law, so that the wrong already existing (for it is a wrong that those from whom the state derives most benefit should receive least reward) is made yet greater by means of the law of the state. The rich devise every means by which they may in the first place secure to themselves what they have amassed by wrong, and then take to their own use and profit at the lowest possible price the work and labor of the poor, and so soon as the rich decide on adopting these devices in the name of the public, then they become laws, the result of which is the life to which the labor class is doomed, a life so wretched that even a beast's seems enviable.*"

With this he contrasts the life in "Utopia," where the aim of legislation is to establish the social, industrial, intellectual, and

religious welfare of the community as a unity, and of the labor class as the true basis of an orderly commonwealth. In "Utopia" goods were possessed in common, but work was compulsory on all. The term of toil was shortened to the nine hours demanded by modern workers with a view to affording opportunity for the intellectual improvement of those who are forced to toil with their hands. Whereas in England half the people could not read, every child was taught in "Utopia."

In "Utopia," too, they had come to realize the connection between public decency and the health that springs from plenty of light, air, comfort, and cleanliness. The same foresight indicated in More's treatment of labor and public health is yet more apparent in his treatment of crime. He was the first to suggest that prevention was better than punishment, and that the object of punishment should be reformation of the individual, and not a mere reprisal or revenge perpetrated by society.

*"If you allow people to be badly taught, their morals corrupted from childhood, and then when they are men punish them for the very crimes to which they have been trained, what is this but to make thieves and then to punish them?"*

Simple theft in that day was punished the same as murder, and More argued that by making the penalty identical the law was tempting the thief to secure his theft and do away with his chance of detection by adding murder to robbery. In the great principles More laid down he anticipated all the improvements that have marked our criminal system in the last hundred years, and his treatment of the religious question, which had just begun to flood Europe with blood, was even more wonderfully in advance of his age.

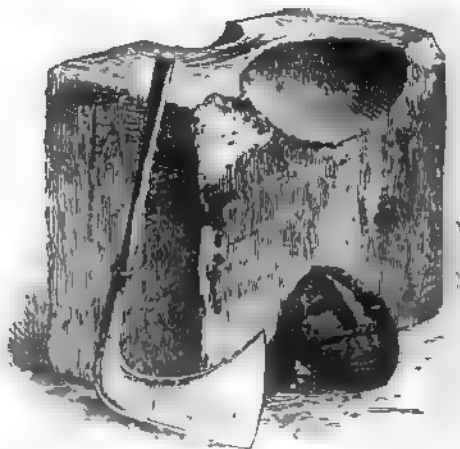
The religion of "Utopia" was in strong contrast, conflict, with the faith of Christendom. It rested simply on nature and reason. It declared God's purpose to be the happiness of man, and that any ascetic rejection of human delights, save in exceptional cases for the common good, was a thanklessness to the Giver which was indeed the blindest and most appalling blasphemy. Christianity, it is true, More admitted to be prevalent in his "Utopia"; but it was a Christianity in which there were few priests, religion centering rather in the family than in the congregation, and each house-

hold confessing its faults to its father or mother instead of a priest. More than a century before William of Orange, Thomas More proclaimed the great principle of toleration, for in "Utopia" it was lawful for every man to believe as he pleased. Disbelievers in God and immortality were excluded from public office, not, however, on the ground of their disbelief, but simply because their opinions were felt to be degrading to mankind, and likely to incapacitate those who held them from governing with nobility of temper, but they were subject to no punishment, because More declared that the people of his undiscovered country, Utopia, were "persuaded that it is not in a man's power to believe what he list."

He anticipated also the desire and dream of all religious philosophers for essential religious unity by his statement that, although each sect in Utopia performed its special rites in private, all assembled at times in a spacious temple to join in prayers and thanksgivings, so framed as to be satisfactory to all. But such a man as Thomas More had no chance to live out his life at such a period, and in 1534 he was brought to the block because he would not dignify with his approval the divorce of his sovereign. Henry VIII. had forced the obsequious Parliament, which in this reign had become simply a tool of regal power instead of a check upon it, to pass what was called an Act of Succession that made legitimate the children of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. This Act of Succession was twofold, requiring an oath to be taken by all persons, not only recognizing Anne's children as the legal heirs to the crown, but containing an acknowledgment that Henry's former marriage with Catherine had been contrary to Scripture, and therefore invalid from the start. The king and his chief counsellor, Thomas Cromwell, knew More's belief on this point, and the invitation to take this oath was merely a summons to death. Thomas More, being unwilling to swear to a deliberate lie, at the age of sixty-four gracefully laid his head on the block, a singular contrast to Charles the First who lost his crown and head a hundred odd years later chiefly because he could not tell the truth.

This was the beginning of what has been aptly styled a Reign of Terror in England, to which the brief period in which Robes-

pierre made the streets of Paris run red was but a slight affair comparatively. From 1530 to 1540, during which time Thomas Cromwell was the chief adviser of Henry the Eighth, the people of England felt "as if a scorpion slept 'neath every stone." While the great revolution that struck down the Church was in progress the English people looked on silently. In the contest over papal power, in the reform of clerical courts, in the lessening of the legislative independence of the clergy, the nation as a whole had sided with the king. But from the utter debasement of the churchmen, the gagging of pulpits, and the suppression of monasteries, the heart of the people revolted. Yet such was the terror in which they had been bound that only here and there in stray facts that have been tossed up to the surface do we catch glimpses of the intense popular discontent and righteous wrath that lay seething in secret under this forced



BLOCK, AX, AND MASK OF HEADSMAN, IN DAYS OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

silence, a wrath destined to break out in later years, and entirely overflow the banks of custom, and sweep away the royal power.

This was a period in which men hardly dared speak to each other lest their lightest phrase should be repeated to some spy, and twisted into an expression of treason, yet even the refuge of complete silence was attempted to be taken away by the most infamous law that had ever blotted a statute book. Secret thought was legislatively made treason, and men were forced to reveal their thoughts on pain of having their silence punished as treason. Had this tyranny lasted very long, it must have turned the frank, outspoken English into a nation of hypocrites. Now, though the former minister, Wolsey, had strained law to the utmost, still he had shrunk from assembling parliaments, because of his feeling

that they were the natural bulwarks of popular liberty against royal encroachment. But Cromwell, not content with rendering judges of the law mere mouth-pieces of the royal will, conceived and carried out during his administration the idea of making Parliament itself but the puppet of a regal potentate as absolutely lawless as any Oriental despot, and with bill after bill Cromwell broke down every legal barrier between his desire for a subject's death, and the speedy gratification of such desire.

It was a singular retribution that the crowning injustice which this pre-eminently bad man sought to introduce into the practice of attainder, namely, the condemnation of a man without hearing his defence, was only practised on himself; for, at the moment of his fall from royal favor in 1540, the council cried unanimously, "He shall be judged by the bloody law he himself has made." And with taunts and execrations bursting from the lords at council, the Duke of Norfolk tore the star of the garter from its ribbon around his neck, and in the month after he was beheaded amid a perfect riot of public applause.

At Cromwell's death the success of his policy seemed complete; monarchy had reached the acme of its power; the former liberties slowly gained by the people appeared lost. The lords or barons had been cowed into submission, and the House of Commons, filled with the creatures of Cromwell, had been transformed into an engine of tyranny. Royal proclamations were superseding parliamentary legislation. Benevolences or forced gifts were encroaching more and more on the right of parliamentary taxation, and the indeterminate powers of the royal council were eclipsing the processes of the common law.

Then, too, the religious changes had thrown an almost sacred character over the majesty of the sovereign. In making himself the head of the church Henry VIII. unconsciously originated the dogma of divine right which was destined to cause his successors among the Stuarts so much trouble. The voice of England's preachers had become the piping echo of the royal will, forms of worship and statements of belief being shifted about at the monarch's caprice like the stock-in-trade with which a juggler amuses his audience. Half of the former wealth of the religious bodies of the kingdom had gone to swell the royal coffers and the other

half lay at his mercy. It must have been this unprecedented and hitherto unimaginable concentration of power in the person of one man which overawed the minds of the people of England, and kept them for years in a state of daze or amazement wondering what next, and which made a large mass of the people come to regard the monarch as a being high above the laws that applied to



EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GREY.

common men. So strong had grown this dreadful servility that Parliament rose as one man and bowed to the empty throne when Henry's name was mentioned, for a slavish devotion had replaced the old loyalty to the law, and when the primate of the English Church was eulogizing Cromwell, he stated, as that minister's chief merit, that he loved the king no less than he loved God.

But no sooner was Cromwell dead than this fabric of king worship which he had built began to crumble away like an ice palace struck by a summer sun. The very success of his measures caused the ruin of his policy. He had succeeded in cowing the

London widow, one Elizabeth Woodville, and his life started happily ; but thorns sprang up under his bed of roses in the shape of her relations, who were clamorous for offices at the expense of the people, and to supply their needs and his own was a task hard and continually harder. Towards the end of his life he revived the old English idea of having a war with France, to obtain funds for which he not only got special grants from Parliament, but extorted money from the principal citizens of London in the form of loans, to which were given at the time the facetious title of "Benevolences." He went over to Calais with great pomp, but instantly accepted the peace proposed by the French king.

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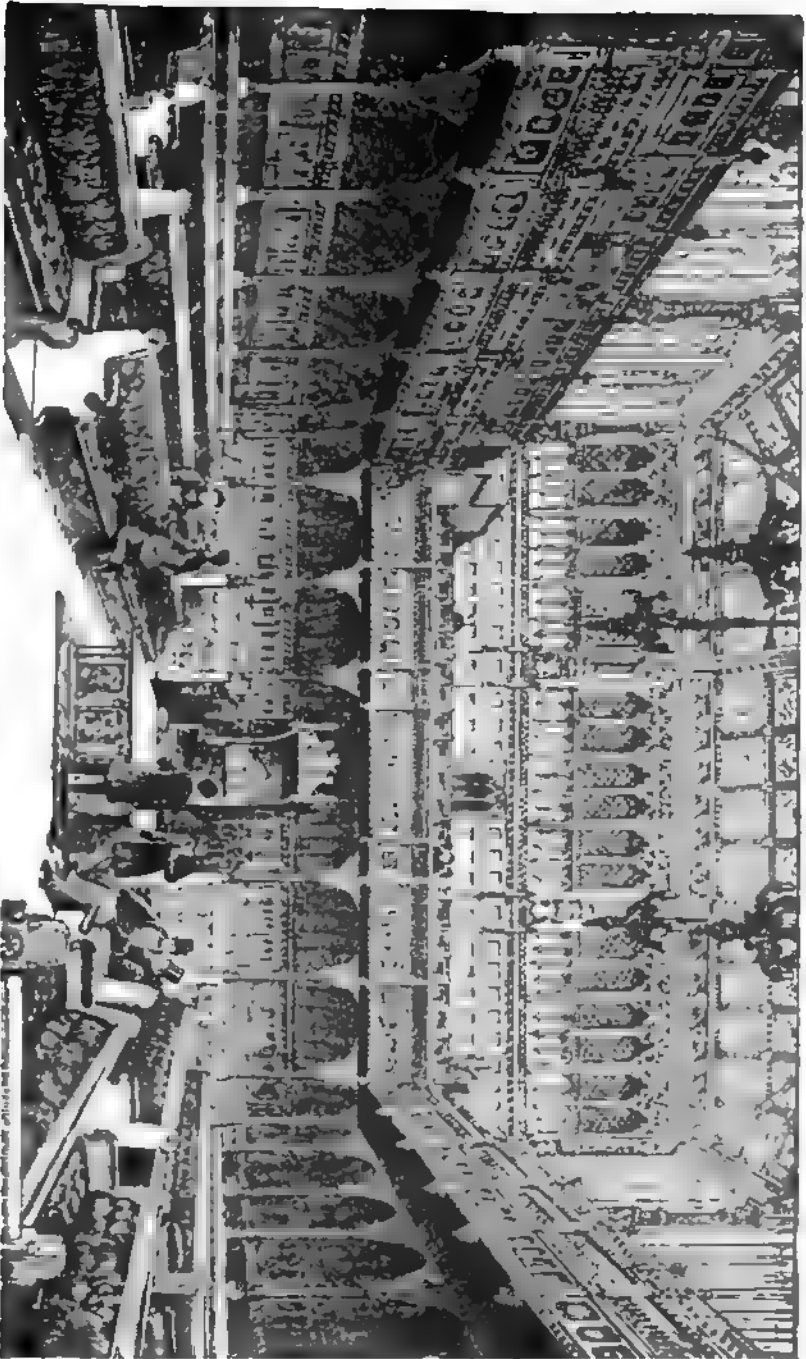
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thousand pounds, — rather a high price to pay for keeping so many retainers. This incident shows how the power of the baronage had been weakened.

Henry VIII. has been epigrammatized by one indignant Englishman as “a huge blot of blood and grease” on the history of his nation. His reign is indeed the part of English history which provokes the profoundest disgust, and yet this epoch, in which the liberty of the subject went to its lowest ebb, and the monarchy reached its worst pitch of cruel, almost insane, absolutism, was in reality a transition period. Some recent historians, Froude for instance, have endeavored to rehabilitate this regal wretch, Henry VIII., and to make out that he was a king of more than ordinary talents, but the truth appears to be that he was fortunate in having about him ministers of unusual intellectual powers, whose abilities he had the trick of absorbing, and of reflecting to a certain extent as his own. He had one gift that often dazzles the multitude, — a tremendous energy, an almost tireless activity in projecting his personality upon his subjects. He never allowed the popular interest to flag for one moment, but played from first to last a gorgeous drama, brutal, barbaric, bizarre, but never dull. His quarrels with the Pope, his tyranny over his nobles, his extraordinary marital record, and the strange apparent success that attended all his wickedness, made him not a popular idol but an object of keener popular concern than any preceding monarch except Henry the Second, Edward the First, and Harry the Fifth.

The religious agitation that sprang from the mere personal whim, passion, and vanity of Henry the Eighth was productive of great intellectual results, although it deluged England with blood for several successive reigns, and fills the close reader of annals with continual horror. The revival of learning which took place in this reign may be said to have shown its most perfect fruit in one man. This was Sir Thomas More, for a long time the adviser of Henry the Eighth, till the crimes of that monarch estranged him. Sir Thomas More died a Catholic, and yet in his delightful book, “Utopia,” More embodied the feelings and aspirations which reveal to us the general yearning that brought about what is called the Reformation. From a world where



THE INTERIOR OF THE HOLAK OF CHIRNOVA.

fifteen hundred years of misapplied Christianity had produced a frightful crop of social injustice, religious intolerance, and class tyranny, this delicately humorous philosopher turned to his conception of Utopia, a country in which the struggles of natural virtue realized those purposes of equality and free fraternity for which alone society has any excuse for existence. In this wonderful book, the parent of so many modern volumes, More touches with a hand of exquisite lightness and almost caressing tenderness all the questions that affect the widest human hearts of to-day. The great problems of labor, of government, of conscience he examines, not merely with a keenness that proves the analytical power of his mind, but in the solutions which he proposes he shows himself possessed of a far-reaching originality. He is not content, like some modern anarchists, with seeking to destroy what is clearly wrong, but anxious to build on its ruins what is nearly right. In some points, such as his treatment of the labor question, he still remains far in advance of average civilized opinion, though it must be admitted that the ranks of those who hold his extremest doctrines are being rapidly increased by accessions of the most intelligent and conscientious thinkers.

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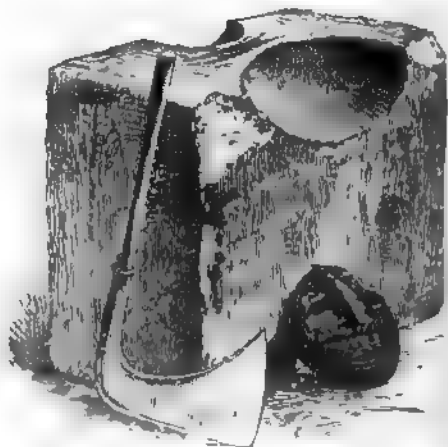
The religion of "Utopia" was in strong contrast, conflict, with the faith of Christendom. It rested simply on nature and reason. It declared God's purpose to be the happiness of man, and that any ascetic rejection of human delights, save in exceptional cases for the common good, was a thanklessness to the Giver which was indeed the blindest and most appalling blasphemy. Christianity, it is true, More admitted to be prevalent in his "Utopia"; but it was a Christianity in which there were few priests, religion centering rather in the family than in the congregation, and each house-

hold confessing its faults to its father or mother instead of a priest. More than a century before William of Orange, Thomas More proclaimed the great principle of toleration, for in "Utopia" it was lawful for every man to believe as he pleased. Disbelievers in God and immortality were excluded from public office, not, however, on the ground of their disbelief, but simply because their opinions were felt to be degrading to mankind, and likely to incapacitate those who held them from governing with nobility of temper, but they were subject to no punishment, because More declared that the people of his undiscovered country, Utopia, were "persuaded that it is not in a man's power to believe what he list."

He anticipated also the desire and dream of all religious philosophers for essential religious unity by his statement that, although each sect in Utopia performed its special rites in private, all assembled at times in a spacious temple to join in prayers and thanksgivings, so framed as to be satisfactory to all. But such a man as Thomas More had no chance to live out his life at such a period, and in 1534 he was brought to the block because he would not dignify with his approval the divorce of his sovereign, Henry VIII. had forced the obsequious Parliament, which in this reign had become simply a tool of regal power instead of a check upon it, to pass what was called an Act of Succession that made legitimate the children of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. This Act of Succession was twofold, requiring an oath to be taken by all persons, not only recognizing Anne's children as the legal heirs to the crown, but containing an acknowledgment that Henry's former marriage with Catherine had been contrary to Scripture, and therefore invalid from the start. The king and his chief counsellor, Thomas Cromwell, knew More's belief on this point, and the invitation to take this oath was merely a summons to death. Thomas More, being unwilling to swear to a deliberate lie, at the age of sixty-four gracefully laid his head on the block, a singular contrast to Charles the First who lost his crown and head a hundred odd years later chiefly because he could not tell the truth.

This was the beginning of what has been aptly styled a Reign of Terror in England, to which the brief period in which Robes-

pierre made the streets of Paris run red was but a slight affair comparatively. From 1530 to 1540, during which time Thomas Cromwell was the chief adviser of Henry the Eighth, the people of England felt "as if a scorpion slept 'neath every stone." While the great revolution that struck down the Church was in progress the English people looked on silently. In the contest over papal power, in the reform of clerical courts, in the lessening of the legislative independence of the clergy, the nation as a whole had sided with the king. But from the utter debasement of the churchmen, the gagging of pulpits, and the suppression of monasteries, the heart of the people revolted. Yet such was the terror in which they had been bound that only here and there in stray facts that have been tossed up to the surface do we catch glimpses of the intense popular discontent and righteous wrath that lay seething in secret under this forced



BLOCK, AX, AND MASK OF HEADSMAN, IN DAYS OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

silence, a wrath destined to break out in later years, and entirely overflow the banks of custom, and sweep away the royal power.

This was a period in which men hardly dared speak to each other lest their lightest phrase should be repeated to some spy, and twisted into an expression of treason, yet even the refuge of complete silence was attempted to be taken away by the most infamous law that had ever blotted a statute book. Secret thought was legislatively made treason, and men were forced to reveal their thoughts on pain of having their silence punished as treason. Had this tyranny lasted very long, it must have turned the frank, outspoken English into a nation of hypocrites. Now, though the former minister, Wolsey, had strained law to the utmost, still he had shrunk from assembling parliaments, because of his feeling

that they were the natural bulwarks of popular liberty against royal encroachment. But Cromwell, not content with rendering judges of the law mere mouth-pieces of the royal will, conceived and carried out during his administration the idea of making Parliament itself but the puppet of a regal potentate as absolutely lawless as any Oriental despot, and with bill after bill Cromwell broke down every legal barrier between his desire for a subject's death, and the speedy gratification of such desire.

It was a singular retribution that the crowning injustice which this pre-eminently bad man sought to introduce into the practice of attainder, namely, the condemnation of a man without hearing his defence, was only practised on himself; for, at the moment of his fall from royal favor in 1540, the council cried unanimously, "He shall be judged by the bloody law he himself has made." And with taunts and execrations bursting from the lords at council, the Duke of Norfolk tore the star of the garter from its ribbon around his neck, and in the month after he was beheaded amid a perfect riot of public applause.

At Cromwell's death the success of his policy seemed complete; monarchy had reached the acme of its power; the former liberties slowly gained by the people appeared lost. The lords or barons had been cowed into submission, and the House of Commons, filled with the creatures of Cromwell, had been transformed into an engine of tyranny. Royal proclamations were superseding parliamentary legislation. Benevolences or forced gifts were encroaching more and more on the right of parliamentary taxation, and the indeterminate powers of the royal council were eclipsing the processes of the common law.

Then, too, the religious changes had thrown an almost sacred character over the majesty of the sovereign. In making himself the head of the church Henry VIII. unconsciously originated the dogma of divine right which was destined to cause his successors among the Stuarts so much trouble. The voice of England's preachers had become the piping echo of the royal will, forms of worship and statements of belief being shifted about at the monarch's caprice like the stock-in-trade with which a juggler amuses his audience. Half of the former wealth of the religious bodies of the kingdom had gone to swell the royal coffers and the other

half lay at his mercy. It must have been this unprecedented and hitherto unimaginable concentration of power in the person of one man which overawed the minds of the people of England, and kept them for years in a state of daze or amazement wondering what next, and which made a large mass of the people come to regard the monarch as a being high above the laws that applied to



EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GREY.

common men. So strong had grown this dreadful servility that Parliament rose as one man and bowed to the empty throne when Henry's name was mentioned, for a slavish devotion had replaced the old loyalty to the law, and when the primate of the English Church was eulogizing Cromwell, he stated, as that minister's chief merit, that he loved the king no less than he loved God.

But no sooner was Cromwell dead than this fabric of king worship which he had built began to crumble away like an ice palace struck by a summer sun. The very success of his measures caused the ruin of his policy. He had succeeded in cowing the



House of Lords and crowding the Commons with members directly or indirectly elected by the royal council; he had made Parliament an accomplice in his attempt at constructing an absolutism; by parliamentary statutes he had dragged the Church down to the feet of the monarch; by bills of attainder he had hounded great nobles to the block; under constitutional forms he had gagged freedom with new treasons, and oaths, and servile questions, but the continuous success of such a system, of course, depended wholly on the continuous servility of Parliament to the will of the crown, and whenever a weak king or a weak minister should happen to be in power, a reversal of the situation would naturally result. Is it not a curious reflection that Cromwell, the wickedest minister of England's cruellest king, should have made the way clear by the very success of his schemes for that other Cromwell a hundred years after, who gave a death blow to the dogma of the divine right of kings?

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The feeling of nationality was intensified, the great success which accident and the ability to take advantage of accident gave to English arms against the Spanish Armada not only crippled her most formidable rival, but awakened England to the idea that she might become not merely a great naval power but a great colonizing power.

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Their comparative power has waned somewhat through the extension of the empire and the vast increase in population unaccompanied by a corresponding increase in education, and yet to-day, unsatisfactory as are both on the spiritual side, the majority of men are either Shakespeareans in the practical conduct of life, or, if their minds have a more philosophic cast, are Baconians. Yet, strange to say, Shakespeare appears to have had no reverence for the future, as Bacon had none for the past.

Bacon's attitude towards theology and psychology which he left entirely out of his system of human knowledge is paralleled by Shakespeare's inability to see any spiritual meaning or any political possibility in the great Puritan movement which was well under way in his time. He saw in the Puritans mere objects for theatric mirth, just as Bacon saw in all churchmen persons unworthy the consideration of a philosopher. Of the popular trend of Puritanism (and faulty as it was, Puritanism was the first political system which recognized the grandeur of the people as a whole) Shakespeare knew nothing. Socially, the poet reflects the aristocratic view of life and his philosophy is essentially Horatian: "Get as much out of life as possible and laugh while you live, for you may be a long time dead." And yet the Puritan movement despised by these men was the most vital and grandest force that had appeared in the nation's development; for, however much we may abhor its modern displays of narrowness, it brought into England a new conception of social equality. The common brotherhood in Christ which it taught conspired to confound that overwhelming sense of personal difference which feudalism had established. It is true that even now there are very many Englishmen of the middle and lower classes who cringe to anyone that comes from the ancient gentry, whether he bears a title or not, and who also cringe to any rich tradesman who has bought a title either directly or by political service, as in the recent case of sundry manufacturers of beer and porter.

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A fact worthy of notice under the Tudors was the comparative absence of rebellions. Only two great risings occurred against the reform policy, the Pilgrimage of Grace, as it was called, and the rebellion of the Nevilles and Percies in 1569. Each of these was of the type usual under the Plantagenets, where the great nobles raised the whole countryside against the policy of the crown. The other insurrections during the Tudor dynasty, such as those of Ket and Wyatt, were local and for special causes, but the ease with which these risings were suppressed indicates the general popularity of the government, or the acquiescence of the majority of the people in a strong rule.

The reason of this is to be found, perhaps, partly in the extension of the commercial spirit. The rise of commercialism or the increase of trade in a nation produces a class anxious to have a steady government rather than one subject to political fluctuations, and even if such a government does trench on the liberty of the individual a general consent to the loss of some individuality for the sake of security is one of the common compromises of a com-



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This effort of the people lasted exactly one hundred years, and during that time the old liberties won under the Plantagenets were regained with such certainty that they have never since then been dangerously infringed. The change from the Tudors to the Stuarts to be thoroughly understood necessitates a consideration of kingship in Europe. The conception of kingship was modified markedly by the events of the sixteenth century; the idea of a feudal sovereign was replaced by that of a personal monarch and its opposite, a constitutional king. As the clash of these ideas was the cause of the struggle between the Stuarts and their parliaments, which culminated in the bringing of Charles to the block, and the establishment of a republic, perhaps it is well to examine rather closely into the meaning of these modifications. In mediæval times, society was founded on the feudal system which we have outlined in a previous note. It was a vast pyramid with serfdom at the foot, and at the head an emperor, for Europe still accounted itself a Roman Empire of which the Emperor of Germany and the Pope represented the chief temporal and spiritual authorities. Under the Emperor were ranged the kings and their subjects; under the Pope the archbishops and their clergy.

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ШАХМАТНИК И РАБНО ДВОРЕЦ КИЗАНДЕРИ.



making over the entire lump, is working surely, and the admiration of royalty and of nobility *per se* is on the wane never again to wax. The intensity of this Puritan feeling when it first arose in England can hardly be described, but must be left largely to the imagination. It was like a new revelation from Him who preached the Sermon on the Mount. It was Christianity speaking again to all kinds and classes with the same freshness and force with which this great religion spoke, when inspiring the hearts of its earliest followers to fling themselves into the arena against the colossal power of the Roman Empire. Under the teaching of Puritanism the meanest peasant felt himself ennobled, and the proudest noble recognized that there might be between himself and his lowest vassal such a thing as spiritual equality. Macaulay's flippant sneer to the effect that the Puritan objected to the popular sport of bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators, is by no means a just one. That Puritanism at times ran into excesses of asceticism, is not to be denied, but a great popular movement, like a great individual life, should be judged by its best, not by its worst or by the excesses of its best.

A fact worthy of notice under the Tudors was the comparative absence of rebellions. Only two great risings occurred against the reform policy, the Pilgrimage of Grace, as it was called, and the rebellion of the Nevilles and Percies in 1569. Each of these was of the type usual under the Plantagenets, where the great nobles raised the whole countryside against the policy of the crown. The other insurrections during the Tudor dynasty, such as those of Ket and Wyatt, were local and for special causes, but the ease with which these risings were suppressed indicates the general popularity of the government, or the acquiescence of the majority of the people in a strong rule.

The reason of this is to be found, perhaps, partly in the extension of the commercial spirit. The rise of commercialism or the increase of trade in a nation produces a class anxious to have a steady government rather than one subject to political fluctuations, and even if such a government does trench on the liberty of the individual a general consent to the loss of some individuality for the sake of security is one of the common compromises of a com-



"MY LORD, WE'VE TIME TO FINISH THE GAME AND DRAT THE SPANIARDS, TOO."

mercial civilization. Then, too, the necessity of self-preservation as a nation had contributed to the maintenance of internal quiet, for England had been under the shadow of great dangers from European complications through the personal conduct of Henry the Eighth, and this shadow hung over the land through the reign of Elizabeth till the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. One of the incidents most characteristic of the English temper at this time is that shown in the illustration. When the Spanish Armada hove in sight, Sir Francis Drake, Frobisher, Lord Howard and other naval commanders were playing a game of nine-pins. The picture tells the story. After the disastrous defeat of the Spaniards, England, no longer breathlessly anxious for her own national existence, was able to turn her attention from outside security to the acquisition of internal or constitutional freedom, and then it became evident that the calm which had prevailed under the Tudors was merely the incubation of a tempest.

This effort of the people lasted exactly one hundred years, and during that time the old liberties won under the Plantagenets were regained with such certainty that they have never since then been dangerously infringed. The change from the Tudors to the Stuarts to be thoroughly understood necessitates a consideration of kingship in Europe. The conception of kingship was modified markedly by the events of the sixteenth century; the idea of a feudal sovereign was replaced by that of a personal monarch and its opposite, a constitutional king. As the clash of these ideas was the cause of the struggle between the Stuarts and their parliaments, which culminated in the bringing of Charles to the block, and the establishment of a republic, perhaps it is well to examine rather closely into the meaning of these modifications. In mediæval times, society was founded on the feudal system which we have outlined in a previous note. It was a vast pyramid with serfdom at the foot, and at the head an emperor, for Europe still accounted itself a Roman Empire of which the Emperor of Germany and the Pope represented the chief temporal and spiritual authorities. Under the Emperor were ranged the kings and their subjects; under the Pope the archbishops and their clergy.

But this ideal of feudalism was not altogether realized. Eng-

land always claimed independence of the Holy Roman Empire, and when the Emperor Sigismund visited Henry V. it was expressly stipulated that he came as a visitor and not as one claiming any authority over the island, or any allegiance from the king of England. As the mistiness of the Middle Ages melted away before the rising sun of reviving learning, the old ideal began to crumble rapidly, the Emperors losing their hold on Italy and Germany, and becoming mere German princes. In like manner the Reformation broke up the ecclesiastical entirety, and of course when England, Scotland, Holland, and much of Germany threw over the papacy, in this fresh condition a fresh theory of kingship had to be formed. From the standpoint of the king, therefore, the theory was advanced that sovereigns derived their authority directly from God himself without any intermediation of Emperor or Pope. This dogma of divine right made the sovereign owner of all his dominions in a sense unknown to feudal times, and changed his relation to the law, for in old times a king had been just as much bound by the customs of the realm as any of his subjects. On the other hand an absolutely opposite view of the king's position grew out of the Reformation, the central



DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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ideas of which agitation were the right of private judgment, and the doctrine of justification by faith. These theories, leaving no logical place for priestly or royal authority, carried with them the claim that all men were equal before God, and, if before God, much more so before men.

Such views were, of course, not formulated at the accession of James I., whom Elizabeth on her death-bed vaguely named as her successor, but they were in the air, and even if James had been a strong man he would have had to encounter them not once but again and again. He was not a strong man, though perhaps the most learned king in Europe, and he showed his weakness and lack of judgment by pushing pretensions which even the Tudors would not have dared to do, for no Tudor would have claimed to be above the law. If laws stood in their way they had no scruple about violating or circumventing them, but they never thought of claiming to do so as a right. James did, and at the same time the popular impression which he made when he arrived in his new kingdom was not favorable, for he was followed by a train of needy Scots who looked upon England as a place to be pillaged politely. At Newark, the king caused a pickpocket to be hung on the spot without trial, and when some Puritan clergy presented a petition for certain alterations in the prayer-book, ten of their leaders were thrown into prison by his majesty's orders. Hence by the time he had reached London, England was well assured that, to secure English liberty from further undermining, and to prevent the manipulation of her politics by alien adventurers, a constant vigilance must be exerted.

The feeling in regard to the deluge of Scotchmen, which overwhelmed England when the Stuarts came in, has been vented by some celebrated Englishmen with a certain grim humor that is delightful in itself, though any maintenance of national or provincial prejudice is utterly and intrinsically absurd. The first to crack any historic joke on this point seems to have been Guy Fawkes, who was the chief conspirator in an attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament, a plot partly political and partly religious. When Guy Fawkes, carefully guarded, just after his arrest, was taken before the king who asked him some questions, a little Scotch lord in attendance inquired why the conspirators

had put so very much gunpowder under Parliament, thirty-six barrels seeming to his thrifty Scotch mind rather an extravagant amount for the task. To this silly question, Fawkes replied with extreme gravity, that he thought that amount necessary, as it was his design not merely to blow up Parliament but to blow all the Scotchmen back to Scotland. This, and in the next century Dr. Johnson's definition in his dictionary of oats as a grain that in England was food for horses and in Scotland food for men, and in the next century Macaulay's lament over the lost glories of Greece, "that her temples had been given up to the successive depredations of Romans, Turks, and Scotchmen," show how intense and deepseated a national prejudice may sometimes grow.

At this time Parliament had the sole right of making laws, but this right had been continually encroached on by the use of proclamations from the king and his council, and Parliament had no control over the appointment of the king's ministers from the chancellor or the treasurer to the sheriffs and magistrates. The judicial part of the kingdom was divided into two classes; courts of Star Chamber and High Commission and the ordinary courts of the land. Over the first the nation had no control, the judges being appointed by the king and acting without juries; nor in the ordinary jury courts were the rights of the subject safe, for the king appointed and dismissed the judges and, as he indirectly appointed the sheriffs, and the sheriff chose the jury, there was sure to be a strong bias in the king's favor. Besides this, a man accused of a criminal offence was not furnished with a copy of the indictment or a list of the witnesses against him till the day of trial; nor was he permitted to examine witnesses upon oath, from which it will be seen that the law courts originally intended for the protection of the subject had become merely instruments for his oppression.


The only hope, then, lay in Parliament, but there was now no law compelling the king to summon one. Nor, so long as he could pay his way without additional taxes, or get money without a parliamentary grant, was there any likelihood that he would summon an assembly which, when once convened, might make laws to impede or entangle his future movements. It is therefore due in some degree to the bad economy of the Stuarts that they were

brought face to face with the national assembly which finally wiped them out.

During the reign of James I. Parliament was occupied only with the assertion or reassertion of its former rights; but from 1614 to 1621 no Parliament met, and James had full chance to develop his dogma of divine right or of governing the country as an absolute sovereign. Now James I. had considerable ability of the smooth intriguing kind, and only skirmishes occurred between him and Parliament, preparations as it were, or trials of strength, for the pitched battle of the reign of Charles.

Charles lacked his father's smoothness, and took his father's theory of divine right still more seriously. Between 1625 and 1629 he had three parliaments. Between 1629 and 1640 he had none at all. During that period he ruled with help of a few advisers and made no endeavor to take into his confidence the body of the nation. His queen, Henrietta Maria, was vain and extravagant, and the example of economy in court expenses set by Elizabeth became merely a tradition, for the cost of the royal household rose to about ten times the Elizabethan amount, and thus it became impossible for the king to live upon his ordinary income. Therefore he began collecting taxes through the servility of judges in all sorts of illegal ways, and the people began to resent it, at first individually, soon collectively. In 1628, Robert Chambers, a London merchant who refused to pay the unlawful taxes on trade, when summoned before the Court of Exchequer, said there was no country in Europe where merchants received so little encouragement, and that it was as bad as living under Turkish tyranny, for which freedom of speech he was tried before the Court of Star Chamber for "trying to make people believe that Charles' happy government was a Turkish tyranny." He was fined two thousand pounds and sent to the tower where, refusing either to pay or to apologize, he was kept until released by the Long Parliament.

Monopolies had long been made illegal, but Charles' attorney-general, Noy, affirmed that though the law forbade the granting of a monopoly to one person, it did not forbid the granting of the same to two, and thus the sole right of selling various articles was granted by Charles to companies of individuals who paid a






CHARLES I.

large sum on the spot, and a royalty on the amount. We have here the germ of our trusts and syndicates, equally illegal in the face of original law. These monopolies were granted for soap, starch, gunpowder, and so many other things that it looked as if in time every article in common use would be absorbed by some company, and the general traders and merchants became thoroughly dismayed at the spread of a system so delightful to a few, so disastrous to the many.

Not satisfied with cutting the ground from under the feet of the merchants, Charles next proceeded to stamp on the toes of the nobility by a new scheme to gain money. At the Conquest the old-folk-land or common land of the people had been annexed by the king under the name of the king's forest. This had been a large source of revenue to the Plantagenet kings, but had dwindled away partly in gifts to courtiers, and partly in encroachments by neighboring barons at times when the crown had been unable to enforce its rights. In this way large tracts of forest land had been lost; Rockingham forest, for instance, which had once been sixty miles across now being reduced to six.

Suddenly Charles determined to reassert these rights which for centuries had lain in abeyance, and he sent Lord Holland throughout the realm to reclaim all the land within the old boundaries to which its present holders could show no exact title, and to find in addition those who were found to have thus trespassed on the original royal domain. In Essex alone three hundred thousand pounds was thus raised, and the Earl of Essex was nearly ruined. Such distress caused to the nobility generally is the reason why so many noble houses in the civil war that ensued were found on the Republican side.

The next to suffer were the country gentry. By an old law owners of land worth twenty pounds a year, that is, about two hundred pounds at the present time, were to be knighted. This practice had decayed, and Charles took advantage of the fact to send an inquisition into the country, and fine those gentry who had not complied with the obsolete law. A statute of Queen Elizabeth had ordered every cottage to have four acres of land attached to it, and numerous proclamations had been made against the building of more houses in London, but none of these had



been enforced till Charles sent another commission for twenty miles around London to look into the matter. The poor, according to the phrase of the time, were "mightily vexed," and one builder was fined a thousand pounds and ordered to pull down forty new houses or pay a thousand pounds more. Inn-keepers were taxed on wine, and when they refused, forced into compliance by a prohibition to cook any meat. The result was that in one way or another beer, wine, tobacco, soap, etc., were all taxed, and Charles raised his revenue from five hundred thousand pounds to eight hundred thousand.

Still this was not enough for Charles, though the people were beginning to consider Scotch kings a costly luxury. The sums squandered on court festivities had left little for the ordinary expenses of government. Salaries had fallen into arrears, and the navy, England's protection against foreign invasion and against pirates, had been totally neglected. To remedy this, Charles decided to increase the navy and his own income at the same time. English kings had been in the habit of collecting money from seaboard counties and towns in time of war to furnish themselves with a navy, and Charles determined to extend this tax to inland counties. This ship money, as it was called, created an immensity of indignation because it was clearly seen that under guise of providing a navy Charles was really attempting to establish a precedent for making himself independent of Parliament.

The trial of Hampden, which occurred in 1637, for refusing to pay the ship tax was the first declaration of independence on the part of an English gentleman, and therefore attracted far more attention than the protests or refusals of members of the mercantile class. Hampden's resistance thrilled through England just at the moment when men were being roused by the news that the patience of Scotland had been at last exhausted, and that the Scottish people and clergy did not intend to submit any longer to clerical oppression, backed up by legal tyranny.

The king had ordered the clergy of Edinburgh to introduce the prayer-book into their churches, but no sooner was it opened at the church of St. Giles, July 23, 1636, than a murmur arose among the congregation and swelled into such a formidable riot

that the church had to be cleared by the officers of the law. The judges, however, were so frightened by the rising wrath of the people that they rendered a decision that the royal writ commanded only the purchase, and not the use of the prayer-book.

The trial of Hampden, as far as he was concerned personally, was a farce, for the judges, being mere creatures of the king, with two exceptions, decided that although Hampden's lawyers had shown by an unbroken series of evidence that taxation by the king without consent of Parliament was illegal, nevertheless the king was above all law. Out of the twelve judges two voted for Hampden, one decided against the king on technical grounds, the other nine decided for the king. Four years after this Charles, not having money enough to carry on the war against Presbyterianism in Scotland, by the advice of his chief counsellor, the Earl of Strafford, called a Parliament which, on account of its brief duration, has been styled the Short Parliament.

Every member of the Commons knew that the battle for religious liberty in Scotland was a battle also for the political liberty of every individual Englishman, and instead of voting money to the king to prosecute his Scottish campaign, this Parliament declared that no subsidy should be granted till security had been given for religion, property, and parliamentary liberty. An offer to give up the ship money tax failed to lure Parliament away from this firm stand, and after three weeks' sitting the king exercised his prerogative by dissolving it, and Strafford, his minister, maintained that the refusal of Parliament to supply the king's wants freed the king from all rule of government, and entitled him to supply himself at his royal pleasure. Meantime so successful were the Scots that Charles was forced to summon a great council of the peers at York to help him. These nobles generally repudiated his projects and again he was driven to summon a Parliament which was called the Long Parliament.

The great light of this time now began to shine in the person of John Pym, the finest as he was the first of parliamentary leaders. Of the five hundred members he was the one who clearly foresaw the certainty that Parliament and the crown had met for a death struggle. He was the first English statesman who discerned and tried to apply what may be called the doctrine of

constitutional proportion. Pym saw that, as an element of national life, Parliament must outrank the crown, or else it was of no consequence at all. He saw, too, that of Parliament the



THE TRIAL OF HAMPDEN.

essential part was the House of Commons. On these two points he based his policy. When Charles refused to act with Parliament Pym treated such conduct as a temporary abdication which



vested the entire executive in the two Houses until new arrangements were made. When the lords obstructed public business, he served warning upon them that such tactics would only force the Commons "to save the kingdom *alone*."

Revolutionary principles these, but they have been recognized as bases of the English constitution since the day when Pym declared them. The first principle was established deep below any future uprooting or shaking by the Convention and Parliament which followed on the departure of James II., in 1688. The second principle was recognized and ratified by the acknowledgment on all sides since the Reform Bill of 1832, that the government of England is really in the hands of the House of Commons, and can only be carried on by ministers who represent the majority of that house. As Strafford, the chief minister of Charles, represents royal tyranny and England at its lowest point of national degradation, so John Pym stands out on the canvas of history as the embodiment of law, a face looking always towards the future.

This Long Parliament which Pym managed undid one by one the lawless acts of Charles' government. Ship money was declared illegal; the judgment in Hampden's case was annulled; one of the judges committed to prison; the statute declaring the ancient right of the subject, that no subsidy, custom, impost, or any charge whatsoever ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, *without common consent of Parliament* ended forever all pretensions of the crown to any right of arbitrary taxation; and a triennial bill called for an assembly of the House every three years, and bound the returning officers to proceed to election even if the royal writ failed to summon them.

Not satisfied with this the Commons proceeded to impeach the king's minister, Strafford, for high treason. Charles, always plotting, apparently abandoned Strafford to his fate, and when it was discovered that the king was listening to counsellors who proposed that the army should march on London, seize the Tower, free Strafford and do away with Parliament, Strafford's doom was sealed. The Londoners were roused to frenzy and as the peers gathered at Westminster, crowds saluted them with hoarse

cries for "Justice." Yielding to this cry the House of Lords passed the bill of attainder found against Strafford by the Commons to which two days later Charles gave his signature, thus sacrificing perhaps one of the most faithful servants a bad king ever possessed, and over this crowning act of royal meanness the London streets blazed with bonfires, and bells rang out from every steeple.

The courage of the two Houses of Parliament had now risen, and it became evident to all that civil war was inevitable. Charles dispatched one of his adherents, the Earl of Newcastle, to muster an army in the north, and both sides prepared for the coming struggle. The queen sailed for the continent to pawn the crown jewels and buy munitions of war. The cavaliers, as the king's party were called, gathered round him and to the last proposals of Parliament, demanding the power of appointing and dismissing the royal ministers, of naming guardians for the royal children, and of virtually controlling military, civil, and religious affairs, Charles retorted: "If I granted your demands, I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king."

Then began the grandest era of English history with the battle of Edge Hill, October 23, 1642. This was a drawn battle, but the moral advantage rested with the king, for it showed him to be stronger than had been generally supposed, and many, therefore, flocked to his standard. It is almost impossible to state briefly the rapid succession of striking events which mark this period. The battles of Edge Hill, and Chalgrove Field where Hampden fell, were not decisive, nor did the success of the parliamentary party become assured till the Commons made a covenant with Scotland to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest uniformity in religion in form of church government, and incidentally, as they expressed it, "to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, schism, and profaneness, and to preserve the rights and privileges of Parliament, and to unite the two kingdoms of Scotland and England in a firm peace and union to all posterity."

In the next great battle, that of Marston Moor, July 2, 1644, there came into prominence for the first time a leader whose very name even for a hundred years after his death sounded a menace

in the case of kings, for it is a matter of record that in the last century when an English gentleman who had married a descendant of Oliver Cromwell petitioned that his name might be changed by the Parliament to that of his wife's family, King George refused the request.

Oliver Cromwell, whose flank charge turned the tide of the battle of Marston. He is a man whose surpassing greatness cannot be summarized in a brief sketch like this. He was the giant of the English Revolution. During the civil war some of the parliamentary leaders shrank from obtaining a complete victory over the king, and after defeating his forces they would permit him to remain in good order instead of attempting to capture him and put an end to the war. The old superstition of loyalty was still too strong. They did not desire to crush him, but to bring him back to the position of a constitutional, instead of an absolute monarch, and they shrank from the taint of treason—a superstition which exercised still a tremendous influence over the English mind.

"Let the king be beaten," argued Lord Manchester at Newbury, "but he will be king; if he beat us, he will hang us all for rebels."

"I will beat the king in battle," retorted Cromwell, "I would fire upon him just the same as at another."

But Cromwell declared that the parliamentary leaders were afraid to conquer, and that unless the whole force were new-made, and more strictly disciplined, no settled success could be expected. He saw that it was necessary for success to oppose enthusiasm with enthusiasm.

"A set of poor tapsters and town apprentices," he said, "would never fight against men of honor," or such as followed the banner of Charles from a principle of devotion as intensely real as it was immensely mistaken. Cromwell had early discerned that attachment to a religious cause was the one weapon which could meet and overthrow the chivalry of the cavalier. So he had gathered round him as a nucleus a regiment of a thousand men, a "lovely company" he called them. No blasphemy, drinking, disorder, or anything else were allowed in these ranks. "Not a man swears but he swears twelve-pence." Nor was his choice of religious men his

only innovation on the military customs of the time. Social tradition had limited command of regiments to men of birth, but Cromwell said: "I had rather have a plain, russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows than what you call a gentleman and is nothing else, though I honor a gentleman that is so indeed."

The civil war came to an end at the battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645. Charles, indeed, went wandering helplessly along the borders of Wales in search of fresh forces, but the spring of 1646 saw the few troops that still clung to the king surrounded and captured at Stow. "You have done your work now," said their leader, Sir Jacob Astley, to his conquerors, "and may go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves."

With the end of the civil war came a time of extreme confusion but of greater interest than even the war itself in its bearing on English history. Modern England, as a political entity, began with the triumph of Cromwell at Naseby. When Astley gave up his sword a little later, the "work" of the generations that had striven for public liberty in his own emphatic phrase was "done." However the later Stuarts might struggle to revive their absolute claims, England could safely "go to play." But a new work had commenced; the constitutional and ecclesiastical problems that still beset English politics in the shape of home rule and the national church came to the front as subjects of debate in the years between the close of the civil war and the death of Charles. The great parties that have ever since divided the social, political, and religious life of England, either as Independents and Presbyterians, Whigs and Tories, Conservatives and Liberals, sprang into organization from the contest between the army which the civil war had created as an independent force and the Parliament which had created the civil war.

Then began for the first time a conscious struggle, far from ended yet, between political tradition and political progress, between the principle of religious conformity and that of religious freedom. From 1646 to 1649 England was a cauldron of conspiracy on the part of the defeated king, who had given himself up to the army in Scotland in 1646, and with characteristic kingly policy tried to play off the Scotch covenanters against

their English allies, but the Scottish army, accepting four hundred thousand pounds in discharge of its claims, surrendered Charles to a committee of Parliament in January, 1647. Charles spent the rest of his time on earth in intriguing to cause trouble between the Parliament and the army.

There was still a curious reverence felt for him even by his conquerors, and when the army demanded that "the capital and grand author of our troubles, by whose commissions, commands and procurements all our wars and troubles have been, may be specially brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief he is guilty of," this demand drove the Houses to a sort of perplexed despair. They had been negotiating with the king for certain concessions as a basis of return to something like the old order, and their reply to this demand from the army was to accept the king's so-called concessions. This act was construed by the military party as a defiance, and Charles was seized and carried off to Hurst Castle, the bulk of the army moving on London.

"We shall know now," said Vane, as the troops surrounded the Houses of Parliament, "who is on the side of the king, and who on the side of the people." But fear of the army was weaker among the members than the agonized loyalty that strove to save the monarchy and the church. A large majority of both Houses voted to have Charles back again on his own terms.

The next morning Colonel Pride appeared in behalf of the Army's Council of Officers at the door of the House of Commons with a list of forty members of the majority, and as each member appeared he was arrested and put in confinement. "By what right do you this?" asked one of the members. "By the right of the sword," said Hugh Peters. The House still held out, but the next morning forty more members were excluded and the rest yielded. Then the two great powers which for five years had waged this bitter conflict, the Parliament and the monarchy, melted away; the remnant who remained to coöperate with, or carry out the will of the army, was no longer a representative body. In the coarse imagery of popular speech, they were but the "rump" of a parliament, and by this name have passed into history.

The House of Lords at this time had practically vanished

and the next act of this revised House of Commons was a resolution for the trial of Charles, and a nomination of a court of a hundred and fifty commissioners to conduct it, with John Bradshaw, a lawyer of eminence, at their head. The rejection of this ordinance by the few peers who still remained brought out this resolution from the lower House: "That the people are, under God, the original of all just power; that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation, and that whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king or House of Peers be not had thereunto."

Charles appeared before Bradshaw's court denying its competence and refusing to plead. Thirty-two witnesses were examined to satisfy the consciences of his judges, and on the fifth day he was condemned to death as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and enemy of his country." The dignity which he had failed to show in his wrangling with Bradshaw and the judges returned to him as death drew near. As Macaulay says: "He went to the block with a placid courage that has half redeemed his fame." Two masked executioners waited on him as he mounted the scaffold which had been built outside one of the windows of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. Streets and roofs were thronged with spectators, and a strong guard of soldiers stood below. The king's head fell at the first blow, and as the executioner lifted it by its long locks to the sight of all, groans of pity and horror mixed with the shouts of triumph from the populace representing the nation he had misruled.

The news of Charles' death thrilled royal Europe with horror. The Czar of Russia drove the English envoy from his court. France withdrew her ambassador from England on the proclamation of the Republic. The Protestant powers of the continent were more anxious than any to disavow all connection with a people who had killed their king. Holland took the lead in acts of open hostility to the English Commonwealth, paying a solemn official visit to the Prince of Wales who took the title of Charles II., and refusing an audience to the English envoys. In Scotland

the Duke of Argyle proclaimed Charles II. king, and invited him from Holland to ascend the throne.

Hesitation and delay marked the course of the Commons in entering on their new task of reconstructing the government. Six weeks passed before the monarchy was formally abolished, and the government of the nation provided for by the creation of a council of state consisting of forty-one members selected from the Commons who were entrusted with full executive power at home or abroad. Two months more elapsed before the passing of the memorable act of May 19, 1649, which declared "that the people of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging are, and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be a commonwealth and free state, and shall henceforward be governed as a commonwealth and free state by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers for the good of the people, and that without any king or House of Lords."

Trouble in Ireland, trouble in Scotland, trouble with Holland stared them in the face; but with Cromwell for their leader all difficulties were transmuted into triumphs. Charles the Second was in Scotland at this time, but to secure the support of the Scotch he had been put to the greatest humiliations. He had subscribed to the Presbyterian covenant, he had listened to sermons and scoldings from the ministers, he had been called on to sign a declaration that, while it promised better behavior on his part, acknowledged the tyranny of his father and the idolatrousness of his mother, who was a Catholic.

Shameless as he was, the young king momentarily recoiled. "I could never look my mother in the face again after signing such a paper," he said; but he signed. He was a king, however, only in name, and after the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651, in which Cromwell's loss was little, and the Scots lost six thousand men, with all their baggage and artillery, Charles the Second fled the field, and after months of wandering escaped to France.

The conduct of Cromwell after these victories, in dissolving the Parliament and taking for a while supreme command of the

nation, was a necessity of the times. He looked on the legal defects of his title to the office of protector as more than supplied by the consent of the nation. "I called not myself to this place," he urged; "God and the people of these kingdoms have borne testimony to it." His rule had been acquiesced in by London, by the army, by the solemn decision of the judges, by addresses from every shire, by the appearance of members of the new Parliament of 1654 in answer to his writ of summons. "Why may I not balance this providence," he asked, "with any hereditary interest?" He discerned in this national approval a call from God; a divine right of a higher order than that of the kings who had gone before.

But with the dissolution of this Parliament of 1654 ended all show of constitutional rule. Cromwell's protectorate became a simple tyranny. Cromwell, indeed, professed to be restrained by an ordinance drawn up by one of the early Councils of State, called the Instrument of Government; but the one restraint on his power which this instrument provided, namely the inability to levy taxes save by consent of Parliament, he set aside on the plea of necessity.

"The people," said he, in words that Charles the First's great minister Strafford might have used, "will prefer their real security to mere forms." From this moment, Whitelock tells us, "many sober and noble lovers of their country, in despair of public liberty, did begin to incline to the restoration of the Stuarts." If tyranny could be pardoned, the wisdom with which Cromwell used the power he had usurped, the grandeur of his rule, and the vast extent — reaching even to the present — of the benefits which his management of her foreign affairs gave to England, would win pardon for Cromwell. "We always reckon those eight years of the usurpation," said the royalist Burnet afterwards, "a time of great peace and prosperity."

It was not vulgar flattery which influenced the Parliament of his creation to offer Cromwell the title of king which he refused, as Cæsar did on a similar occasion, for the experience of the nation had taught these men to find a certain value in the traditional forms under which their liberties had developed. They really wished Cromwell to become their king, for a king was



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brought face to face with the national assembly which finally wiped them out.

During the reign of James I. Parliament was occupied only with the assertion or reassertion of its former rights; but from 1614 to 1621 no Parliament met, and James had full chance to develop his dogma of divine right or of governing the country as an absolute sovereign. Now James I. had considerable ability of the smooth intriguing kind, and only skirmishes occurred between him and Parliament, preparations as it were, or trials of strength, for the pitched battle of the reign of Charles.

Charles lacked his father's smoothness, and took his father's theory of divine right still more seriously. Between 1625 and 1629 he had three parliaments. Between 1629 and 1640 he had none at all. During that period he ruled with help of a few advisers and made no endeavor to take into his confidence the body of the nation. His queen, Henrietta Maria, was vain and extravagant, and the example of economy in court expenses set by Elizabeth became merely a tradition, for the cost of the royal household rose to about ten times the Elizabethan amount, and thus it became impossible for the king to live upon his ordinary income. Therefore he began collecting taxes through the servility of judges in all sorts of illegal ways, and the people began to resent it, at first individually, soon collectively. In 1628, Robert Chambers, a London merchant who refused to pay the unlawful taxes on trade, when summoned before the Court of Exchequer, said there was no country in Europe where merchants received so little encouragement, and that it was as bad as living under Turkish tyranny, for which freedom of speech he was tried before the Court of Star Chamber for "trying to make people believe that Charles' happy government was a Turkish tyranny." He was fined two thousand pounds and sent to the tower where, refusing either to pay or to apologize, he was kept until released by the Long Parliament.

Monopolies had long been made illegal, but Charles' attorney-general, Noy, affirmed that though the law forbade the granting of a monopoly to one person, it did not forbid the granting of the same to two, and thus the sole right of selling various articles was granted by Charles to companies of individuals who paid a



CHARLES I.

large sum on the spot, and a royalty on the amount. We have here the germ of our trusts and syndicates, equally illegal in the face of original law. These monopolies were granted for soap, starch, gunpowder, and so many other things that it looked as if in time every article in common use would be absorbed by some company, and the general traders and merchants became thoroughly dismayed at the spread of a system so delightful to a few, so disastrous to the many.

Not satisfied with cutting the ground from under the feet of the merchants, Charles next proceeded to stamp on the toes of the nobility by a new scheme to gain money. At the Conquest the old-folk-land or common land of the people had been annexed by the king under the name of the king's forest. This had been a large source of revenue to the Plantagenet kings, but had dwindled away partly in gifts to courtiers, and partly in encroachments by neighboring barons at times when the crown had been unable to enforce its rights. In this way large tracts of forest land had been lost; Rockingham forest, for instance, which had once been sixty miles across now being reduced to six.

Suddenly Charles determined to reassert these rights which for centuries had lain in abeyance, and he sent Lord Holland throughout the realm to reclaim all the land within the old boundaries to which its present holders could show no exact title, and to find in addition those who were found to have thus trespassed on the original royal domain. In Essex alone three hundred thousand pounds was thus raised, and the Earl of Essex was nearly ruined. Such distress caused to the nobility generally is the reason why so many noble houses in the civil war that ensued were found on the Republican side.

The next to suffer were the country gentry. By an old law owners of land worth twenty pounds a year, that is, about two hundred pounds at the present time, were to be knighted. This practice had decayed, and Charles took advantage of the fact to send an inquisition into the country, and fine those gentry who had not complied with the obsolete law. A statute of Queen Elizabeth had ordered every cottage to have four acres of land attached to it, and numerous proclamations had been made against the building of more houses in London, but none of these had

been enforced till Charles sent another commission for twenty miles around London to look into the matter. The poor, according to the phrase of the time, were "mightily vexed," and one builder was fined a thousand pounds and ordered to pull down forty new houses or pay a thousand pounds more. Inn-keepers were taxed on wine, and when they refused, forced into compliance by a prohibition to cook any meat. The result was that in one way or another beer, wine, tobacco, soap, etc., were all taxed, and Charles raised his revenue from five hundred thousand pounds to eight hundred thousand.

Still this was not enough for Charles, though the people were beginning to consider Scotch kings a costly luxury. The sums squandered on court festivities had left little for the ordinary expenses of government. Salaries had fallen into arrears, and the navy, England's protection against foreign invasion and against pirates, had been totally neglected. To remedy this, Charles decided to increase the navy and his own income at the same time. English kings had been in the habit of collecting money from seaboard counties and towns in time of war to furnish themselves with a navy, and Charles determined to extend this tax to inland counties. This ship money, as it was called, created an immensity of indignation because it was clearly seen that under guise of providing a navy Charles was really attempting to establish a precedent for making himself independent of Parliament.

The trial of Hampden, which occurred in 1637, for refusing to pay the ship tax was the first declaration of independence on the part of an English gentleman, and therefore attracted far more attention than the protests or refusals of members of the mercantile class. Hampden's resistance thrilled through England just at the moment when men were being roused by the news that the patience of Scotland had been at last exhausted, and that the Scottish people and clergy did not intend to submit any longer to clerical oppression, backed up by legal tyranny.

The king had ordered the clergy of Edinburgh to introduce the prayer-book into their churches, but no sooner was it opened at the church of St. Giles, July 23, 1636, than a murmur arose among the congregation and swelled into such a formidable riot

that the church had to be cleared by the officers of the law. The judges, however, were so frightened by the rising wrath of the people that they rendered a decision that the royal writ commanded only the purchase, and not the use of the prayer-book.

The trial of Hampden, as far as he was concerned personally, was a farce, for the judges, being mere creatures of the king, with two exceptions, decided that although Hampden's lawyers had shown by an unbroken series of evidence that taxation by the king without consent of Parliament was illegal, nevertheless the king was above all law. Out of the twelve judges two voted for Hampden, one decided against the king on technical grounds, the other nine decided for the king. Four years after this Charles, not having money enough to carry on the war against Presbyterianism in Scotland, by the advice of his chief counsellor, the Earl of Strafford, called a Parliament which, on account of its brief duration, has been styled the Short Parliament.

Every member of the Commons knew that the battle for religious liberty in Scotland was a battle also for the political liberty of every individual Englishman, and instead of voting money to the king to prosecute his Scottish campaign, this Parliament declared that no subsidy should be granted till security had been given for religion, property, and parliamentary liberty. An offer to give up the ship money tax failed to lure Parliament away from this firm stand, and after three weeks' sitting the king exercised his prerogative by dissolving it, and Strafford, his minister, maintained that the refusal of Parliament to supply the king's wants freed the king from all rule of government, and entitled him to supply himself at his royal pleasure. Meantime so successful were the Scots that Charles was forced to summon a great council of the peers at York to help him. These nobles generally repudiated his projects and again he was driven to summon a Parliament which was called the Long Parliament.

The great light of this time now began to shine in the person of John Pym, the finest as he was the first of parliamentary leaders. Of the five hundred members he was the one who clearly foresaw the certainty that Parliament and the crown had met for a death struggle. He was the first English statesman who discerned and tried to apply what may be called the doctrine of

constitutional proportion. Pym saw that, as an element of national life, Parliament must outrank the crown, or else it was of no consequence at all. He saw, too, that of Parliament the



THE TRIAL OF HAMPDEN.

essential part was the House of Commons. On these two points he based his policy. When Charles refused to act with Parliament Pym treated such conduct as a temporary abdication which



vested the entire executive in the two Houses until new arrangements were made. When the lords obstructed public business, he served warning upon them that such tactics would only force the Commons "to save the kingdom *alone*."

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in the ears of kings, for it is a matter of record that in the last century when an English gentleman who had married a descendant of Oliver Cromwell petitioned that his name might be changed by act of Parliament to that of his wife's family, King George opposed the request.

But Oliver Cromwell, whose flank charge turned the tide of battle at Marston Moor, is a man whose surpassing greatness cannot be summarized in a brief sketch like this. He was the giant of an age rich in Titans. During the civil war some of the parliamentary leaders shrank from obtaining a complete victory over the king; that is, after defeating his forces they would permit him to retreat in good order instead of attempting to capture him and summarily put an end to the war. The old superstition of loyalty clogged their enterprise. They did not desire to crush him, but to force him back to the position of a constitutional, instead of an absolute, monarch, and they shrank from the taint of treason — a word which exercised still a tremendous influence over the English mind.

"If the king be beaten," argued Lord Manchester at Newbury, "he will still be king; if he beat us, he will hang us all for traitors."

"If I met the king in battle," retorted Cromwell, "I would fire my pistol at him just the same as at another."

Furthermore, he declared that the parliamentary leaders were "afraid to conquer," and that unless the whole force were new-modeled, and more strictly disciplined, no settled success could be expected. He saw that it was necessary for success to oppose enthusiasm with enthusiasm.

"A set of poor tapsters and town apprentices," he said, "would never fight against men of honor," or such as followed the banner of Charles from a principle of devotion as intensely real as it was immensely mistaken. Cromwell had early discerned that attachment to a religious cause was the one weapon which could meet and overthrow the chivalry of the cavalier. So he had gathered about him as a nucleus a regiment of a thousand men, a "lovely company" he called them. No blasphemy, drinking, disorder, or impiety were allowed in these ranks. "Not a man swears but he pays his twelve-pence." Nor was his choice of religious men his

only innovation on the military customs of the time. Social tradition had limited command of regiments to men of birth, but Cromwell said: "I had rather have a plain, russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows than what you call a gentleman and is nothing else, though I honor a gentleman that is so indeed."

The civil war came to an end at the battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645. Charles, indeed, went wandering helplessly along the borders of Wales in search of fresh forces, but the spring of 1646 saw the few troops that still clung to the king surrounded and captured at Stow. "You have done your work now," said their leader, Sir Jacob Astley, to his conquerors, "and may go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves."

With the end of the civil war came a time of extreme confusion but of greater interest than even the war itself in its bearing on English history. Modern England, as a political entity, began with the triumph of Cromwell at Naseby. When Astley gave up his sword a little later, the "work" of the generations that had striven for public liberty in his own emphatic phrase was "done." However the later Stuarts might struggle to revive their absolute claims, England could safely "go to play." But a new work had commenced; the constitutional and ecclesiastical problems that still beset English politics in the shape of home rule and the national church came to the front as subjects of debate in the years between the close of the civil war and the death of Charles. The great parties that have ever since divided the social, political, and religious life of England, either as Independents and Presbyterians, Whigs and Tories, Conservatives and Liberals, sprang into organization from the contest between the army which the civil war had created as an independent force and the Parliament which had created the civil war.

Then began for the first time a conscious struggle, far from ended yet, between political tradition and political progress, between the principle of religious conformity and that of religious freedom. From 1646 to 1649 England was a cauldron of conspiracy on the part of the defeated king, who had given himself up to the army in Scotland in 1646, and with characteristic kingly policy tried to play off the Scotch covenanters against

their English allies, but the Scottish army, accepting four hundred thousand pounds in discharge of its claims, surrendered Charles to a committee of Parliament in January, 1647. Charles spent the rest of his time on earth in intriguing to cause trouble between the Parliament and the army.

There was still a curious reverence felt for him even by his conquerors, and when the army demanded that "the capital and grand author of our troubles, by whose commissions, commands and procurements all our wars and troubles have been, may be specially brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief he is guilty of," this demand drove the Houses to a sort of perplexed despair. They had been negotiating with the king for certain concessions as a basis of return to something like the old order, and their reply to this demand from the army was to accept the king's so-called concessions. This act was construed by the military party as a defiance, and Charles was seized and carried off to Hurst Castle, the bulk of the army moving on London.

"We shall know now," said Vane, as the troops surrounded the Houses of Parliament, "who is on the side of the king, and who on the side of the people." But fear of the army was weaker among the members than the agonized loyalty that strove to save the monarchy and the church. A large majority of both Houses voted to have Charles back again on his own terms.

The next morning Colonel Pride appeared in behalf of the Army's Council of Officers at the door of the House of Commons with a list of forty members of the majority, and as each member appeared he was arrested and put in confinement. "By what right do you this?" asked one of the members. "By the right of the sword," said Hugh Peters. The House still held out, but the next morning forty more members were excluded and the rest yielded. Then the two great powers which for five years had waged this bitter conflict, the Parliament and the monarchy, melted away; the remnant who remained to coöperate with, or carry out the will of the army, was no longer a representative body. In the coarse imagery of popular speech, they were but the "rump" of a parliament, and by this name have passed into history.

The House of Lords at this time had practically vanished

and the next act of this revised House of Commons was a resolution for the trial of Charles, and a nomination of a court of a hundred and fifty commissioners to conduct it, with John Bradshaw, a lawyer of eminence, at their head. The rejection of this ordinance by the few peers who still remained brought out this resolution from the lower House: "That the people are, under God, the original of all just power; that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation, and that whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king or House of Peers be not had thereunto."

Charles appeared before Bradshaw's court denying its competence and refusing to plead. Thirty-two witnesses were examined to satisfy the consciences of his judges, and on the fifth day he was condemned to death as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and enemy of his country." The dignity which he had failed to show in his wrangling with Bradshaw and the judges returned to him as death drew near. As Macaulay says: "He went to the block with a placid courage that has half redeemed his fame." Two masked executioners waited on him as he mounted the scaffold which had been built outside one of the windows of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. Streets and roofs were thronged with spectators, and a strong guard of soldiers stood below. The king's head fell at the first blow, and as the executioner lifted it by its long locks to the sight of all, groans of pity and horror mixed with the shouts of triumph from the populace representing the nation he had misruled.

The news of Charles' death thrilled royal Europe with horror. The Czar of Russia drove the English envoy from his court. France withdrew her ambassador from England on the proclamation of the Republic. The Protestant powers of the continent were more anxious than any to disavow all connection with a people who had killed their king. Holland took the lead in acts of open hostility to the English Commonwealth, paying a solemn official visit to the Prince of Wales who took the title of Charles II., and refusing an audience to the English envoys. In Scotland

the Duke of Argyle proclaimed Charles II. king, and invited him from Holland to ascend the throne.

Hesitation and delay marked the course of the Commons in entering on their new task of reconstructing the government. Six weeks passed before the monarchy was formally abolished, and the government of the nation provided for by the creation of a council of state consisting of forty-one members selected from the Commons who were entrusted with full executive power at home or abroad. Two months more elapsed before the passing of the memorable act of May 19, 1649, which declared "that the people of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging are, and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be a commonwealth and free state, and shall henceforward be governed as a commonwealth and free state by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers for the good of the people, and that without any king or House of Lords."

Trouble in Ireland, trouble in Scotland, trouble with Holland stared them in the face; but with Cromwell for their leader all difficulties were transmuted into triumphs. Charles the Second was in Scotland at this time, but to secure the support of the Scotch he had been put to the greatest humiliations. He had subscribed to the Presbyterian covenant, he had listened to sermons and scoldings from the ministers, he had been called on to sign a declaration that, while it promised better behavior on his part, acknowledged the tyranny of his father and the idolatrousness of his mother, who was a Catholic.

Shameless as he was, the young king momentarily recoiled. "I could never look my mother in the face again after signing such a paper," he said; but he signed. He was a king, however, only in name, and after the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651, in which Cromwell's loss was little, and the Scots lost six thousand men, with all their baggage and artillery, Charles the Second fled the field, and after months of wandering escaped to France.

The conduct of Cromwell after these victories, in dissolving the Parliament and taking for a while supreme command of the



nation, was a necessity of the times. He looked on the legal defects of his title to the office of protector as more than supplied by the consent of the nation. "I called not myself to this place," he urged; "God and the people of these kingdoms have borne testimony to it." His rule had been acquiesced in by London, by the army, by the solemn decision of the judges, by addresses from every shire, by the appearance of members of the new Parliament of 1654 in answer to his writ of summons. "Why may I not balance this providence," he asked, "with any hereditary interest?" He discerned in this national approval a call from God; a divine right of a higher order than that of the kings who had gone before.

But with the dissolution of this Parliament of 1654 ended all show of constitutional rule. Cromwell's protectorate became a simple tyranny. Cromwell, indeed, professed to be restrained by an ordinance drawn up by one of the early Councils of State, called the Instrument of Government; but the one restraint on his power which this instrument provided, namely the inability to levy taxes save by consent of Parliament, he set aside on the plea of necessity.

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It was not vulgar flattery which influenced the Parliament of his creation to offer Cromwell the title of king which he refused, as Cæsar did on a similar occasion, for the experience of the nation had taught these men to find a certain value in the traditional forms under which their liberties had developed. They really wished Cromwell to become their king, for a king was



limited to a certain degree by constitutional precedents. A protectorate, on the other hand, was a political novelty that afforded no means of limiting its power.

But Cromwell knew that the army he had commanded would not relish the title of king, and he was right, for a petition came from the officers to Parliament demanding a withdrawal of their proposal "in the name of the old cause for which they had bled," and Cromwell at once headed off a debate which might have led to a breach between the army and the Commons by refusing the crown May 8, 1657. He was then formally inaugurated as Protector by the Parliament, the speaker investing him with a mantle of state, placing the sceptre in his hand and girding the sword of justice to his side. By this act of Parliament Cromwell was allowed to name his own successor, but in all after cases the office was to be elective. The forms of the older constitution were carefully restored, Parliament re-established its two houses, the seventy members of the Upper House to be named by the protector; a fixed revenue was voted to him; it was provided that no moneys should be raised but by assent of Parliament, and liberty of worship was secured for all but Papists, Prelatists, Socinians, or those who denied the inspiration of the Scriptures, and liberty of conscience was secured for all. This was in June, 1657.

But the hand of death was on him and, though never had the fame of an English ruler stood higher, in the midst of his glory he was weary of his task. "God knows," he had cried out to Parliament a year before, "I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, and to have kept a flock of sheep than to have undertaken this government." And now to the weariness of power was added the feverish impatience of disease. The Parliament that opposed him in his plans he dismissed in an angry speech closing with the words: "I dissolve this Parliament, and let God judge between you and me." Yet he had hardly dissolved it before he was planning the summons of another, but before his plans could be realized his strength gave way. Prayer arose on every side for his recovery, and with characteristic energy he was the last to be convinced that his hour was come. A tremendous August storm which tore roofs from houses and overthrew huge



CROMWELL REFUSING THE CROWN.

trees in every forest seemed to the popular mind an omen and a fit prelude to the passing of this mighty spirit. Three days after, on the 3d of September, 1658, the day which had witnessed his victories of Worcester and of Dunbar, Cromwell quietly breathed his last.

So mighty even in death was his sway over the minds of men that to the wonder of the hopefully excited royalists even a doubtful nomination from his deathbed was sufficient to secure the peaceful succession of his son, Richard Cromwell, to the protectorate. Many, in fact, who denied the authority of the father acquiesced cheerfully in that of the new protector. Richard, however, was a weak and worthless man who, conscious of his inferiority, soon resigned the government, and a new House of Commons began to draw up terms for a restoration of the Stuart race in the person of Charles the Second. Charles, with whom General Monk of the army had been in communication, sent over a promise of general pardon and religious toleration which was received with a burst of enthusiasm, and the old constitution was restored by a solemn vote that, according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government is and ought to be by king, lords, and commons.

Charles at once hastened to return, landed at Dover and made his way amid the shouts of the multitude to Whitehall where his father had lost his head. Puritanism, so men believed, had fallen never to rise again. As a political experiment it had ended apparently an utter failure. As a religious system of national life it brought about the wildest outbreak of moral revolt in the reign of Charles II. that England had ever witnessed; and yet Puritanism was not dead, but was drawing in silence a nobler life from suffering and defeat. For the whole history of English progress since the restoration on its moral and spiritual sides has been the history of Puritanism. Eager royalists were greatly disappointed with the reign of Charles II., for they beheld the ideas they had bled for steadily sinking into the background, but Charles himself was clever enough to realize that the England which had called him back was a new England and the monarchy having passed through the crucible of Cromwell, an entirely new monarchy. The Parliament proceeded to limit the king's power

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by chains much stronger though less tangible than any that had bound his predecessors, for in this reign it secured the power of controlling the king's policy through a complete and specific control of the national purse.

Charles II. was by far the cleverest of the Stuarts, and at the end of his reign found himself more popular and practically more absolute than any member of his family, but it was in reality by yielding points of government that he had gained his ends. Not since the days of Richard II. had Parliament voted supplies for special purposes, and when they voted taxes of tonnage and poundage or subsidies, the king got a large sum of money to apply as he chose. This plan, however, was far from satisfactory, for no check could be kept on a king's extravagance, nor could Parliament have any security that money designed for a special purpose would be spent for that purpose. In 1665, however, Parliament voted one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, declaring that it was to be applied only to the war with the Dutch. Charles' chief minister, Clarendon, opposed this specific limitation as an innovation on royal custom; but Charles favored it, because he thought it would lure Parliament into voting supplies more readily, and that he could get hold of the money for his special purposes just as easily. He was right, as far as he was concerned, but his successors found that bonds which he was able to slip through were chains of a heavier kind upon their movements, and this was obviously an enormous gain for the people, since it made the control over the purse far more strict, and the Commons followed it up by inquiring how the money thus voted was spent, and as a result of this inquiry the treasurer of the navy was dismissed from his post.

The impeachment of Danby precipitated a crisis between the king and Parliament which hitherto Charles had endured, deeming it the most pliant he was likely to get. But losing patience, when it again impeached his first minister, he decided to risk a general election. The new Parliament was no better than the last. Besides impeaching Danby, it tried to exclude the Duke of York, the king's brother, from any possible succession to the throne on account of his Catholicism, and was in its turn dissolved.

At this period Charles showed his good sense by consenting to the Habeas Corpus Act, which again asserted the principle that any unconvicted prisoner, unless accused of treason or felony, might call upon the lord chancellor or any judge, under penalty of a fine of five hundred pounds, to issue a writ of *habeas corpus*<sup>1</sup> to the gaoler, ordering him under penalty of a fine of one hundred pounds to bring up the body of the prisoner within not more than twenty days, and that the judge on his appearance should release him on bail. In the case of treason or felony, if a prisoner was not tried in the next term or next sessions of gaol delivery after his commitment, he could, on petition to the court, be released on bail, unless it appeared that the crown's witnesses could not be produced at that time.

This Act contained no new principle, but it gave greater facility for the assertion of an ancient right, and henceforth the crown ceased to be able to imprison its enemies in defiance of the principles of the security of the person.

Charles' attempt to improve his position by an election failed; again he dissolved Parliament, but its successor only continued its course, and again an election occurred. Two years the struggle raged; thrice the king exercised his prerogative of dissolving Parliament; once the Commons exercised theirs of refusing supplies; once the Exclusion Bill in regard to the Duke of York, afterwards James II., passed the Commons, only to be rejected by the Lords. At length, the violence of the Commons overleaped itself, Charles found that the nation was with him, and having secured a permanent income from Louis XIV., the king of France, he dissolved the Oxford Parliament and determined to dispense with the services of Parliament, until one could be elected that suited him better. Of this he had some hopes, for the struggle had shown that there was a party in the kingdom upon whom the king, so long as he was moderate, could rely, and the violence of the Commons, who had endeavored to exclude James, not for what he had done, but for what he might do, had frightened many men of moderate views and caused a reaction in Charles' favor. This reaction took the form of the rise of a new party, and from henceforth the country party, as the opposition

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<sup>1</sup> "Thou shalt have (or take) the body."



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

was called, took the name of Whigs, and the court party, which yet contained many men who were not courtiers, took the name of Tories.

The rise of organized parties in Parliament is the most important event which has taken place since the Restoration; for it has established the only conditions on which it seems possible that constitutional government can be worked with success or promise of permanency, and happily, at their first rise, the principles they followed, though vague, were roughly distinguishable, so that almost every man was able to range himself under the banner of one or the other. Thus at the very moment when party government was coming into existence there was no conflict of small cliques, which might have hampered its working.

Generally speaking, the Tories were such as thought that, if England was to be governed by king and Parliament, greater advantage was likely to be gained by upholding the prerogative of the king than by extending the rights of Parliament, and since the men who thought thus were almost invariably churchmen, they adopted as their watchword, "King and Church." The Whigs, on the other hand, were those who believed that the safety of the country lay in giving prominence to the powers of Parliament, and that the ancient prerogative of the crown should be restrained in its exercise, whenever at variance with the interests of the subject.

Contrasted with the Tory gentry, the mass of the Whig party naturally came from the cities and boroughs, for it was in the small manufacturing towns that the Puritans had been strong. To reduce the tide that was running against him, Charles had to play the part of a politician, and this was one of his acts. The corporate towns held their privileges by virtue of charters which had been granted at one time or another by the sovereign, and many of them bore a very ancient date. By these charters certain privileges, including the right of self-government, were granted to the burgesses, who purchased the charter either by the payment of a sum of money or by the performance of certain duties. Many of these duties, dating far back into feudalism, had been quite neglected, and few towns could be found which had not, in one way or another, infringed some article of their charter.

Charles, therefore, had a legal shadow of right to call in the charter, find the flaw, condemn as forfeit the privileges of the corporation, and to return the charter with a new list of aldermen and a new mayor named from the Tory party. This was what Charles did, and in this way he spent the last three years of his life, remodelling the constituencies and providing for the election of a Tory Parliament. But death has no respect for politicians and Charles II., who was the best and worst of his race, died suddenly, asking forgiveness of his injured queen, not of his corrupted country.

James II., his brother, completely deceived by the calm that had



WESTMINSTER IN 1647.  
From a rare old print.

followed the dissolution of the last Parliament, fancied the nation had outgrown its fit of dislike to a popish sovereign. Perhaps he gave too much weight to a decree passed by the Tory University of Oxford, condemning the doctrine that resistance to a king is lawful under certain circumstances. At any rate, within three years he had more than shown himself shorn of any popularity he might have had. The nation had become utterly sick of him. The story of his mistakes is well known; how he used his dispensing power to give Roman Catholics not only toleration, but even ascendancy in the kingdom; how he turned out experienced officials, merely because they were Protestants; how he set up a new



Court of High Commission and attacked the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; how the non-conformists refused to join him in his attacks upon the Church; how even the Church was driven to give up her doctrine of passive resistance by the prosecution of the seven bishops; and how the nation was finally driven to despair by the birth of a prince who would be educated as a Roman Catholic, and who supplanted the popular Princess Mary.

In the time of Edward II., or of Richard II., such conduct would have been equivalent to his deposition, for in those times the nation could at a week's notice have marched upon London an overwhelming force to which the king could oppose nothing but his own personal adherents. Now, however, times had changed; the retention of those five thousand old army men at the Restoration had given to the king the nucleus of a trained force, against which untrained levies, however valiant, could not easily hold their ground, and it was absolutely necessary, if the nation was to have a fair chance of declaring its will, for some force to be found that should balance the thirteen thousand men whom James had established as his guard on Hounslow Heath.

Such a force was found in the army of William of Orange, who came over from Holland to give the nation an opportunity of declaring its will in a free Parliament. Happily no battle was fought. Deserted by their leaders and disheartened by their unpopularity, James' soldiers struck no blow in his defence, and James sought refuge in flight. A convention was summoned which, taking into account the double flight of James, declared in a somewhat wordy document that "King James II., having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the crown had thereby become vacant."

Many schemes were proposed for filling up the vacancy; but finally the throne was offered to and accepted by William of Orange, the son of James' sister, and Mary his wife, James' daughter, and so not only was James himself removed from the throne, but also his lately born son, whom the majority believed

to be supposititious, was excluded from the succession. But the convention did more than merely transfer the crown from one member of the royal family to another; they reasserted in the most positive terms the chief points upon which the constitution rested, and the way in which they had been violated by the late king. For this purpose they drew up the Bill of Rights, whose chief declarations were: "Whereas the late King James II., by the assistance of diverse evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom, etc., etc., therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons declare: —

I. "That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

II. "That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

III. "That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

IV. "That levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

V. "That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

VI. "That the election of members of Parliament ought to be free."

VII. "That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

VIII. "That for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of laws, government ought to be held frequently."

In this document also the crown was settled on William and Mary for life, then on Mary's children, and in their default on

the Princess Anne of Denmark and her children; and in their default on the children of William by any other wife.

Here we find again laid down the old principles of English government, no changes in the law or levying of taxation without the consent of Parliament, the freedom of election, freedom of speech and frequency of meeting of that body, and there is added to these the statement that without consent of Parliament no sovereign may keep an army in time of peace. That is all; but that in 1688 a standing army should still be an anomaly in England marks the difference between the development of government in England and on the continent.

To the many the revolution meant merely the expulsion of James II. and his male descendants from the throne; to the few it meant besides this the substitution of the Parliament for the king as the really supreme power in the country. The first of these changes absorbed all interest; the second was hardly noticed at all.

We have noted how king after king had tried to evade calling Parliament, and how the enactments under the Plantagenets and the Triennial Bill under the Stuarts had alike been ineffective to secure its regular meeting. This difficulty at once vanished, for no sooner were supplies granted, not for life, but for one year, than the whole fabric of government would have melted away, had not Parliament been summoned year by year to Westminster to renew the grants. Instead of the old difficulty a new one was introduced. The Long Parliament had passed a Triennial Act mainly to force the king to summon Parliament every three years; William III.'s Parliament passed their Triennial Act mainly to prevent the king, when he got a Parliament to his mind, from keeping it permanently as Charles II. had done, instead of appealing to the people in a fresh election.

In this way Parliament secured a most effective control over the expenditure and military establishments of the country. It yet remained for them to secure a similar control over the law courts. Though the removal of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission had got rid of two great engines of oppression, the ordinary law courts of the country had, under the later Stuarts, and indeed in earlier times in cases where the crown was a party,

been scenes of gross injustice. This was due to three causes: 1, the unfair appointment of jurymen; 2, the unfairness of the procedure of the court to the accused; 3, the partiality of the judges who were appointed or removed by the king's pleasure. All these points had been brought into question at various times, but they were for the most part removed under William III. 1. In the Bill of Rights it was enacted "that jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders." 2. By the Treasons Act of William III. it was ordered that the accused should have, five days before his trial, a list of the witnesses and a copy of the indictment, and be allowed to examine his own witnesses upon oath. 3. In the Act of Settlement which arranged that, as Anne's children were all dead the succession should pass from her to the Electress Sophia, it was enacted that the judges should hold their offices for life, should receive fixed salaries, and should only be removable on the petition of both Houses of Parliament.

But this new freedom of Parliament at first came near falling to pieces by its own newness, for it showed a strong tendency during the reign of William and his successors to degenerate into license. Bribery became the first step of public business. The great Whig minister, Sir Robert Walpole, gave vent to the cynical axiom, "Every man has his price," which indeed began to seem a universal truth during the beginning of Parliamentary freedom. The consolidation of party government was immensely helped by the personal character of the four sovereigns who followed the Revolution, William III., Anne, George I., and George II., for they were, especially the last three, content with the show of royalty without troubling themselves about the substance, and showing little disposition to interfere in political affairs.

Meanwhile the character of the ministry itself was changing. Originally the Cabinet was composed of those members of the Privy Council to whom the king's special confidence was given. As a rule, but not invariably, they held some special office under the crown. But it did not follow that all officials were members of the Cabinet or even of the Privy Council; nor even was the Cabinet always composed of holders of the same offices. By degrees, however, certain customs sprang up. First, the holders

of certain offices came to be regarded as the government; second, the most important members of the government attained a certain recognized position as members of the Cabinet; and thirdly, the holder of a particular office became recognized as the head of both Cabinet and government. This office was that of first lord of the treasury. Ever since the Norman Conquest, some minister has been recognized as in some way the king's chief adviser. First, it was the justiciar or lord chief justice; then it was the lord chancellor who remained most prominent under the Plantagenets. Under the Tudors it was sometimes the chancellor, sometimes the treasurer; Wolsey was chancellor, Burleigh was treasurer. Under the Stuarts the chancellor again came to the front, and Lord Chancellor Clarendon was the last great chancellor. After his fall the minister who presided over the public purse was the most important, and Lord Treasurer Danby was distinctly the leading minister of his day. It is curious to note how justice, law, finance became in turn the most important things in the country, marking the epoch of the nation to a commercial entity.

The care of the purse was, however, too responsible a work to be often entrusted to one person, and as early as the reign of James I. the office had been put in commission. This was often done under Charles I. and Charles II., and since the fall of Danby in 1679, it has been the invariable rule, the commissioners being called lords of the treasury, and their chairman being styled first lord. It was not long, however, before the first lord acquired all the importance that was formally possessed by the single treasurer. For a time his preëminence was disputed by the secretaries of state, but he finally triumphed, and since the time of Walpole the first lord of the treasury has invariably been the head of the government, a fact which is recognized by the popular title, unknown to law, of Premier.

While this was going on another change of great importance was progressing. The government was acquiring a corporate character. The process by which it did this was very slow. Originally the king's ministers were completely independent of one another. Each was appointed or dismissed solely with reference to the conduct of his own office; but by degrees, mainly

because the ministry was more and more composed of members who thought alike, a feeling of solidarity grew up, and it came to be understood that ministers stood by one another and that an attack upon one was an attack upon all. During the reigns of George I. and George II. this could hardly be regarded as more than a tendency; there were numerous instances of ministers voting against their fellows, and even in the reign of George III. Lord Thurlow never considered himself bound either to support a measure or to resign because his colleagues were agreed upon it.

Meanwhile the new importance which the House of Commons had gained resulted in differences between it and the Hereditary House. At the accession of Anne the lay peers numbered one hundred and sixty-two. A majority of these were Whigs and no sooner did the election of 1710 return a Tory majority in the Commons than the two Houses were at a deadlock. To get over the difficulty Harley used the prerogative of the crown by persuading Anne to create twelve new Tory peers who forthwith altered the balance of parties. But this summary process was not relished by the lords, and in 1719 they made a determined effort to prevent a repetition of such a political trick which they regarded as a social insult. With this view they passed a bill that the House of Lords, which then numbered one hundred and seventy-eight, should never be raised to a higher number than one hundred and eighty-four. Had this bill passed the Commons likewise there would have been two most important results. It would have completely taken it out of the power of the minister of the day to make the lords give way to the House of Commons when the views of the two differed, or in brief, the Hereditary and not the Elective Chamber would have had the dominant voice in all affairs. Secondly, the rule which had always obtained in England, that no bar existed to prevent a commoner from rising to the peerage, would have been done away with, and the lords would have become an exclusive body. But the Commons fully appreciated the danger to their own prospects, and that made them save the constitution as well, and thus the leading voice in the State was preserved to the representatives of the people.

But this expression, "representatives of the people," brings us to a new inquiry. The House of Commons was the leading

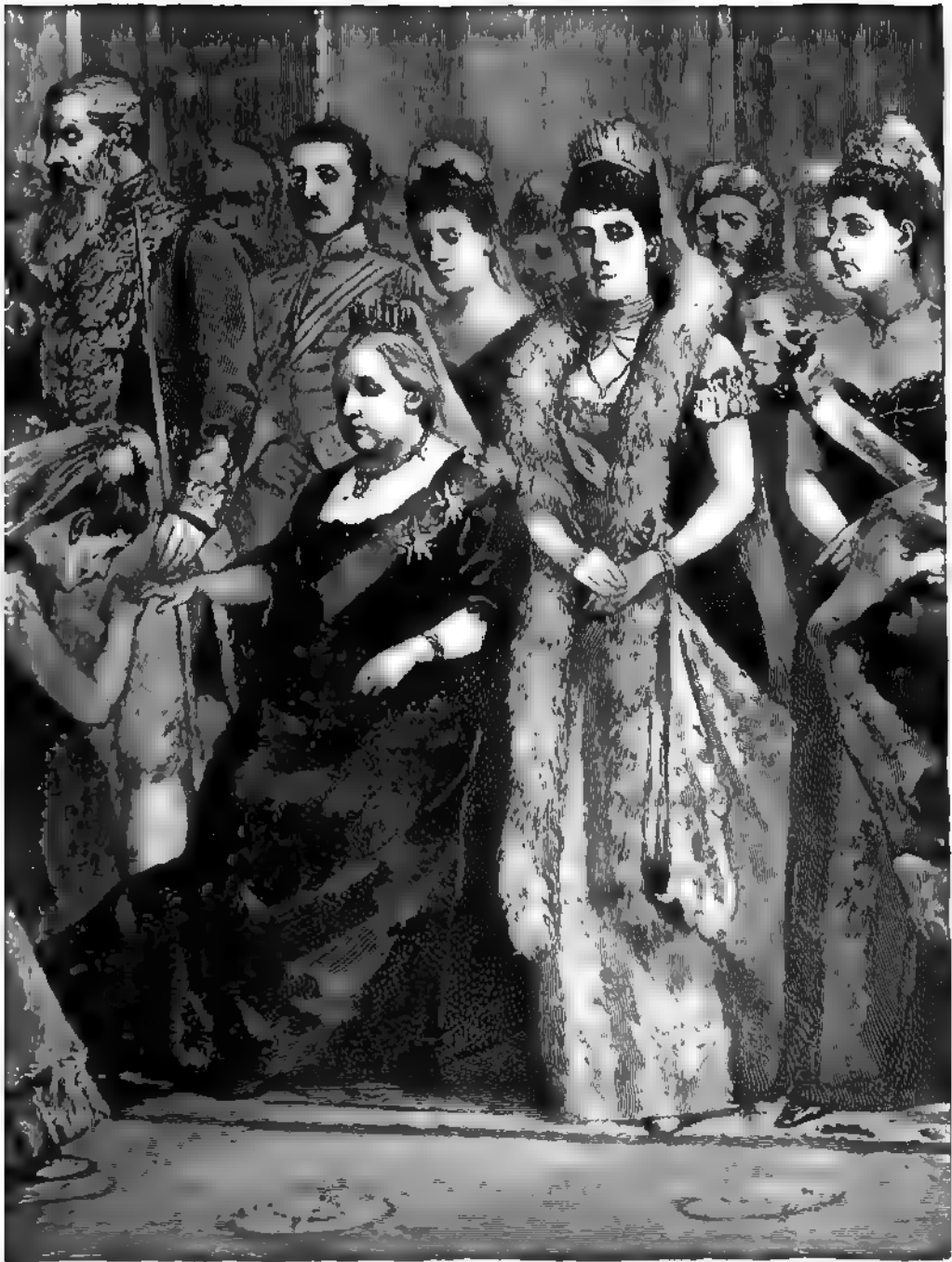




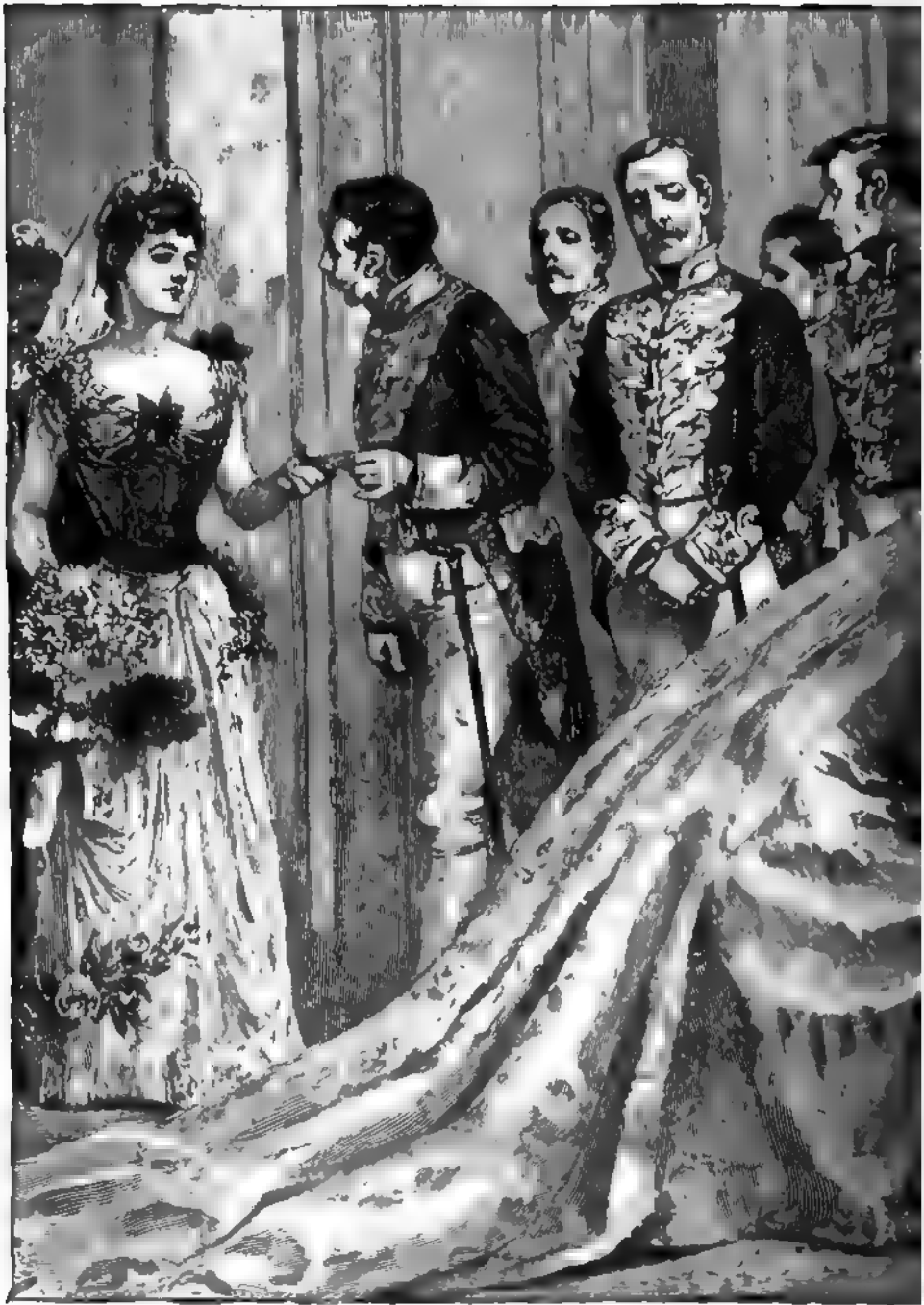




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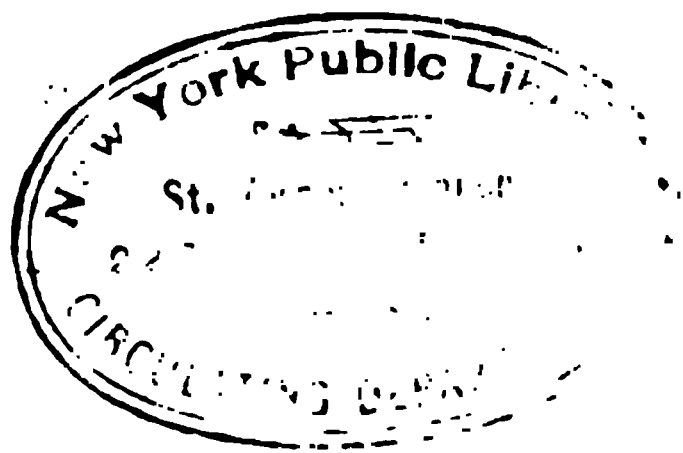
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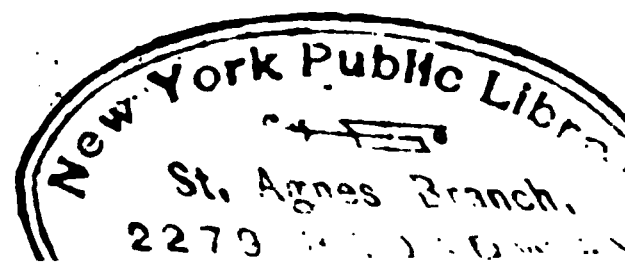


the policy of the country, for they reserved to themselves all the most influential places in the ministry. Pitt only forced himself into this charmed circle by the strength of his personal character, and Burke, the champion of the Whigs, was never admitted into the Cabinet at all.

These Whig nobles ruled the House of Commons; for there were few counties where a Tory had a chance, and none where a man unconnected with the aristocracy was likely to be elected, while of the boroughs a large proportion were in the gift, to all practical purposes, of one nobleman or another. They ruled society; for the word of a nobleman was law, and the manners of the nobility gave the tone. They ruled literature, for no writer could hope to live by the sale of his works, and the Whig nobility alone could pay for the luxury of being praised. They had no rivals in the Universities, for Oxford and Cambridge were asleep; nor in the clergy, who were given over either to hoping for preferment, or to making life pleasant; nor in the gentry, who were too much of the Squire Western stamp to trouble themselves as long as they were let alone; while the common people, rarely able to read, coarse in their pleasures and ideas, and as yet thoroughly loyal to the powers that be, represented by the great men of the country, took no interest in politics, if they had no vote, and, if they had, regarded an election chiefly as a too rarely occurring epoch of free, unlimited beer.

In a nation such as this, and the English nation of the first half of the eighteenth century was a still worse subject for contemplation than it is now, the nobility reigned supreme. But theirs was, on the whole, a beneficent despotism. They secured the persons and pockets of the subject by the revolution of 1688, and his creed by the Toleration Act of 1689, and the repeal of the occasional Conformity and Schism Acts in 1718.

But it was inevitable that a waking up should take place, and presently the nobility found themselves attacked on both sides; by the people, who demanded a better representation in the Commons; by the king, who demanded to have a larger share in the government of the country. George III. wished to be a personal king, not a royal automaton, and he cleverly fomented the dissensions which a long lease of power had caused among the great



Whig families. The prosecution of Wilkes<sup>1</sup> had begun to open men's minds to the fact that parliamentary privileges were not an end but a means. Parliament is no more a sacred institution than royalty, and if it abuses its power there is a force beyond and above it.

Now the chief privileges of Parliament were, as we have seen before, control over their own elections, freedom from arrest and freedom of speech. But if the right to control their own elections was used to keep out members duly elected by the people; if the right of freedom from arrest was used to save the members from paying their just debts, or was extended to their servants and dependents to the injury of their fellow-subjects; and if freedom of speech was interpreted as the right of using their privilege to prevent the nation from knowing what was done by its representatives, then these privileges had outlived their time, and had been turned into abuses. And there was no doubt that this was the case. The treatment of Wilkes, the notorious abuse of freedom from arrest, the strenuous attempts of Parliament to prevent their debates from being published, all showed that Parliament, which was in former times the bulwark of the people against the sovereign, had in the moment of victory forgotten its obligations and mistaken the object of its own existence. To put a stop to these evils two parties arose; the watchword of one was the abolition of influence; the cry of the other was reform.

Gray, the poet, writing at Cambridge, said that he could remember nothing like the rapid changes of government, and the fluctuations in policy since the early years of Charles I. The virulent letters of Junius overwhelmed the ministry with scorn. The publication of debates, which after a violent struggle with Parliament was finally yielded to the printers in 1771, threw light on the proceedings of the Houses and helped to form public opinion. Still more, the disastrous results of King George's policy toward the American colonies roused popular indignation, and by degrees Burke and his friends, so long in an unsuccessful opposition, found themselves supported by popular opinion. In

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<sup>1</sup> John Wilkes was four times elected by Middlesex electors, and three times the Commons, in defiance of the Bill of Rights, declared him incapable of representing the men who had chosen him. The fourth time they declared his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, who only received 296 votes to Wilkes' 1143, to be duly elected.

1780, backed by a large petition from the freeholders of Yorkshire, they won their first parliamentary triumph, for in that year Dunning's motion, "that the power of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," was carried by two hundred and thirty-three to two hundred and fifteen.

The next year Lord North resigned, and Rockingham, at the head of the most united Whig ministry of the reign, came into power. They did not expect to stay in long, but they determined before they fell "to strike a good stout blow" at the king's influence both in and out of Parliament. To do this they took in hand the king's civil list, and divided it into eight classes, abolished an immense number of useless offices, such as that of king's turnspit, whose occupant had a seat in the House of Commons, abolished secret pensions, and curtailed the expenses of the court to such an extent that, without in the least interfering with the comfort or splendor of the royal family, they diminished its expenditure by seventy-two thousand pounds a year.

Haphazard is a word almost too feeble to describe the method, or absence of method, by which the English House of Commons gradually assumed the form which it exhibited in the days of George III. The return of members, the selection of boroughs, the distribution of the franchise, were all equally anomalous. Yorkshire and Rutland alike returned two members each; Old Sarum, where not a vestige of a house was to be seen, sent two representatives, while Birmingham, whose vast area of thriving workshops and forges was densely crowded with human beings, had no representation at all. At Preston every householder had a vote, and at the election of 1830, 7,122 persons actually polled; at London the largest number recorded was at the election of 1826 and only amounted to 8,681. But if the result was anomalous, its history is perhaps still more surprising. Anyone who now notes the eagerness of English towns to send members, and the anxiety of gentlemen to get seats, and is led to imagine by this that the same eagerness was shown in former times, and that a desire to have a share in the national assembly, either personally or through a representative, had always been one of the characteristics of Englishmen, and that to this patriotic feeling is due the great success of parliamentary institutions in England for so long



a time, would be sadly mistaken, and would be picturing to himself a condition of things, the exact contrary of what was the case.

Reformation in the representative system was sorely needed as well as economical reform, but the manœuvring of George III. and his supporters had so divided reformers into cliques, that headway was exceedingly slow.

In 1792 a society called the "Friends of the People" was formed for the purpose of collecting statistics on the subject, and in May, 1793, Mr. Grey, who had already made one unsuccessful motion on the subject, presented to the Commons a petition of the society in which they demonstrated that the representation was in great need of reform. They showed (1) that the majority of the House was elected by fifteen thousand electors, only one two hundredth part of the adult males of the kingdom; (2) that Cornwall returned more members, county and borough, than Yorkshire, Middlesex, and Rutland together; (3) that Cornwall sent more borough members than Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire united; (4) that eighty-four individuals did of their own authority send 157 members to Parliament, that seventy other individuals practically nominated 150 more, so that 154 persons returned 311 members, a majority of the whole House, which then numbered 558. Besides these points the petition complained of the irregularities of the franchise. From that time to this the pressure from below for a juster distribution of political power has been constant and through many defeats has evolved lasting and valuable victories. It remains now to consider in its entirety the English government as it exists to-day.

Montesquieu declared that it was essential to the well-being of every state that the legislative, executive, and judicial functions should be absolutely separate. In England they are apparently hopelessly entangled. While by one enactment, Parliament forbids the sovereign to keep a standing army in peace, by another it votes money annually for the support of just such a thing. According to law, the sovereign may declare war, make treaties, appoint and dismiss his ministers. In point of fact, he can do nothing without the advice of his ministers who are responsible to

Parliament. With prerogative so clipped, what does a king amount to, what purpose does he serve? (chiefly this: that he is the living symbol of racial unity round whom history gathers, and on whom, as a personal object, the feeling of patriotism, so vague in a large state, can concentrate itself in the form of loyalty. The height which the sovereign occupies is extreme; but the descent is broken by the existence round the throne of the nobility.

The nobles depend for honor either on ancient lineage or recent merit; on the one hand they approach the crown, on the other they touch society; and as the nobility in England have never been a distinct caste, they serve as a link in the chain which



THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND.

binds the palace to the cottage. With the sovereign, they share many of the functions which belong to the existence of a monarchy, and of a nobility which depends neither on political power nor on commercial success; and in a country like England where both political and commercial ambition run very high, it is a great advantage that these potencies and potentialities should be balanced by the existence of honors which neither votes nor money can purchase.

Again, so long as they command respect, the nobility help to teach respect and a higher average of human conduct, and happily the nobility of England in this century have, as an order, been tolerably free from the vices which abroad have often secured so evil a name for the aristocracy, although it must be admitted that signs of decay are becoming rather frequent during the last two decades. As to the constitutional maxim that the sovereign reigns but does not govern, while it is true in the

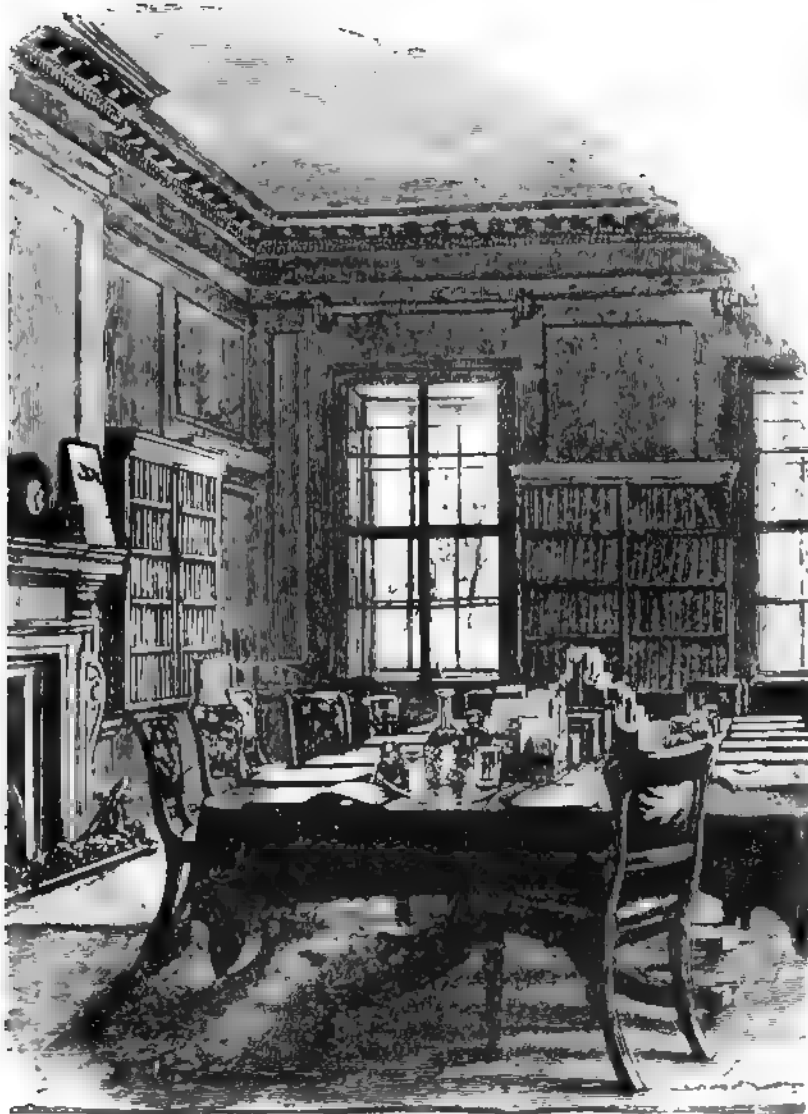
main in England, still the present ruler has shown a woman's determination to know at least what her ministers are doing, as this note from Victoria to one of her ministers clearly proves.

*"The queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case in order that the queen may know as distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity to the crown, and justly to be visited by her constitutional right of dismissing that minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the foreign ministers before important decisions are taken, based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time, and to have the draft for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off."*

From which it appears that Queen Victoria wishes to be something more than merely a high-salaried executive clerk, signing documents devised by others. But in reality the Queen is only an ornament, a figurehead to the ship of state, for the ministry form the larger part of the executive. They consist of two bodies, a large one comprising those officers who hold political office under the crown, and who, according to custom, all belong to that party which has the majority in the House of Commons, and an inner council or Cabinet which is made up of the chief officers, and who discuss in secret the most important matters of State. The Cabinet and the ministry are terms unknown to the law, but are conveniences of popular parlance. Of the ministers, some are and some are not members of the Privy Council, but the Cabinet are, as we have seen, all members of that body, and have developed out of a small irregular committee, meeting for the transaction of the highest state business.

The offices held by the members of the Cabinet are not fixed. They vary in number from time to time. Though its members are an important part of the executive, they are all of them members of the legislative body. The whole system is the result of no law, and it is fettered in its operation by no enactments.

Now, without going into detail, the great merit of the English plan is, that if the English ministers cannot get their measures passed by the House of Commons, they can advise the king to dis-



THE CABINET ROOM IN DOWNING STREET.

solve the House and see whether the nation in a new election will give them more support; or if the House is dissatisfied with the ministry it can refuse to order supplies, or pass the Mutiny Bill, in which case, as supplies are only voted for one year and the Mutiny Bill is only in force for the same length of time, the ministry is in its turn forced to dissolve, and hence the ministry, the Commons, and the nation can never be out of accord for any very long time together. Again, when an English minister wants a tax granted or a bill passed, he can go down to the House and explain it and use his personal influence to carry it through. Moreover, no bill has a chance which is not supported by ministers, or at any rate not opposed by them, and therefore they never wish to advise the sovereign to exercise his prerogative of refusing his consent.

Now the American Constitution fails in all these points. The President, if he disagrees with his House of Congress, cannot dissolve them; on the other hand, they cannot make him dissolve. He cannot go down to the House; he can only write a letter; and the ill working of the American system is shown by the fact that the right of veto has again and again to be used, because the executive is continually out of accord with the legislative department. Again, there are other points of difference. In England immense interest is taken in politics; indeed, a too keen excitement is felt, while in America, except at election times, the masses take little interest in politics. In England the system of practically putting the executive into the hands of that party which has the majority has created a constitutional opposition ever ready to show the nation that it is more fit than the men in power to manage the nation's affairs. Thus a regular battle is always going on, and at any moment a grand catastrophe may occur, and the ministry and opposition may have to change sides, or an appeal be made to the country. It has all the excitement of a fight. In America there is nothing of this. No debate can turn out a ministry or produce a general election, and the consequence is that little interest is taken in congressional matters, except on rare occasions.

But does the English system secure the great aim of all government that is personal, namely, the getting the best persons for

rulers? At any rate, it seems to work as well as any other plan yet devised. The qualities needful to enable any man to hold his own as a minister in England seem to be these: He must be capable of an immense amount of hard work, or he would never for a moment be able to stand the strain both in his office and in the House of Parliament, particularly in the Commons. He must have been so many years in the House that he has convinced it that he is a capable man. He must almost necessarily be a good speaker to explain or defend his policy. He must have by personal character the respect of the House and of the nation. But it does not necessarily follow that even men such as these are invariably able to manage such varied departments as war, the home office, the navy. This difficulty is met, however, by arranging that the detail work of each department shall be done by permanent officials who do not change



QUEEN VICTORIA.

*with the ministry, and have no politics*, so that the heads of departments are merely thoroughly able men, who come into each department with a desire to make it work well, and who by their general knowledge of affairs are often able to give an impetus to public business, to excite energy, and declare fresh war against the great danger of permanent officialism — red-tapeism.

We may then summarize the development of English government thus: Throughout the Middle Ages the House of Lords was

the predominant House, because the strength of the nation lay in the lords and their retainers. Slowly the power, following the change outside, passed to the House of Commons, but even then only to the House of Commons as dominated by the same class to which belonged the House of Lords. Then the great Reform Bill of 1832 upset this arrangement and gave power into the hands of the now all-powerful middle class; and finally, in 1867, Lord Beaconsfield, a Tory minister whose Toryism has been called Radicalism in masquerade, decided to shift the centre of gravity still lower, and place the arbitrament of the destinies of the nation in the hands of the working classes.

Each of these changes has produced a corresponding change in the members of the ministry and the Commons. So long as the peers held sway the sovereigns had difficulty in keeping as their counsellors any men who were not of noble birth, and even after the revolution, when power passed from the hands of the king to the Houses of Parliament, dukes and earls still formed the predominant element in every ministry. It was only by degrees that commoners such as the Pitts gained a footing. With 1832 came a change. Since that date the ministries have been less aristocratic, when reflecting the character of the new House of Commons, and there is some evidence to show that since 1867 a further change is in progress.





SEVERAL years ago, when the writer was standing on the deck of a steamer just arrived from Europe, close up to the wharf, while the gang-plank was lowering, he happened to notice a fellow-passenger, a tallish, elderly man with a look of much travel, of travail, too, perhaps, for his gray eyes had a tired, far-away appearance, as if scanning the cloudy horizon for the vanishing gleams of a fond heart's lost illusions. All at once the man stretched both arms over his head in a peculiar way that seemed to his observer on the deck to betoken extreme bodily as well as mental weariness, though, perhaps, it was only the bodily symbol of the spiritual fact.

The man's attitude that moment was very strange and calculated to attract attention. He brought his arms up slowly above and then down towards his head, as if to clasp them back of it, then clenched his fists, and then let his arms out slowly their full length, at the same time tilting his head back and seeming for a second as if he were being nailed to a cross. The supremacy of sadness or of weariness reigned in face and attitude, and then he subsided into commonplaceness.

Suddenly, however, the observer became aware that others had marked the odd action, and had translated it into speech, for, rushing up the now adjusted gang-plank from the waiting throng



(two, in fact, not heeding the plank, but, boylike, clambering over the side-rails of the steamer), a dozen men crowded round the tired traveller, seized him by the hands and shoulders and, as with one voice, begged to know what was the matter and what they could do to help him.

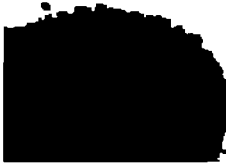
A more surprised gentleman it would be hard to find. "I've heard it said," he exclaimed, "that New Yorkers were the kindest, most hospitable people on earth, but this beats the Dutch."

Then he proceeded to say that he needed nothing in the world that he knew of except a good wife and a good digestion, and would like to know why his kindly assailants had singled him out as especially worthy of their coöperative courtesy. They began to apologize awkwardly, saying that they had mistaken him, and things of that kind, but I heard one murmur to another, "Did you ever see the sign made more perfectly?"

The fact was, this stranger had accidentally made in all its details that secret sign of Masonry which indicates supreme distress and calls for instant help from all worthy brothers. Pondering on this incident the writer was led to a close study of Masonry and other secret orders, some of which he has since joined and he has the audacity to believe that the condensed results of his study as presented in this comparatively brief chapter will give some surprises in the way of new and novel Masonic information, even to Masons themselves who have not mastered many degrees.

Legendary Masonry (which is closely joined with Operative Masonry, or that shown in the actual building of many of the world's most famous castles, cathedrals, and palaces, and which is distinct, except in certain dim possible connections, from Speculative Masonry which rose to the surface in the first quarter of the last century,) has all the fascination of fable and is of profound ethical interest to Christian and Jew and Mohammedan, as well as to the Pagan student who is outside of all, yet looking sympathetically into all — the student,

" Whose calmly comprehensive mind  
Embraces every creed,  
And sees in each some well-designed  
Expression of man's need."



To all such the Legend of the Temple must be attractive, whether considered as the fabulous foundation of modern Masonry, or as a majestic myth standing alone and having no relation to the present invisible temple, more glorious and more full of wisdom than the one which the dreaming monarch, Solomon, tried to make "a joy forever," — that temple of Human Brotherhood which Masonry tries to build in every land and every heart.

This, then, is the story of that temple of the Wise King. Solomon, having determined on building the grandest temple ever beheld of men, collected artificers, divided them into companies, and put them under the command of Adoniram or Hiram Abiff, an architect sent to him by his friend and ally, Hiram, King of Tyre.

According to one Jewish tradition, the ancestry of the builders of the mystical temple was as follows: One of the Elohim, or primitive genii (and this word in the Hebrew Scriptures means gods), married Eve and had a son called Cain; whilst Jehovah or Adonai, another of the Elohim, created Adam and united him with Eve to bring forth the family of Abel, to whom were subjected the sons of Cain, as a punishment for the transgression of Eve. Cain, though industriously cultivating the soil, yet derived little produce from it, whilst Abel leisurely tended his flock.

Adonai rejected the gifts and sacrifices of Cain, and stirred up strife between the sons of the Elohim, who had been generated out of fire, and the sons who were formed out of the earth only. Cain killed Abel, and Adonai, pursuing his sons with a series of humiliations, subjected them to the sons of Abel, thus making servants and sufferers of the noble family who invented the arts and diffused science. This is clearly another version of the Greek myth of Prometheus, punished by Jupiter for having given fire to men.

Enoch, a son of Cain, taught men to hew stones, raise buildings, and form civil societies. Irad and Mehujael, his son and grandson, set boundaries to the waters and fashioned cedars into beams. Methusael, another of his descendants, invented the sacred characters, the books of Tau and the symbolic T, by which the workers descended from the genii of fire recognized each other — a sort of masonic family tree.

Lamech, whose prophecies are inexplicable to the profane, was the father of Jabel, who first taught men how to dress camel skins; of Jubal, who discovered the harp; of Naamah, who discovered the art of spinning and weaving; of Tubal-Cain, who first constructed a furnace, worked in metals, and dug deep caves, subterranean corridors in the mountains, to save his race during the deluge.

But that brave, inventive race perished nevertheless, and only Tubal-Cain and his son, the sole survivors of the glorious and gigantic family, came out alive. Then the wife of Ham, second son of Noah, thought the son of Tubal-Cain fitter to mate with than the sons of men, and he, through her favor, became progenitor of Nimrod, called the Mighty Hunter, who taught his brethren the arts of the chase, and founded Babylon. Thus Adoniram, or Hiram Abiff, a lineal descendant of Tubal-Cain, seemed called by destiny to lead the militia of free men, connecting the sons of fire with the sons of thought, progress, and truth.

And this Hiram fashioned that marvellous building, the temple of Solomon. He built also the golden throne of Solomon, most beautifully wrought, and many glorious edifices. But, melancholy amidst all his greatness, he lived alone, understood and loved by few, hated by many, and among others by Solomon, who was envious of his genius and his glory.

Now the fame of the wisdom of Solomon had spread to the ends of the earth; and Balkis, the Queen of Sheba, came to Jerusalem to greet the great king and behold the marvels of his reign. She found Solomon seated on a throne of gilt cedar wood, arrayed in cloth of gold, so that at first she fancied him a statue of gold with hands of ivory. Solomon received her with festal pomp, and led her by the hand all over his palace and then to see the grand works of the temple; and the queen was lost in wonder.

Solomon, the wise, except in women, was captivated by her beauty and soon offered her his hand, which the queen, pleased at having conquered this proud heart, accepted. But every time they visited the temple, she repeatedly desired to see the architect who had wrought such marvels. Solomon delayed as long as possible presenting Hiram Abiff to the queen, but at last his fund of excuses failed.



*July 7<sup>th</sup> 1900* *Albert Pike*

LATE GRAND COMMANDER SUPREME COUNCIL OF THIRTY-THIRD DEGREE  
SOUTHERN JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES.

The mysterious artificer, Adoniram, was brought before Balkis, and he cast on the queen a look that penetrated her heart. Having recovered her composure, Balkis questioned him closely, despite the rising jealousy of the king. When she wished to see the countless host of workmen that had wrought the temple, and were still engaged in some parts of its vastness, completing the inside works, Solomon protested the impossibility of assembling them all at once; but Adoniram, leaping on a stone, to be better seen, with his right hand wrote in the air the mystic symbol, Tau, and immediately the men hastened from all parts into the presence of their master; whereat the queen wondered greatly, and secretly repented of the promise she had given the king, for she felt herself in love with the mighty architect.

Solomon set himself to destroy this affection, and to prepare his rival's humiliation and ruin. For this purpose, he employed three fellow-crafts, who were envious of Hiram, because he had refused to raise them to the degree of masters, on account of their want of knowledge and their idleness. They were Fanor, a Syrian and a mason; Amin, a Phœnician and a carpenter; Metusael, a Hebrew and a miner. The envy of these three plotted that the brazen casting which was intended to resemble the ocean, and which was to raise the glory of Hiram to its utmost height, should turn out a failure. A young workman, Benoni, discovered the plan, and revealed it to Solomon, thinking that sufficient.

The day for the casting came, and Balkis was present. The doors that restrained the molten metal were thrown open, and torrents of liquid fire poured into the vast mould wherein the brazen sea was to assume its form. But the burning mass ran over the edges of the mould, and flowed like lava into the adjacent places. The terrified crowd fled from the stream of fire.

Hiram, calm as a god, endeavored to arrest its advance with ponderous columns of water, but without success. The water and the fire mixed, and the struggle was terrible; the water rose in dense steam and fell down in the shape of scalding rain, spreading terror and death. The dishonored artificer needed the sympathy of a faithful heart; he sought Benoni, but in vain; the proud youth had perished in endeavoring to prevent the horrible

catastrophe, when he found that Solomon had done nothing to hinder it.

Hiram could not withdraw himself from the scene of his discomfiture. Oppressed with grief, he heeded not the danger, he remembered not that this ocean of fire might speedily engulf him; he thought of the Queen of Sheba, who came to admire and congratulate him on a great triumph, and who saw nothing but a deadly disaster. Suddenly he heard a strange voice coming from above and crying, "Hiram, Hiram, Hiram!" He raised his eyes and beheld a gigantic figure. The Apparition continued: "Come, my son, be without fear, I have rendered thee incombustible; cast thyself into the flames."

Full of the faith of genius and of love, Hiram threw himself into the furnace, and where others would have found death, he tasted ineffable delights; nor could he, drawn by an irresistible force, leave it, and he asked the Spirit that drew him into the abyss: "Whither dost thou take me?" "Into the centre of the earth, into the soul of the world, into the kingdom of great Cain, where liberty reigns with him. There the tyrannous envy of Adonai ceases; there can we, despising his anger, taste the fruit of the tree of knowledge; there is the home of thy fathers." "Who then am I, and who art thou?" "I am the father of thy fathers, I am the son of Lamech, I am Tubal-Cain."

Then Tubal-Cain introduced Hiram into the secret sanctuary of the Inmost Fire, where he expounded to him the weakness of Adonai and the base passions of that god, the enemy of his own creature, whom he condemned to the inexorable law of death, to offset the benefits which the genii of fire had bestowed on him. Hiram was thus led into the presence of his ancestor, Cain, and the Angel of Light that begat Cain was reflected in the beauty of this son of love, whose noble and generous mind had roused the envy of Adonai.

Cain related to Hiram all the experiences, sufferings, and misfortunes, brought upon him by the implacable Adonai. Presently he heard the voice of him who was the offspring of Tubal-Cain and his sister Naamah, saying: "A son shall be born unto thee whom thou shalt, indeed, not see, but whose numerous descendants shall perpetuate thy race, which, superior to that of Adam,

shall acquire the empire of the world; for many centuries they shall consecrate their courage and genius to the service of the ever ungrateful race of Adam, but at last lowest shall become highest, the gentlest shall become the strongest, and restore on the earth the worship of fire. Thy sons, invincible in thy name, shall destroy the power of kings and of all tyrants, of the rich who are kings of the poor, yea, and all the ministers of Adonai's tyranny. Go, my son, the Spirits of Fire are with thee!"

Then Hiram was returned to the earth, and Tubal-Cain before quitting him gave him the hammer with which he himself had wrought great things, saying: "Thanks to this hammer and the help of the genii of fire, thou shalt speedily accomplish the work left unfinished through man's stupidity and malignity." Hiram did not hesitate to test at once the wonderful efficacy of the precious instrument, and the new dawn beheld that great mass of bronze cast in a shape like unto the sea when it laughs up at the moon. The artist felt a most lively joy; the queen exulted; the people came running up, astounded at this secret power which in one night had repaired everything; and Solomon in silence ate his heart.

One day, not long after, the queen, accompanied by her maids, went beyond the walls of Jerusalem, and there encountered Hiram, alone and thoughtful. The encounter was decisive; they confessed their love. Had-Had, the bird who filled with the queen the office of messenger from the Genii of Fire, seeing Hiram in the air make the sign of the mystic T, flew around his head and settled on his wrist. At this Sarahil, the nurse of the queen, exclaimed: "The oracle is fulfilled. Had-Had recognizes the husband which the Genii of Fire destined for Balkis, whose love alone she dare accept!"

Whereupon the lovers hesitated no longer, but plighted their troth, and deliberated how Balkis could escape fulfilling the promise given to the king. Hiram was to be the first to quit Jerusalem; the queen, impatient to rejoin him in Arabia, was to elude the vigilance of the king, which she accomplished by withdrawing from his finger, while he was overcome with wine, the ring wherewith she had pledged herself to him.

But meanwhile Solomon had hinted to the envious fellow-crafts



*Althorpe*

GRAND MASTER OF THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.



that the removal of his rival, who had refused to give them the master's word, would be acceptable unto himself; so, when the architect came into the temple to look at his great work for the last time, he was assailed and slain by them. Before his death, however, he had time to throw *the golden triangle* which he wore round his neck, and on which was engraven the master's word, into a deep well. They wrapped up his body, carried it to a solitary hill, and buried it, planting over the grave a sprig of acacia.

Hiram, not having been seen for seven days, Solomon, against his inclination, but to satisfy the clamor of the people, was forced to have a search made. The body was found by three masters, and they, suspecting that he had been slain by the three fellow-crafts for refusing them the master's word, determined, nevertheless, for greater security, to change the word, and that the first word accidentally uttered on raising the body should thenceforth be the word.

In the act of raising it, the skin came off the body, so that one of the masters exclaimed, ——— (meaning the flesh is off the ———) and this word, *never to be uttered aloud, and only whispered in syllables under certain conditions*, then became the sacred word of the master's degree. The three fellow-crafts were traced, but rather than fall into the hands of their pursuers, they committed suicide, and their heads were brought to Solomon.

The triangle, not having been found on the body of Hiram, was sought for and at last discovered in the well into which he had cast it. The king caused it to be placed on a triangular altar erected in a secret vault, built under the most retired part of the temple. The triangle was further concealed by a cubical stone, on which had been inscribed the sacred law. The vault, the existence of which was only known to the twenty-seven elect, was then walled up.

Such is the Legend of the Temple to which for many years Masonry used to point as the first material work of its mystical, ancient order, for Masonry has always, until recently, laid claim to extreme ancientness as one of its many marks of augustness. Indeed, all nations, all states, all corporations, to increase their power and deduce from above their excuse for existence, attribute to themselves a very early origin.

This wish must be all the stronger in a society altogether ideal and moral, living a life of principles, which needs rather to seem, not coeval with, but anterior and superior to, all others. Hence the curious, fantastic claim set up by Freemasonry of being, not contemporary with the creation of man, but with that of the world; because light was before man, and prepared for him a suitable habitation, and light is the scope and symbol of Freemasonry.

Now it has been believed by some dreamers that there was from the very first appearance of man on the earth a highly favored and civilized race, possessing a full knowledge of the laws and properties of nature, which knowledge was embodied in mystical figures and schemes such as were deemed appropriate and necessary for its preservation and propagation.

These figures and schemes were supposedly discovered by magi, or wise men, in different ages, and are partially preserved in Masonry, though their meaning is no longer understood by the fraternity. Granting for the sake of argument, or of art, or of mere picturesqueness, that there have been and still are beings of that ancient, more fiery race, still wandering on earth, trying to help men, yet constantly hindered and misunderstood by men, what are the real truths or doctrines hidden under the symbols and enigmatical forms of their mystic science, — forms and symbols, which without a key appear but as absurd and debasing rites and ceremonies?

The aim of all the secret societies of the past, except those which were purely predatory or political, was to preserve such knowledge as still survived, or to recover what had been lost. And since Freemasonry is, so to speak, the *resumé* of the teachings of all those societies, dogmas in accordance with one or more of those taught in the ancient mysteries and other associations are to be found in Masonry; hence also it is impossible to attribute its origin to one or other specific society preceding it. Freemasonry is — or rather ought to be — the compendium of all primitive accumulated human knowledge.

Masonic writers generally divide the history of the Order into two periods, the first comprising the time from its assumed foundation to the beginning of the last century, during which the

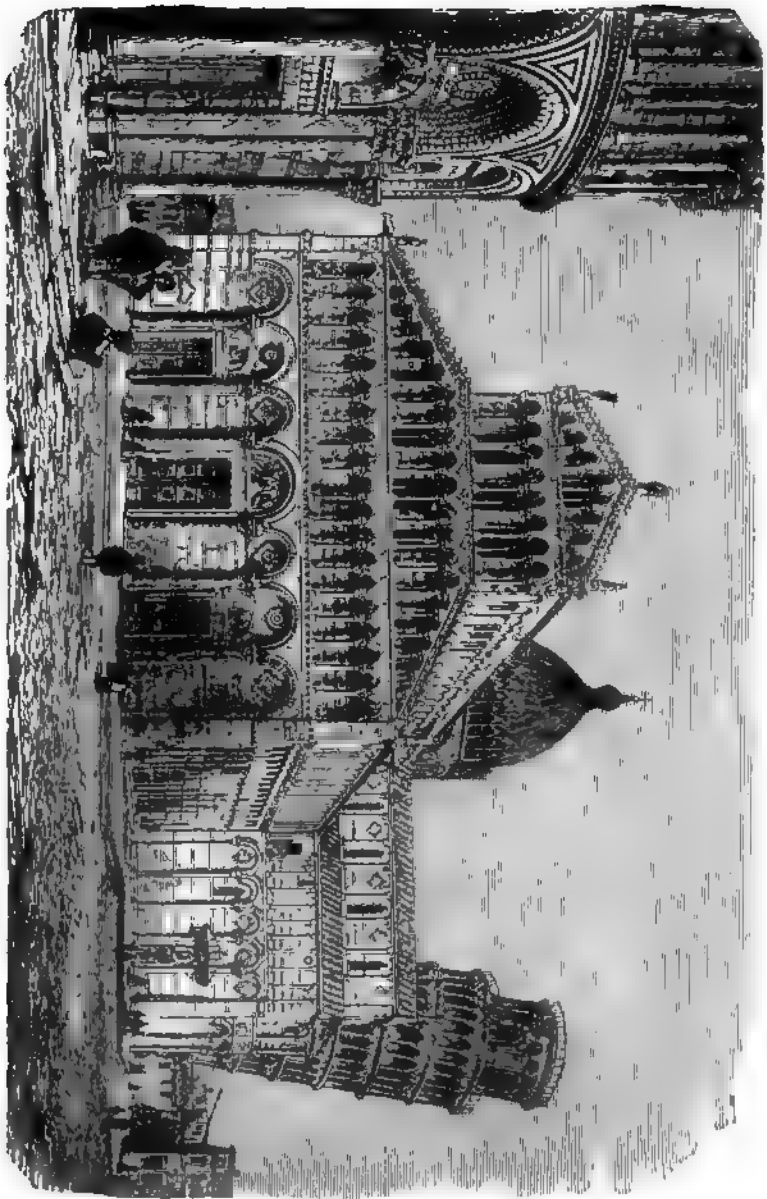
Order admitted only masons, i. e., *operative* masons and artificers in some way connected with architecture. During the earlier period the Operative Brotherhood built most of those marvellous structures which delight the eye of the traveller in Europe. Of these the Cathedral of Rheims and the Cathedral, Baptistry and Leaning Tower of Pisa of which we give pictures are shining examples.

The second or present period, they denominate the period of *Speculative* Masonry, when the Order no longer chooses its members only amongst men engaged in the raising of material structures, but receives into its ranks all who are willing to assist in building a spiritual temple, the temple of universal harmony and knowledge. Yet persons who were not working masons had before the last century been admitted, for the records of a lodge at Warrington, as old as 1648, note the admission of Colonel Mainwaring, and the great antiquary, Ashmole. Charles I., Charles II., and James II. also were initiated.

Still, from what has been said above, does it not follow that true Masonry always was *speculative*, and that to deduce any specific origin from the ancient Dionysiac mysteries or any other kindred college is sheer nonsense? The name "masonic" was adopted by the society on its reconstruction in the last century, because the brotherhood of builders who erected the magnificent cathedrals and other buildings that arose during the Middle Ages had lodges, degrees, landmarks, secret signs, and passwords, such as the builders of the temple of Solomon are said to have had. But of a perfect, unbroken connection absolute historic proof is still lacking.

Yet, considering that Freemasonry is a tree, the roots of which are spread through so many soils, it follows that traces of many things must be found in its fruit; or that its language and ritual should retain much of the various sects and institutions it has passed through before arriving at their present state, and accordingly in Masonry we meet with Indian, Egyptian, Jewish, and Christian ideas, terms, and symbols.

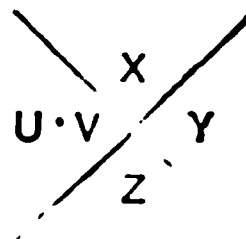
For instance, the Masonic alphabet preserves the angular character of primitive alphabets. Thirteen characters ( $9 + 4$ ) compose the Masonic system of writing. Hence all the sounds



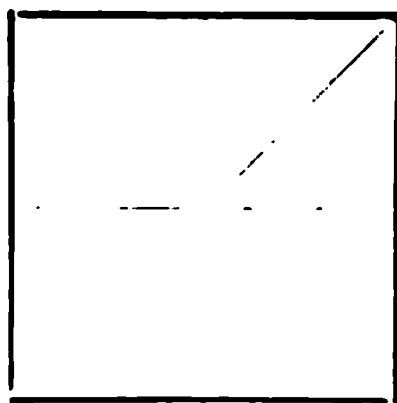
THE CATHEDRAL, BAPTISTRY, AND LEANING TOWER OF PISA.

can only be represented by means of points, in the following manner:—

A·B	C·D	E·F
G·H	I·L	M·N
O·P	Q·R	S·T



The letter, a, is written  $\perp$ ; the same sign with a dot in it,  $\perp\cdot$ , means b; the sign  $>$  means u, and with a dot  $>\cdot$ , v. Masonic abbreviations are always indicated by three dots, placed triangularly. Thus, brother is abbreviated B... Lodge is written L... or  $\square\cdot\cdot\cdot$  in the plural LL... or  $\square\square\cdot\cdot\cdot$ . Our common alphabet has an equally simple origin, as well as the Arabic numerals; they are all contained in combinations of the lines of this figure:—



A,  $\perp$ , or  $\perp\cdot$ , C,  $\perp\cdot$ , or  $\perp\cdot\cdot$ , E, F,  $\perp\cdot\cdot$ , H, I,  
 $\perp\cdot\cdot$ , K, L, M, N,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ , P, Q, R, S, T,  
 $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ , V, X, Y, Z,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ , I, Z,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ ,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ ,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ ,  
 $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ ,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ ,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ ,  $\perp\cdot\cdot\cdot$ .

The general reader who is not a Mason may be interested in a brief description of various lodges and of various modern ceremonies in the making of an apprentice, a fellow-craft, and a master. The arrangement of the lodge varies and will vary according to periods and degrees, but certain general rules are always followed in its construction. According to the most ancient French catechism the lodge must have a vaulted ceiling, painted blue and covered with golden stars to represent the heavens.

The floor is called a mosaic floor; the term “mosaic” being derived from Moses; i. e., “drawn from the water,” because by

its variegated colors it represents the earth as covered with flowers again after the withdrawal of the waters of the Nile. There are three windows, — one east, one west, and a third south. There must also be two or three ante-chambers, so that the profane, which is the technical term for outsiders, may catch no glimpse of what is going on in the lodge. If, by accident, some stranger should nevertheless intrude, the master exclaims, "It rains!" and the lodge is *ipso facto* dissolved.

The lodge should be always hung with black; the brethren taking their places according to their rank; the Grand Master in the east, the Master in the south, and the novices at the north. When an apprentice is made, the lodge is brightly illuminated. The Grand Master, seated in his place, wears on his neck, appended to a large ribbon, a small square and compasses. Before him stands a table on which lie the Gospel of St. John and a small hammer. At his side are the two stewards, the first of whom wears a level and the second a plumb of gold or silver. The masters and fellow-crafts stand around with the apprentices, all wearing white aprons of lamb skin, and each carrying a naked sword.

On the floor are peculiar patterns, representing the steps that led to Solomon's temple, and the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, but which in reality symbolize the summer and winter solstices, the pillars of Hercules, the two pillars of Seth. Above are seen the sun, moon, and a large star.

A coffin covers the centre of the floor, in which lies a man apparently dead, with his face turned upward and shrouded with his white apron smeared with blood, one hand resting on his breast and the other extended towards the knee. In the corners of the room are substances easily combustible, such as sulphur, to kindle a fire instantaneously. This apparatus is somewhat altered when a fellow-craft or a master is to be made. Such was the old French lodge of which two pictures are given.

The modern lodge is a large square hall, always, if possible, situated due east and west. Upon a dais, ascended by three steps opposite the door of ingress, sits the Worshipful Master. Instead of the coffin an altar is placed in the centre on four steps. A sky-blue canopy dotted with stars, and having above it the shin-

ing triangle with the sacred name inscribed therein, covers the throne.

To the left of the canopy is a symbol of the sun, and to the right of the moon. Another ornament is the blazing star, and the point within a circle, symbolizing the sun in the universe. A chest or ark also forms part of the Masonic furniture. To the west, at the sides of the door of ingress, stand two pillars of bronze, whose capitals represent pomegranates, bearing on their fronts the initials J. and B. (Jachin and Boaz).

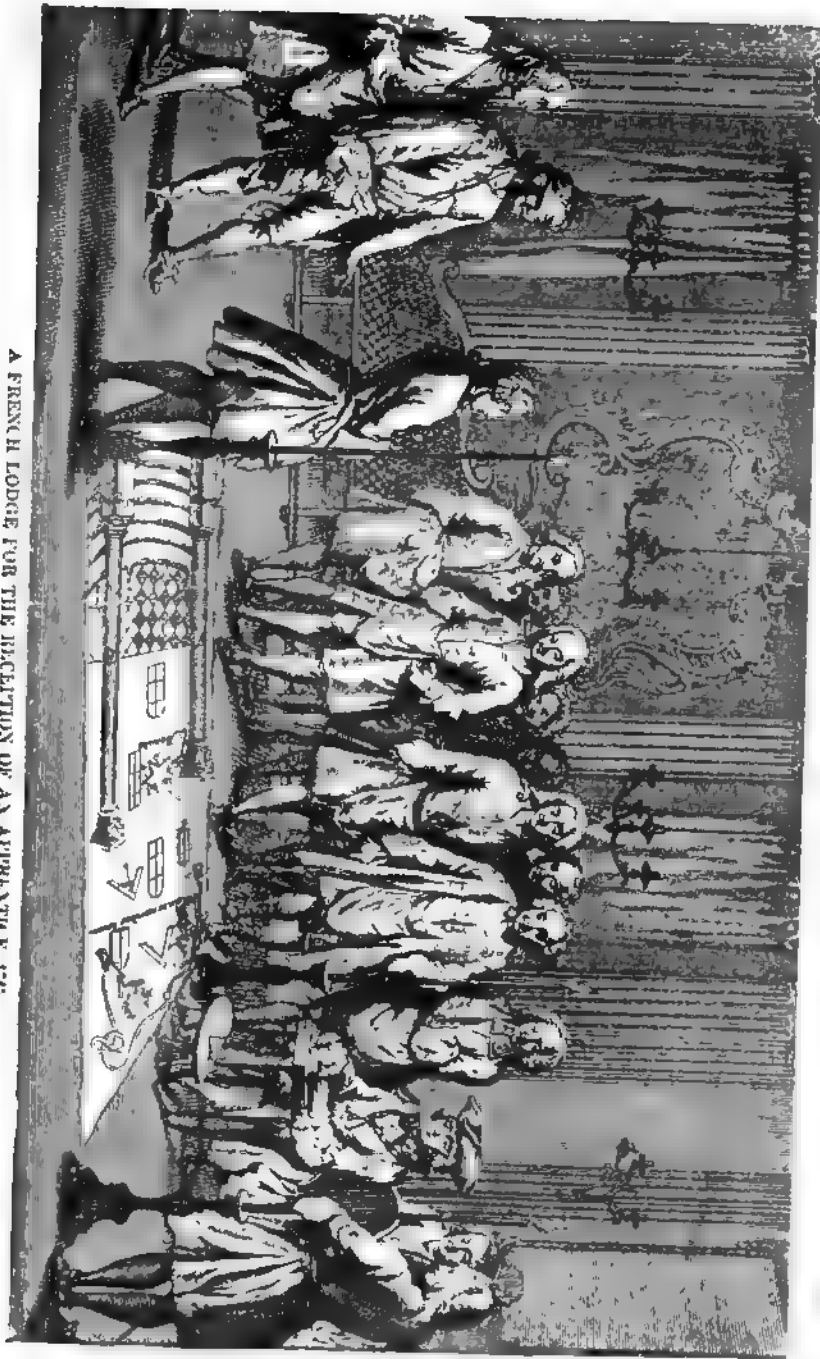
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On the altar rest a Bible, a square, a pair of compasses and swords, and three candelabra with long tapers are placed, one at the east at the foot of the steps, the second at the west, near the first warden, and the third at the south. The room is surrounded with benches for the members.

In the lodges called Scotch, and in English and American lodges, the canopy that covers the master's throne is of crimson silk. In the United States, the Worshipful Master wears a cap adorned with black feathers and a large cockade of the same color. The senior and junior wardens are seated in niches with fringed drapery, and wear, like heralds, staves of ebony sculptured like pillars.

Besides the master and the wardens, who are figuratively called the *three lights*, the lodge has other officers — the orator, secretary, treasurer, master of the ceremonies, keeper of the seals, architect, steward, captain of the host, principal sojourner, inner and outer guard or tyler, and others. Every official occupies a place assigned to him, and has his proper jewels and badges, just as was the case with the Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek priests in the antique mysteries.

The meetings are generally held at night. The Worshipful Master, striking the altar with his mallet, "opens the labors," and after having ascertained that the lodge is tyled, i. e., covered over or guarded well, he turns to the junior warden and says: "Brother junior warden, your constant place in the lodge?"



A FRENCH LODGE FOR THE RECEPTION OF AN APPRENTICE E. 174.



"In the south."

"Why are you placed there?"

"To mark the sun at its meridian, to call the brethren from labor to refreshment, and from refreshment to labor, that profit and pleasure may be the result."

"Brother senior warden, your constant place in the lodge?"

"In the west."

"Why are you placed there?"

"To mark the setting sun; to close the lodge by the command of the Worshipful Master, after seeing that every one has his just dues."

"Why is the master placed in the east?"

"As the sun rises in the east to open and enliven the day, so the Worshipful Master is placed in the east to open and enlighten his lodge, to employ and instruct the brethren."

"At what hour are Masons accustomed to begin their labors?"

"At mid-day."

"What hour is it, brother junior warden?"

"It is mid-day."

"Since this is the hour, and all is proved right and just, I declare the lodge open."

The purely astronomical bearing of all this is self-evident to any student of Chaldean lore, of the pyramids, or of the ruins of Yucatan. It is a relic of astrology, the science or superstition of the stars.

When a novice in some societies, but not in all (for initiations differ in different places) is to be initiated into the first or apprentice degree, he is led into the lodge building by a stranger to him, and introduced into a remote chamber, where he is left alone for a few minutes.

He is then deprived of all metal he may have about him; his right knee, and in some lodges his left side, are uncovered, and the heel of his left shoe, if he wears a low one, is trodden down. His eyes are bandaged, and he is led into the closet of reflection where he is told to stay without taking off the bandage, until he hears three knocks.

At the signal, on uncovering his eyes, he beholds on the walls with black a variety of inscriptions like the following: "If

idle curiosity draw thee hither, depart!" "If thou be afraid of being enlightened concerning thine errors, it profits thee not to stay here." "If thou value human distinctions, go hence; here they are not known."

After a palaver between the brother who introduces the novice and the master, the candidate, having his eyes again bandaged and a rope passed round his neck, is introduced into the middle of the brethren, his guide pointing a naked sword to his breast.

He is then keenly questioned as to his object in coming there, and on answering that he comes to be initiated into the secrets of Masonry, he is led out of the lodge and back again several times to confuse him on the perception of distances.

A large square frame covered with paper, such as circus riders use, is then brought forward and held by two brethren. The guide then asks the master: "What shall we do with the profane?" To which the master replies: "Shut him up in the cave."

Two brethren seize the postulant and throw him through the paper screen into the arms of two other brethren who stand ready to receive him. The folding doors, hitherto left open, are then shut with noise, and by means of an iron ring and bar the closing of massive locks is imitated, so that the candidate fancies himself shut up in a dungeon. Some time then passes in sepulchral silence.

All at once the master strikes a quick blow, and orders the candidate to be placed beside the junior warden in a kneeling position. The master then addresses several questions to him, and informs him of his duties towards the Order. Next a beverage is offered to the candidate with the intimation that, if any treason lurks in his heart, the drink will turn to poison.

The bowl containing this dangerous drink has two compartments, the one holding sweet, the other bitter water, such as that in a cup of quassia wood. The candidate is then made to repeat: "I bind myself to the strict and rigorous observance of the duties prescribed to Freemasons, and if ever I violate my oath" — (here his guide puts the sweet water to his lips, and having drunk some, the candidate continues) "I consent that the sweetness of this drink be turned into bitterness, and that its salutary effect become for me that of a subtle poison."

The candidate is then made to drink of the bitter water, whereupon the master exclaims: "What do I see? What means the sudden alteration of your features? Perhaps your conscience belies your words? Has the sweet drink already turned bitter? Away with the profane one! This oath is only a test; the true one comes after."

The candidate being then asked if he persists in his determination, and generally answering yes, as his curiosity is now well whetted, he is led a number of times round the lodge; then he is dragged over broken chairs, stools, and blocks of wood. This trial over, he is told to mount the "endless stairs," and having, as he supposes, attained a great height, he is ordered to cast himself down, in which act he only falls a few feet.

This ordeal, which is imitated in other secret orders, and in some with an elaborate cleverness well calculated to delude and scare the average candidate, is accompanied by much noise, the brethren striking on the attributes of the order they carry in their hands, and uttering all kinds of dismal shouts.

As a further trial, he is then passed through fire, which is rendered harmless by well-known conjuring tricks. Then his arm is slightly pricked, and a gurgling noise being produced by one of the brethren, the novice sometimes fancies that he is losing much blood.

Finally, he takes the oath, the brethren standing around him with drawn swords. The candidate is then led between the two pillars, and the brethren place their swords against his breast. The master of the ceremonies loosens the bandage without taking it off. Another brother holds before him a lamp that sheds a brilliant light.

The master speaks: "Brother senior warden, deem you the candidate worthy of forming part of our society?"


"Yes."

"What do you ask for him?"

"Light."

"Then let there be light!"

Three blows with a mallet the master gives, and at the third the bandage is taken off, and the candidate beholds the light, symbolizing that which is to fill his understanding.





A FRENCH LODGE FOR THE RECEPTION OF A MATELL.

The brethren drop their swords, and the candidate is conducted to the altar, where he kneels, whilst the master says: "In the name of the Grand Architect of the Universe, and by virtue of the powers vested in me, I create and constitute thee a masonic apprentice and member of this lodge."

Then striking three more blows with his mallet on the blade of the sword, he raises the new brother, girds him with the apron of white lambskin, gives him a pair of white gloves to be worn in the lodge, and another to be given to the lady he esteems best. He is then again led between the two pillars, and received by the brethren as one of them.

The second degree of symbolic Freemasonry is that of Fellow-Craft. The apprentice, who comes asking for an increase of salary, — a very natural formula for an apprentice — is not conducted like the novice by an unknown brother, nor are his eyes bandaged, because the light was made for him, but he moves towards the lodge holding in his hand a rule, one of whose ends he rests on the left shoulder.

Having reached the door, he gives the apprentice's knock, and having been admitted and declared the purpose for which he comes, he walks five times round the lodge, whereupon he is told by the master to perform his last apprentice's work. He then pretends to square the rough ashlar. After a deal of instruction, he takes the oath in which he swears to keep the secrets entrusted to him.

Then there follows more lecturing on the part of the master, chiefly on geometry, a science which Masons profess to consider very precious but of which they know precious little, and to which the letter G seen in the lodge within an irradiation or star is supposed to refer, but it more likely is a relic of geomancy, an odd business practised by Chinese Masons, especially as to the proper places in which to build a house.

The degree of Master Mason is more interesting. At the reception of a master, the lodge or "middle chamber" is draped with black, with death's heads, skeletons, and cross-bones, and other cheerful welcomes painted on the walls. A taper of yellow wax, placed in the east, and a dark lantern, formed of a skull having a light within, which shines forth through the eye-holes,

placed on the altar of the most Worshipful Master, gives just sufficient light to reveal a coffin, wherein the corpse is represented either by a lay-figure, a serving brother, or by the brother last made a master.

On the coffin is a sprig of acacia, at its head is a square, and at its foot, towards the east, an open compass. The masters are clothed in black,<sup>1</sup> and wear large azure sashes, on which are represented Masonic emblems, the sun, moon, and seven stars. The object of the meeting is said to be the finding of the word of the master, Hiram Abiff, who was slain.

The postulant for admission is introduced after some preliminary ceremonies, having his two arms, breasts, and knees bare, and both heels slip-shod. He is told that the brethren assembled are mourning the death of their Grand Master, and asked whether perhaps he was one of the murderers, and at the same time he is shown the body or figure in the coffin.

Having declared his innocence of any share in that crime, he is informed that he will on this occasion have to enact the part of Hiram, who was slain at the building of Solomon's temple, and whose history he is about to be told.

The brother, or figure in the coffin, has in the meantime been removed, so that when the aspirant looks at it again, much to his surprise he finds it empty. The story of the murder of Hiram is then told in a very impressive fashion. The deed is not, however, as in the Legend of the Temple previously given, attributed to Solomon's jealousy, but simply to Hiram's refusal to communicate the master's word to three fellow-crafts. The various incidents of this story are scenically enacted on the postulant by the brother Masons, for in every lodge there are generally some very fair actors.

"Hiram," the master continues, "having entered the temple at noon, the three assassins placed themselves at the east, west, and south doors, and Hiram refusing to reveal the word, he who stood at the east door cut Hiram across the throat with a twenty-four inch gauge. Hiram flew to the south door, where he received

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The applicant, at this part of the recital, is informed that he, too, must undergo trials, and must not sink under the influence of terror, though the hand of death be upon him. He is then struck on the forehead and thrown down.

The master continues: "The ruffians carried the body out at the west door, and buried it at the side of a hill" — here the postulant is placed in the coffin — "in a grave, on which they stuck a sprig of acacia to mark the spot. Hiram not making his appearance as usual, Solomon caused search to be made for him by twelve trusty fellow-crafts that were sent out, three east, three west, three south, and three north. Of the three who went east, one being weary, sat down on the brow of a hill to rest himself, and in rising caught hold of a twig" — here a twig of that plant is put into the hand of the aspirant lying in the coffin — "which coming up easily, showed that the ground had been recently disturbed, and on digging he and his companions found the body of Hiram. It was in a mangled condition, having lain fourteen days, whereupon one of those present exclaimed ——— which means ——— and this became the master's word, as the former one was lost through Hiram's death; for though the other two masters, Solomon, and Hiram, king of Tyre, knew it, it could only be communicated by the three Grand Masters conjointly. The covering of the grave being green moss and turf, other bystanders exclaimed, '*Musculus domus domino, dei gratia!*' which means, 'Thanks be unto God, our master hath got a mossy house!'"

This exclamation shows that the Hebrew builders of Solomon's temple possessed a prophetic knowledge of the Latin tongue! The body of Hiram could not be raised by the apprentice's or fellow-craft's grip, but only by the master's, or the lion's grip, as it is called. All this is then imitated by the master raising the aspirant in the coffin, who is then told the word, signs and grips, and takes the oath.

Taken literally, the story of Hiram would offer nothing so extraordinary as to deserve to be commemorated after three thousand years throughout the world by solemn rites and ceremonies.



THE CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS.



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To the left of the canopy is a symbol of the sun, and to the right of the moon. Another ornament is the blazing star, and the point within a circle, symbolizing the sun in the universe. A chest or ark also forms part of the Masonic furniture. To the west, at the sides of the door of ingress, stand two pillars of bronze, whose capitals represent pomegranates, bearing on their fronts the initials J. and B. (Jachin and Boaz).

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A FRENCH LODGE FOR THE RECEPTION OF AN APPRENTICE, 1755.



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“Why are you placed there?”

“To mark the sun at its meridian, to call the brethren from labor to refreshment, and from refreshment to labor, that profit and pleasure may be the result.”

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“To mark the setting sun; to close the lodge by the command of the Worshipful Master, after seeing that every one has his just dues.”

“Why is the master placed in the east?”

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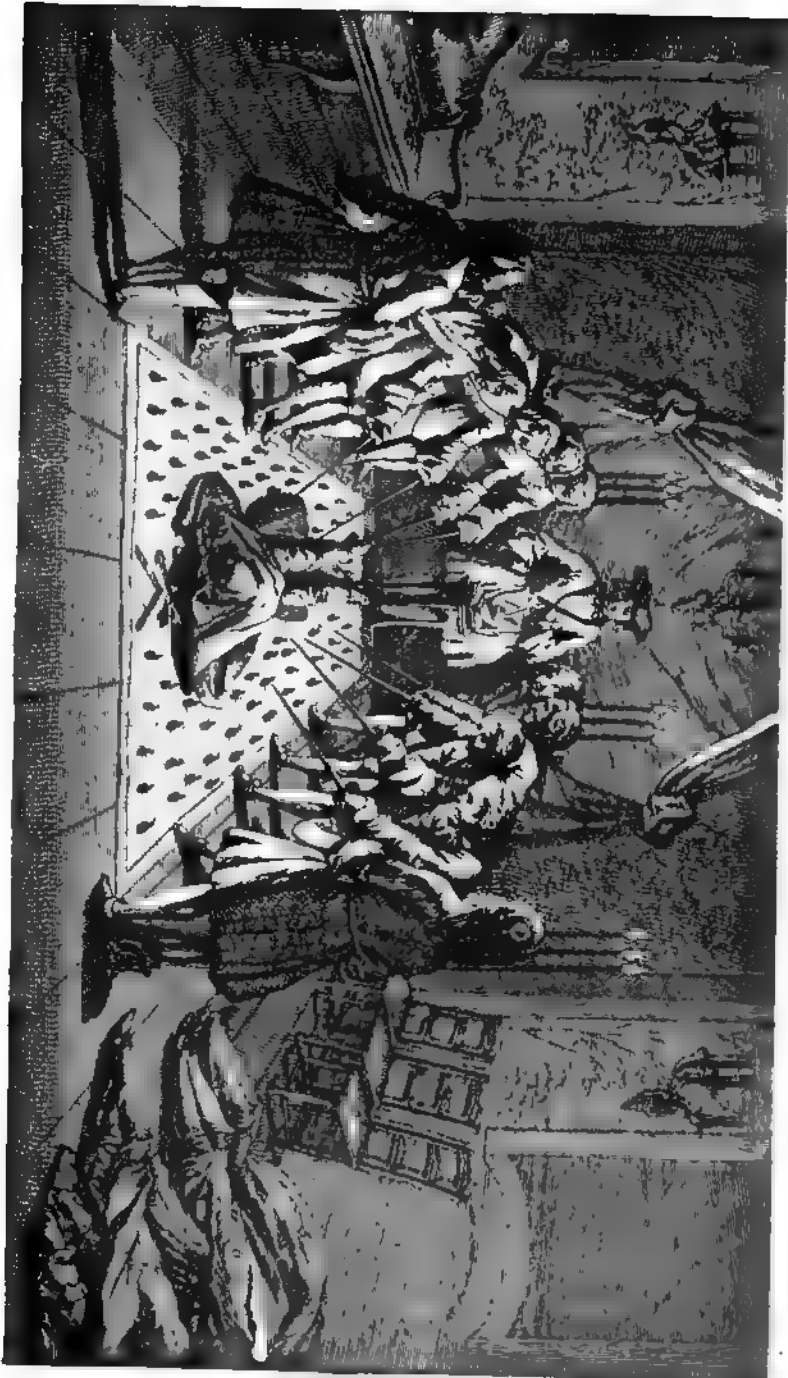
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A FRENCH LOJME FOR THE RECEPTION OF A MASTEL.

The brethren drop their swords, and the candidate is conducted to the altar, where he kneels, whilst the master says: "In the name of the Grand Architect of the Universe, and by virtue of the powers vested in me, I create and constitute thee a masonic apprentice and member of this lodge."

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Having reached the door, he gives the apprentice's knock, and having been admitted and declared the purpose for which he comes, he walks five times round the lodge, whereupon he is told by the master to perform his last apprentice's work. He then pretends to square the rough ashlar. After a deal of instruction, he takes the oath in which he swears to keep the secrets entrusted to him.

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Taken literally, the story of Hiram would offer nothing so extraordinary as to deserve to be commemorated after three thousand years throughout the world by solemn rites and ceremonies.



THE CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS.

The death of an architect is not so important a matter as to have more honor paid to it than is shown to the memory of so many philosophers and learned men who have lost their lives in the cause of human progress. History knows nothing of him. His name, to be sure, is mentioned in the Bible, but it is simply said that he was a man of understanding and cunning in brass. He is remembered nowhere except in Freemasonry; the legend, in fact, is purely allegorical, and may bear a twofold interpretation cosmological and astronomical.

Cosmologically, we find represented therein the dualism of two antagonistic powers, Good and Evil, God and Devil, which is the leading feature of all Eastern initiations. The dramatic portion of the Mysteries of antiquity is always sustained by a deity or man who perishes as the victim of an evil power, and rises again into a more glorious existence. In the ancient Mysteries, i. e., the Priestly Plays, or the dramatic ceremonies of all nations, we constantly meet with the record of a sad event, a crime which plunges nations into strife and grief, succeeded by joy and exultation.

Astronomically, again, the parallel is perfect, and is, in fact, only another version of the legend of Osiris. Hiram represents Osiris, i. e., the sun. The assassins place themselves at the west, south, and east doors, that is, the regions illuminated by the sun; they bury the body, and mark the spot with a sprig of acacia. Twelve persons play an important part in the tragedy, viz., the three murderers (fellow-crafts), and nine masters. This number is a plain allusion to the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the three inferior signs of winter, Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius.

Hiram falls dead at the west door, i. e., the sun descends in the west. The acacia of Freemasonry is the plant found in all the ancient solar allegories, symbolizing the new vegetation to be anticipated by the sun's resurrection. The acacia being looked upon by the ancients as incorruptible, its twigs were preferred for covering the body of the god-man to the myrtle, laurel, and other plants also mentioned in the ancient Mysteries.

Hiram's body is in a state of decay, having lain fourteen days, according to one legend; the body of Osiris was cut into fourteen pieces. But, according to other statements, the body was found

on the seventh day; this would allude to the resurrection of the sun, which actually takes place in the seventh month after his passage through the inferior signs, that passage which is called his descent into hell.

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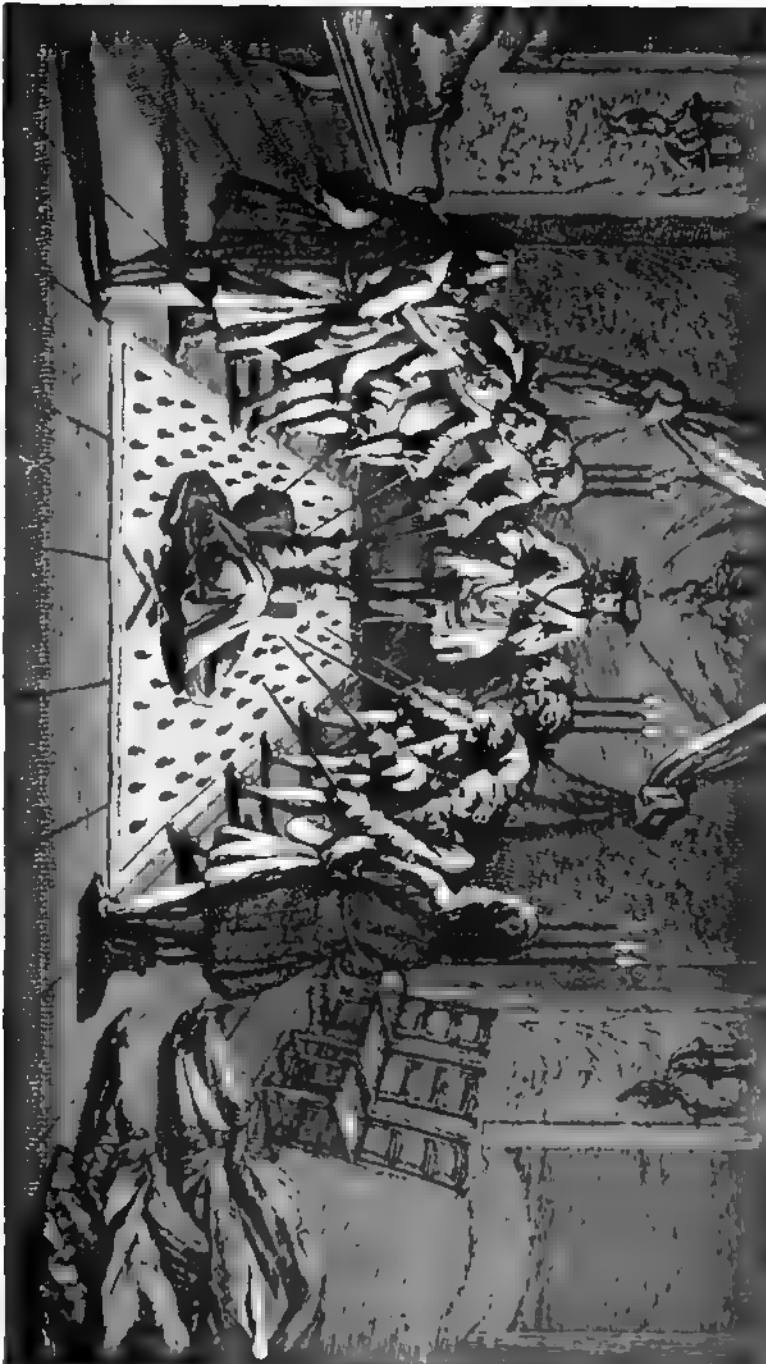
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A FRENCH LOIR FOR THE PROTECTION OF A MANTLE.

The brethren drop their swords, and the candidate is conducted to the altar, where he kneels, whilst the master says: "In the name of the Grand Architect of the Universe, and by virtue of the powers vested in me, I create and constitute thee a masonic apprentice and member of this lodge."

Then striking three more blows with his mallet on the blade of the sword, he raises the new brother, girds him with the apron of white lambskin, gives him a pair of white gloves to be worn in the lodge, and another to be given to the lady he esteems best. He is then again led between the two pillars, and received by the brethren as one of them.

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placed on the altar of the most Worshipful Master, gives just sufficient light to reveal a coffin, wherein the corpse is represented either by a lay-figure, a serving brother, or by the brother last made a master.

On the coffin is a sprig of acacia, at its head is a square, and at its foot, towards the east, an open compass. The masters are clothed in black,<sup>1</sup> and wear large azure sashes, on which are represented Masonic emblems, the sun, moon, and seven stars. The object of the meeting is said to be the finding of the word of the master, Hiram Abiff, who was slain.

The postulant for admission is introduced after some preliminary ceremonies, having his two arms, breasts, and knees bare, and both heels slip-shod. He is told that the brethren assembled are mourning the death of their Grand Master, and asked whether perhaps he was one of the murderers, and at the same time he is shown the body or figure in the coffin.

Having declared his innocence of any share in that crime, he is informed that he will on this occasion have to enact the part of Hiram, who was slain at the building of Solomon's temple, and whose history he is about to be told.

The brother, or figure in the coffin, has in the meantime been removed, so that when the aspirant looks at it again, much to his surprise he finds it empty. The story of the murder of Hiram is then told in a very impressive fashion. The deed is not, however, as in the Legend of the Temple previously given, attributed to Solomon's jealousy, but simply to Hiram's refusal to communicate the master's word to three fellow-crafts. The various incidents of this story are scenically enacted on the postulant by the brother Masons, for in every lodge there are generally some very fair actors.

"Hiram," the master continues, "having entered the temple at noon, the three assassins placed themselves at the east, west, and south doors, and Hiram refusing to reveal the word, he who stood at the east door cut Hiram across the throat with a twenty-four inch gauge. Hiram flew to the south door, where he received

<sup>1</sup> In New York is a lodge composed entirely of actors who once a year meet and go through all the Masonic ceremonies attired in gorgeous costumes of truly oriental and Solomonian magnificence. This drama, all Masonic witnesses agree, is equal in impressiveness to the celebrated Passion Play at Oberammergau.



similar treatment, and thence to the west door, where he was struck on the head with a gavel which occasioned his death."

The applicant, at this part of the recital, is informed that he, too, must undergo trials, and must not sink under the influence of terror, though the hand of death be upon him. He is then struck on the forehead and thrown down.

The master continues: "The ruffians carried the body out at the west door, and buried it at the side of a hill" — here the postulant is placed in the coffin — "in a grave, on which they stuck a sprig of acacia to mark the spot. Hiram not making his appearance as usual, Solomon caused search to be made for him by twelve trusty fellow-crafts that were sent out, three east, three west, three south, and three north. Of the three who went east, one being weary, sat down on the brow of a hill to rest himself, and in rising caught hold of a twig" — here a twig of that plant is put into the hand of the aspirant lying in the coffin — "which coming up easily, showed that the ground had been recently disturbed, and on digging he and his companions found the body of Hiram. It was in a mangled condition, having lain fourteen days, whereupon one of those present exclaimed ——— which means ——— and this became the master's word, as the former one was lost through Hiram's death; for though the other two masters, Solomon, and Hiram, king of Tyre, knew it, it could only be communicated by the three Grand Masters conjointly. The covering of the grave being green moss and turf, other bystanders exclaimed, '*Muscus domus domino, dei gratia!*' which means, 'Thanks be unto God, our master hath got a mossy house!'"

This exclamation shows that the Hebrew builders of Solomon's temple possessed a prophetic knowledge of the Latin tongue! The body of Hiram could not be raised by the apprentice's or fellow-craft's grip, but only by the master's, or the lion's grip, as it is called. All this is then imitated by the master raising the aspirant in the coffin, who is then told the word, signs and grips, and takes the oath.

Taken literally, the story of Hiram would offer nothing so extraordinary as to deserve to be commemorated after three thousand years throughout the world by solemn rites and ceremonies.



THE CATHEDRAL AT REIMS

The death of an architect is not so important a matter as to have more honor paid to it than is shown to the memory of so many philosophers and learned men who have lost their lives in the cause of human progress. History knows nothing of him. His name, to be sure, is mentioned in the Bible, but it is simply said that he was a man of understanding and cunning in brass. He is remembered nowhere except in Freemasonry; the legend, in fact, is purely allegorical, and may bear a twofold interpretation cosmological and astronomical.

Cosmologically, we find represented therein the dualism of two antagonistic powers, Good and Evil, God and Devil, which is the leading feature of all Eastern initiations. The dramatic portion of the Mysteries of antiquity is always sustained by a deity or man who perishes as the victim of an evil power, and rises again into a more glorious existence. In the ancient Mysteries, i. e., the Priestly Plays, or the dramatic ceremonies of all nations, we constantly meet with the record of a sad event, a crime which plunges nations into strife and grief, succeeded by joy and exultation.

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They then pass under the living arch, which is made by the companions either joining their hands and holding them up, or by holding their rods or swords so as to resemble a gothic arch. This part of the ceremony used to be attended in some lodges with much tomfoolery and rough horse play. The companions would drop down on the candidates, who were obliged to support themselves on their hands and knees; and if they went too slowly, it was not unusual for one or more of the companions to apply a sharp point to their bodies to urge them on.

Trials, such as the candidates for initiation into the ancient mysteries had to go through, were also imitated in the royal arch. But few, if any, lodges now practise these tricks, fit only for clowns in vulgar pantomimes. The candidates, after taking the oath, declare that they come in order to assist at the rebuilding of Solomon's temple, whereupon they are furnished with pickaxes, shovels, and crowbars, and retire.

After awhile, during which they are supposed to have been at work and to have made a discovery, they return, and state, that on digging for the new foundation they discovered an underground vault, into which one of them was let down, where he found a scroll, which on examination turns out to be the long-lost book of the law.

They set to work again, and discover another vault, and under that a third. The sun having now gained his meridian height, darts his rays to the centre, and shines on a white marble pedestal, on which is a plate of gold. On this plate is a double triangle, and within the triangle some words they cannot understand; they therefore take the plate to Zerubbabel.

There the whole mystery of Masonry — as far as known to Masons — is unveiled; what the Masons have long been in search of is found, for the mysterious writing in a triangular form is the long lost sacred word of the Master Mason which Solomon and King Hiram deposited there, as we have seen in the master's degree.

This was no other than the *logos* of Plato and Saint John, the jewel in the bosom of the lotos of Buddha, *Aum*, the omnific word; but another compound name, intended to bear the same import, is substituted by modern Masons, and is communicated to



THE OLD TIN TAVERN AT PHILADELPHIA, WHERE THE FIRST AMERICAN LODGE WAS ORGANIZED.


the candidates in this way: The three principals and each three companions form the triangles; each of the three takes his left hand companion by the right-hand wrist, and his right-hand companion by the left-hand wrist, forming two distinct triangles with the hands, and a triangle with their right feet, amounting to a triple triangle; then they pronounce the following words:—

As we three did agree,  
In peace, love, and unity,  
The sacred word to keep,  
So we three do agree,  
In peace, love, and unity,  
The sacred word to search,  
Until we three,  
Or three such as we, shall agree  
This royal arch chapter to close.

The right hands, still joined as a triangle, are raised as high as possible, and the word given at low breath in syllables, so that each companion has to pronounce the whole word. It is not permitted to utter this omnific word above the breath. Zerubbabel next makes the new companions acquainted with the five signs used in this degree, and invests them with the badges of Royal Arch Masonry, the apron, sash, and jewel.

The character on the apron is the triple Tau, one of the most ancient of emblems, and Masons call it the emblem of emblems, "with a depth that reaches to the creation of the world and all that is therein." This triple Tau is a compound figure of three T's, called Tau in Greek. Now this Tau or T is the figure of the old Egyptian Nilometer, which was a pole crossed with one or more transverse pieces, used to ascertain the height of the inundation.

As on the Nile's overflow depended the harvest, the life of the inhabitants, the Nilometer thus became the symbol of life, health and prosperity, was accounted a talisman against evil, and thus, as an amulet, was introduced among Masonic emblems. Herein lies the grand secret of Masonry which passes by symbols from superstitions to science.

The influence of Masonry or the bearing of the Order on great  in modern times will be found worthy of study by the both in and out of the fold. A few points only can be

noted in one chapter. Masonry was at its height in France just before, during, and after the Revolution, and part of the immense popularity of our agent, Benjamin Franklin, at the French court, is supposed to be due to his high Masonic rank and intense interest in the society.

Napoleon at first meant to suppress Masonry. The representative system of the Grand Orient clashed with his monarchical principles, and the oligarchic spirit of the Scotch rite aroused his suspicions. The Parisian lodges, however, practised in the art of flattery, humbled themselves before the first consul, prostrated themselves before the emperor, and sued for grace. The suspicions of Napoleon were not dissipated; but he perceived the policy of avoiding violent measures, and of controlling a body that might turn against him.

After considerable hesitation, he declared in favor of the Grand Orient, and the Scotch rite had to assume the second place. A single word of Napoleon had done more to establish peace between these rivals than all former machinations. The Grand Orient became a court office, and Masonry an army of employees.

The Grand Mastership was offered to Joseph Napoleon, who accepted it, though never initiated into Freemasonry, with the consent of his brother, but Napoleon, for greater security, insisted on having his trusty arch-chancellor Cambacérès appointed Grand Master Adjunct, to be in reality the only head of the order.

Gradually all the various branches existing in France gave in their adhesion to the imperial policy, electing Cambacérès as their chief dignitary, so that he eventually possessed more Masonic titles than any other man before or after him. In 1805, he was made Grand Master Adjunct of the Grand Orient; in 1806, Sovereign Grand Master of the Supreme Grand Council; in the same year, Grand Master of the rite of Heroden of Kilwinning; in 1807, Supreme head of the French rite; in the same year, Grand Master of the Philosophic Scotch rite; in 1808, Grand Master of the Order of Christ; in 1809, National Grand Master of the Knights of the Holy City; in the same year. Protector of the High Philosophic Degrees.

But soon Masonic disputes among the branches again ran high. The arch-chancellor, accustomed and attached to the usages and



prince of courts, society gave preference to the French one with its high sounding titles and gorgeous ceremonies. The Grand Orient then carried its complaints to Napoleon, who grew weary of such farce. — he who planned grand national dramas — and at one time he determined on abolishing the Order altogether, but Cambacérès succeeded in arresting his purpose, showing him the dangers that might come from its suppression — dangers which must have appeared great since Napoleon, who had never hesitated, hesitated then, and allowed another to alter his views.

Possibly the despot recognized the necessity in French society of a body of men who were free, at least in appearance, as a kind of political safety valve. The French had taken a liking to their lodges, where they found a phantom of independence, and might consider themselves on neutral ground, for as a Masonic writer of that era remarked: "In the bosom of Masonry there circulates a little of that vital air so necessary to generous minds."

In 1812, there existed in France one thousand and eighty-nine lodges, all depending on the Grand Orient; the army had sixty-nine, and the lodge was opened and closed with the cry. *Vive l'Empereur!* — Long live the emperor, — a piece of obsequiousness of which, never since that day, has Freemasonry been guilty.

Napoleon, from merely tolerating it and keeping it well in hand, at last employed it in the army, in the newly occupied territories, and in such as he intended to occupy. Imperial proselytism turned the lodges into schools of Napoleonism. So that it becomes probable, if not certain, that Napoleon, by means of the Masonic society, facilitated or secured his conquests.

Spain, Germany, and Italy were covered with lodges — ante-chambers, more than anything else, of prefectures and military commands — presided over and governed by soldiers. The highest dignitaries of Masonry at that period were marshals, knights of the Legion of Honor, nobles of ancient descent, senators, councillors, all safe and trusty persons; a state that obeyed the orders of Cambacérès, as he obeyed the orders of Napoleon.

Obsequiousness then verged on the ridiculous. The half yearly words of command of the Grand Orient Lodge of that era retrace the history of Napoleonic progress. In 1800, the lodge words were, "Science and Peace"; in 1802, after the battle of Marengo,



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The master speaks: "Brother senior warden, deem you the candidate worthy of forming part of our society?"

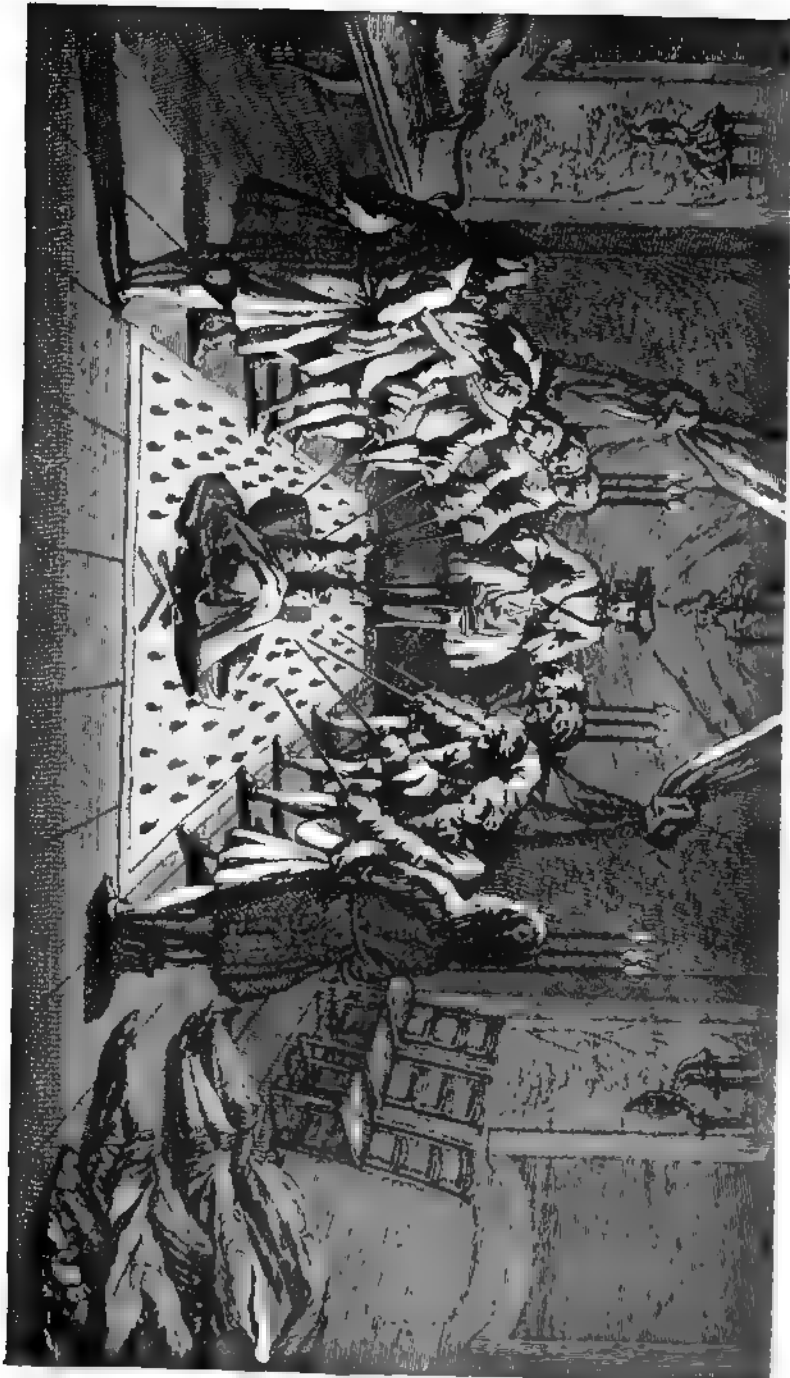
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Then there follows more lecturing on the part of the master, chiefly on geometry, a science which Masons profess to consider very precious but of which they know precious little, and to which the letter G seen in the lodge within an irradiation or star is supposed to refer, but it more likely is a relic of geomancy, an odd business practised by Chinese Masons, especially as to the proper places in which to build a house.

The degree of Master Mason is more interesting. At the reception of a master, the lodge or "middle chamber" is draped with black, with death's heads, skeletons, and cross-bones, and other cheerful welcomes painted on the walls. A taper of yellow wax, placed in the east, and a dark lantern, formed of a skull having a light within, which shines forth through the eye-holes,

placed on the altar of the most Worshipful Master, gives just sufficient light to reveal a coffin, wherein the corpse is represented either by a lay-figure, a serving brother, or by the brother last made a master.

On the coffin is a sprig of acacia, at its head is a square, and at its foot, towards the east, an open compass. The masters are clothed in black,<sup>1</sup> and wear large azure sashes, on which are represented Masonic emblems, the sun, moon, and seven stars. The object of the meeting is said to be the finding of the word of the master, Hiram Abiff, who was slain.

The postulant for admission is introduced after some preliminary ceremonies, having his two arms, breasts, and knees bare, and both heels slip-shod. He is told that the brethren assembled are mourning the death of their Grand Master, and asked whether perhaps he was one of the murderers, and at the same time he is shown the body or figure in the coffin.

Having declared his innocence of any share in that crime, he is informed that he will on this occasion have to enact the part of Hiram, who was slain at the building of Solomon's temple, and whose history he is about to be told.

The brother, or figure in the coffin, has in the meantime been removed, so that when the aspirant looks at it again, much to his surprise he finds it empty. The story of the murder of Hiram is then told in a very impressive fashion. The deed is not, however, as in the Legend of the Temple previously given, attributed to Solomon's jealousy, but simply to Hiram's refusal to communicate the master's word to three fellow-crafts. The various incidents of this story are scenically enacted on the postulant by the brother Masons, for in every lodge there are generally some very fair actors.

"Hiram," the master continues, "having entered the temple at noon, the three assassins placed themselves at the east, west, and south doors, and Hiram refusing to reveal the word, he who stood at the east door cut Hiram across the throat with a twenty-four inch gauge. Hiram flew to the south door, where he received

<sup>1</sup> In New York is a lodge composed entirely of actors who once a year meet and go through all the Masonic ceremonies attired in gorgeous costumes of truly oriental and Solomonic magnificence. This drama, all Masonic witnesses agree, is equal in impressiveness to the celebrated Passion Play at Oberammergau.



similar treatment, and thence to the west door, where he was struck on the head with a gavel which occasioned his death."

The applicant, at this part of the recital, is informed that he, too, must undergo trials, and must not sink under the influence of terror, though the hand of death be upon him. He is then struck on the forehead and thrown down.

The master continues: "The ruffians carried the body out at the west door, and buried it at the side of a hill" — here the postulant is placed in the coffin — "in a grave, on which they stuck a sprig of acacia to mark the spot. Hiram not making his appearance as usual, Solomon caused search to be made for him by twelve trusty fellow-crafts that were sent out, three east, three west, three south, and three north. Of the three who went east, one being weary, sat down on the brow of a hill to rest himself, and in rising caught hold of a twig" — here a twig of that plant is put into the hand of the aspirant lying in the coffin — "which coming up easily, showed that the ground had been recently disturbed, and on digging he and his companions found the body of Hiram. It was in a mangled condition, having lain fourteen days, whereupon one of those present exclaimed ——— which means ——— and this became the master's word, as the former one was lost through Hiram's death; for though the other two masters, Solomon, and Hiram, king of Tyre, knew it, it could only be communicated by the three Grand Masters conjointly. The covering of the grave being green moss and turf, other bystanders exclaimed, '*Muscus domus domino, dei gratia!*' which means, 'Thanks be unto God, our master hath got a mossy house!'"

This exclamation shows that the Hebrew builders of Solomon's temple possessed a prophetic knowledge of the Latin tongue! The body of Hiram could not be raised by the apprentice's or fellow-craft's grip, but only by the master's, or the lion's grip, as it is called. All this is then imitated by the master raising the aspirant in the coffin, who is then told the word, signs and grips, and takes the oath.

Taken literally, the story of Hiram would offer nothing so extraordinary as to deserve to be commemorated after three thousand years throughout the world by solemn rites and ceremonies.



THE CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS.

The death of an architect is not so important a matter as to have more honor paid to it than is shown to the memory of so many philosophers and learned men who have lost their lives in the cause of human progress. History knows nothing of him. His name, to be sure, is mentioned in the Bible, but it is simply said that he was a man of understanding and cunning in brass. He is remembered nowhere except in Freemasonry; the legend, in fact, is purely allegorical, and may bear a twofold interpretation cosmological and astronomical.

Cosmologically, we find represented therein the dualism of two antagonistic powers, Good and Evil, God and Devil, which is the leading feature of all Eastern initiations. The dramatic portion of the Mysteries of antiquity is always sustained by a deity or man who perishes as the victim of an evil power, and rises again into a more glorious existence. In the ancient Mysteries, i. e., the Priestly Plays, or the dramatic ceremonies of all nations, we constantly meet with the record of a sad event, a crime which plunges nations into strife and grief, succeeded by joy and exultation.

Astronomically, again, the parallel is perfect, and is, in fact, only another version of the legend of Osiris. Hiram represents Osiris, i. e., the sun. The assassins place themselves at the west, south, and east doors, that is, the regions illuminated by the sun; they bury the body, and mark the spot with a sprig of acacia. Twelve persons play an important part in the tragedy, viz., the three murderers (fellow-crafts), and nine masters. This number is a plain allusion to the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the three inferior signs of winter, Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius.

Hiram falls dead at the west door, i. e., the sun descends in the west. The acacia of Freemasonry is the plant found in all the ancient solar allegories, symbolizing the new vegetation to be anticipated by the sun's resurrection. The acacia being looked upon by the ancients as incorruptible, its twigs were preferred for covering the body of the god-man to the myrtle, laurel, and other plants also mentioned in the ancient Mysteries.

Hiram's body is in a state of decay, having lain fourteen days, according to one legend; the body of Osiris was cut into fourteen pieces. But, according to other statements, the body was found

on the seventh day; this would allude to the resurrection of the sun, which actually takes place in the seventh month after his passage through the inferior signs, that passage which is called his descent into hell.

Hiram can only be raised by the lion's grip. It is through the instrumentality of Leo,<sup>1</sup> the sign of the lion, that Osiris is raised; it is when the sun re-enters that sign that he regains his former strength, that his restoration to full life takes place. Masons in this degree call themselves the "children of the widow," the sun on descending into his tomb leaving nature — of whom Masons consider themselves the pupils — a widow; yet this appellation may also have its origin in some reminiscence of the Manichean sect, whose followers were known as the "sons of the widow."

The degree of the Holy Royal Arch is also worthy of attention. The members of this are denominated "companions." There are nine officers, the chief of whom (in England) is Zerubbabel, a compound word, meaning "the bright lord, the sun." He rebuilds the temple, and therefore represents the sun risen again. The next officer is Jeshua, the high priest; the third, Haggai, the prophet.

These three compose the grand council. Principals and senior and junior scribes, one on each side, janitor or tyler without the door, these companions assembled make up the sides of the arch, representing the pillars Jachin and Boaz. In front of the principals stands an altar, inscribed with the names of Solomon, Hiram, King of Tyre, and Hiram Abiff.

On entering the chapter, the companions give the sign of sorrow, in imitation of the ancients mourning for the loss of Osiris. Nine companions must be present at the opening of a Royal Arch chapter; not more nor less than three are permitted to take this degree at the same time, the two numbers making up the twelve, the number of zodiacal signs. The candidates are prepared by tying a bandage over their eyes, and coiling a rope seven times round the body of each, which unites them together, with three feet of slack between them.

<sup>1</sup> Edgar Poe, the most mysterious of moderns, who dabbled in all occultisms, and whose writings are full of astrological references, in his weird *Utaume* has similar lines:

Came up through the lair of the Lion  
With love in her luminous eyes.

They then pass under the living arch, which is made by the companions either joining their hands and holding them up, or by holding their rods or swords so as to resemble a gothic arch. This part of the ceremony used to be attended in some lodges with much tomfoolery and rough horse play. The companions would drop down on the candidates, who were obliged to support themselves on their hands and knees; and if they went too slowly, it was not unusual for one or more of the companions to apply a sharp point to their bodies to urge them on.

Trials, such as the candidates for initiation into the ancient mysteries had to go through, were also imitated in the royal arch. But few, if any, lodges now practise these tricks, fit only for clowns in vulgar pantomimes. The candidates, after taking the oath, declare that they come in order to assist at the rebuilding of Solomon's temple, whereupon they are furnished with pickaxes, shovels, and crowbars, and retire.

After awhile, during which they are supposed to have been at work and to have made a discovery, they return, and state, that on digging for the new foundation they discovered an underground vault, into which one of them was let down, where he found a scroll, which on examination turns out to be the long-lost book of the law.

They set to work again, and discover another vault, and under that a third. The sun having now gained his meridian height, darts his rays to the centre, and shines on a white marble pedestal, on which is a plate of gold. On this plate is a double triangle, and within the triangle some words they cannot understand; they therefore take the plate to Zerubbabel.

There the whole mystery of Masonry — as far as known to Masons — is unveiled; what the Masons have long been in search of is found, for the mysterious writing in a triangular form is the long lost sacred word of the Master Mason which Solomon and King Hiram deposited there, as we have seen in the master's degree.

This was no other than the *logos* of Plato and Saint John, the jewel in the bosom of the lotos of Buddha, *Aum*, the omnific word; but another compound name, intended to bear the same import, is substituted by modern Masons, and is communicated to



THE OLD TUN TAVERN AT PHILADELPHIA, WHERE THE FIRST AMERICAN LODGE WAS ORGANIZED.

the candidates in this way: The three principals and each three companions form the triangles; each of the three takes his left hand companion by the right-hand wrist, and his right-hand companion by the left-hand wrist, forming two distinct triangles with the hands, and a triangle with their right feet, amounting to a triple triangle; then they pronounce the following words:—

As we three did agree,  
In peace, love, and unity,  
The sacred word to keep,  
So we three do agree,  
In peace, love, and unity,  
The sacred word to search,  
Until we three,  
Or three such as we, shall agree  
This royal arch chapter to close.

The right hands, still joined as a triangle, are raised as high as possible, and the word given at low breath in syllables, so that each companion has to pronounce the whole word. It is not permitted to utter this omnific word above the breath. Zerubbabel next makes the new companions acquainted with the five signs used in this degree, and invests them with the badges of Royal Arch Masonry, the apron, sash, and jewel.

The character on the apron is the triple Tau, one of the most ancient of emblems, and Masons call it the emblem of emblems, “with a depth that reaches to the creation of the world and all that is therein.” This triple Tau is a compound figure of three T’s, called Tau in Greek. Now this Tau or T is the figure of the old Egyptian Nilometer, which was a pole crossed with one or more transverse pieces, used to ascertain the height of the inundation.

As on the Nile’s overflow depended the harvest, the life of the inhabitants, the Nilometer thus became the symbol of life, health and prosperity, was accounted a talisman against evil, and thus, as an amulet, was introduced among Masonic emblems. Herein lies the grand secret of Masonry which passes by symbols from superstitions to science.

The influence of Masonry or the bearing of the Order on great events in modern times will be found worthy of study by the curious both in and out of the fold. A few points only can be

noted in one chapter. Masonry was at its height in France just before, during, and after the Revolution, and part of the immense popularity of our agent, Benjamin Franklin, at the French court, is supposed to be due to his high Masonic rank and intense interest in the society.

Napoleon at first meant to suppress Masonry. The representative system of the Grand Orient clashed with his monarchical principles, and the oligarchic spirit of the Scotch rite aroused his suspicions. The Parisian lodges, however, practised in the art of flattery, humbled themselves before the first consul, prostrated themselves before the emperor, and sued for grace. The suspicions of Napoleon were not dissipated; but he perceived the policy of avoiding violent measures, and of controlling a body that might turn against him.

After considerable hesitation, he declared in favor of the Grand Orient, and the Scotch rite had to assume the second place. A single word of Napoleon had done more to establish peace between these rivals than all former machinations. The Grand Orient became a court office, and Masonry an army of employees.

The Grand Mastership was offered to Joseph Napoleon, who accepted it, though never initiated into Freemasonry, with the consent of his brother, but Napoleon, for greater security, insisted on having his trusty arch-chancellor Cambacérès appointed Grand Master Adjunct, to be in reality the only head of the order.

Gradually all the various branches existing in France gave in their adhesion to the imperial policy, electing Cambacérès as their chief dignitary, so that he eventually possessed more Masonic titles than any other man before or after him. In 1805, he was made Grand Master Adjunct of the Grand Orient; in 1806, Sovereign Grand Master of the Supreme Grand Council; in the same year, Grand Master of the rite of Heroden of Kilwinning; in 1807, Supreme head of the French rite; in the same year, Grand Master of the Philosophic Scotch rite; in 1808, Grand Master of the Order of Christ; in 1809, National Grand Master of the Knights of the Holy City; in the same year, Protector of the High Philosophic Degrees.

: But soon Masonic disputes among the branches again ran high. The arch-chancellor, accustomed and attached to the usages and



pomps of courts, secretly gave preference to the Scotch rite with its high sounding titles and gorgeous ceremonies. The Grand Orient then carried its complaints to Napoleon, who grew weary of such farces. — he who planned grand national dramas — and at one time he determined on abolishing the Order altogether, but Cambacérès succeeded in arresting his purpose, showing him the dangers that might ensue from its suppression — dangers which must have appeared great, since Napoleon, who had never hesitated, hesitated then, and allowed another to alter his views.

Possibly the despot recognized the necessity in French society of a body of men who were free, at least in appearance, as a kind of political safety valve. The French had taken a liking to their lodges, where they found a phantom of independence, and might consider themselves on neutral ground, for as a Masonic writer of that era remarked: "In the bosom of Masonry there circulates a little of that vital air so necessary to generous minds."

In 1812, there existed in France one thousand and eighty-nine lodges, all depending on the Grand Orient: the army had sixty-nine, and the lodge was opened and closed with the cry, *Vive l'Empereur!* — Long live the emperor, — a piece of obsequiousness of which, never since that day, has Freemasonry been guilty.

Napoleon, from merely tolerating it and keeping it well in hand, at last employed it in the army, in the newly occupied territories, and in such as he intended to occupy. Imperial proselytism turned the lodges into schools of Napoleonism. So that it becomes probable, if not certain, that Napoleon, by means of the Masonic society, facilitated or secured his conquests.

Spain, Germany, and Italy were covered with lodges — ante-chambers, more than anything else, of prefectures and military commands — presided over and governed by soldiers. The highest dignitaries of Masonry at that period were marshals, knights of the Legion of Honor, nobles of ancient descent, senators, councillors, all safe and trusty persons; a state that obeyed the orders of Cambacérès, as he obeyed the orders of Napoleon.

Obsequiousness then verged on the ridiculous. The half yearly words of command of the Grand Orient Lodge of that era retrace the history of Napoleonic progress. In 1800, the lodge words were, "Science and Peace"; in 1802, after the battle of Marengo,



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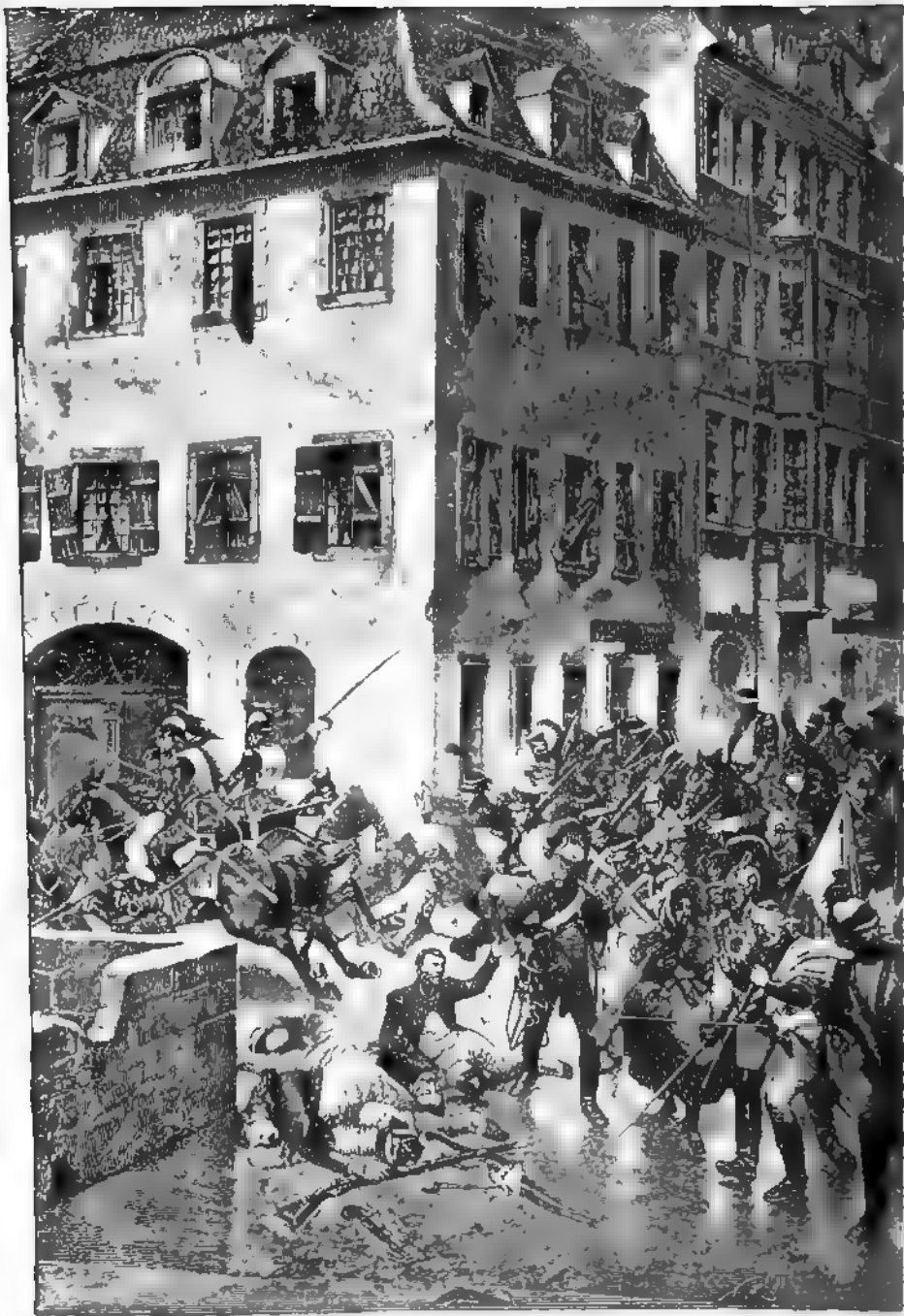
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NAPOLEO



FROM LEIPZIG.





"Unity and Success"; in 1804, after the coronation, "Contentment and Greatness"; after the battle of Friedland, "Emperor and Confidence"; after the suppression of the tribune, "Fidelity"; at the birth of Napoleon's son, styled the King of Rome, "Posterity and Joy"; at the departure of the army of Russia, "Victory and Return."

Frightful victory! Melancholy return! Napoleon fell and Masonry rose again from the dust of servility to her true stature and proper attitude. Some scholars incline to the opinion that in spite of the truckling of French Masons to Napoleon, Masons elsewhere were so active against him that his fall should be accredited more to Masonry than to Muscovite weather and his own headlong confidence in his "star." They claim that, dating from his retreat at Leipsic, of which a picture photographic in its realism is given here, the influence of Masonry was thrown against him into that scale of Destiny in which he was weighed and found human.

Of course, Masonry offered an excellent field to adventurers and skilful impostors to cultivate a crop of credulity by professing to introduce new rites discovered or recovered by themselves from the dusty crypts of tradition. It would take up too much space to recount all the impostures which in the name of Masonry have been foisted on the public. Let Cagliostro, with his Egyptian Masonry, suffice as a specimen.

Joseph Balsamo, the disciple and successor of Saint Germain, who pretended at the court of Louis XV. to have been the contemporary of Charles V., Francis I., and Christ, and to possess the elixir of life and many other secrets, had vaster designs and a loftier ambition than his teacher, and was one of the most active agents of Freemasonry in France and the rest of Europe.

Balsamo was born at Palermo in 1743, and educated at two convents in that city, where he acquired some chemical knowledge. As a young man, he fell in with an Armenian, or Greek, or Spaniard, called Althotas, a kind of adventurer who professed to possess the philosopher's stone, with whom he led a roving life for a number of years. What finally became of Althotas is not positively known, but Balsamo found his way to Rome, where he married the beautiful Lorenza Feliciano, whom he

treated so badly that she ran away from him; but he recovered her and acquired still greater influence over her by magnetically operating upon her. There seems to be no doubt that he was a remarkable magnetizer.

Visiting Germany, he was initiated into Freemasonry in which he soon began to take a prominent part. He also assumed different titles, such as that of Marquis of Pellegrini, but the one he is best known by is that of Count Cagliostro; and by his astuteness, impudence, and some lucky hits at prophesying, he acquired a European notoriety and made many dupes, including persons of the highest rank, especially in France, where he founded many new Masonic lodges.

He was the author of a book called "The Rite of Egyptian Masonry," which rite he established first in Courland, and afterwards in Germany, France, and England. After having been banished from France, in consequence of his implication in a matter concerning the queen, and driven from England by his creditors, he was induced by his wife, who was weary of her wandering life, and anxious once more to see her relations, to visit Rome, where he was arrested on the charge of attempting to found a Masonic lodge, against which a papal bull had recently been promulgated, and was thrown into the castle of Saint Angelo, in 1789. He was condemned to death, but the punishment was commuted to perpetual imprisonment. His wife was shut up in a convent, and died soon after. Having been transferred to the Castle of San Leo, he attempted to strangle the monk who had been sent to confess him, in the hope of escaping in his gown; but the attempt failed, and it is supposed he died, a prisoner, in 1795.

The Egyptian rite invented by Cagliostro is a mixture of the sacred and profane, of the serious and laughable; charlatanism is its prevailing feature. Having discovered a MS. of George Cofton, in which was propounded a singular scheme for the reform of Freemasonry in an alchymistic and fantastic sense, Cagliostro succeeded in gaining many followers and much wealth, by means of this rite which he appears to have borrowed from Cofton. He gave his dupes to understand that the scope of Egyptian Masonry was to conduct men to perfection by means of physical

and moral regeneration; asserting that the former was certain through the use of *prima materia*<sup>1</sup> and the philosopher's stone, which assured to man the strength of youth and immortality, and that the second was to be achieved by the discovery of a pentagon that would restore man to his primitive innocence.

This rite indeed is a tissue of fatuities it would not be worth while to allude to, did it not offer matter for study to the philosopher and moralist. Cagliostro pretended that the rite had been first founded by Enoch, remodelled by Elias, and finally restored by the Grand Copt. Both men and women — this latter an exception to Masonic customs — were admitted, though the ceremonies for each were slightly different, and the lodges for their reception entirely distinct.

In the reception of women, among other formalities there was that of breathing into the face of the neophyte, saying, "I breathe upon you this breath to cause to germinate in you and grow in your heart the truth we possess; I breathe it into you to strengthen in you good intentions, and to confirm you in the faith of your brothers and sisters. We constitute you a legitimate daughter of true Egyptian adoption and of this worshipful lodge."

One of the lodges was called "Sinai," where the most secret rites were performed; another "Ararat," to symbolize the rest reserved for Masons only. Concerning the pentagon, Cagliostro taught that it would be given to the masters after forty days of intercourse with the seven primitive angels, and that its possessors would enjoy a physical regeneration for 5557 years, after which they would, through gentle sleep, pass into heaven.

The pentagon had as much success with the upper ten thousand of London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, as the philosopher's stone ever enjoyed; and large sums were given for a few grains of the rejuvenating *prima materia*. There exists yet between Basle and Strasburg a sumptuous Chinese temple, where the famous pentagon was worshipped; and the lodge "Sinai" at Lyons was as gorgeous as a palace.

But besides Masonic delusions, Cagliostro made use of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Prima materia* — Primal (or original) matter, supposed to contain a condensation of vital forces.

treated so badly that she ran away from him; but he recovered her and acquired still greater influence over her by magnetically operating upon her. There seems to be no doubt that he was a remarkable magnetizer.

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In the reception of women, among other formalities there was that of breathing into the face of the neophyte, saying, "I breathe upon you this breath to cause to germinate in you and grow in your heart the truth we possess; I breathe it into you to strengthen in you good intentions, and to confirm you in the faith of your brothers and sisters. We constitute you a legitimate daughter of true Egyptian adoption and of this worshipful lodge."

One of the lodges was called "Sinai," where the most secret rites were performed; another "Ararat," to symbolize the rest reserved for Masons only. Concerning the pentagon, Cagliostro taught that it would be given to the masters after forty days of intercourse with the seven primitive angels, and that its possessors would enjoy a physical regeneration for 5557 years, after which they would, through gentle sleep, pass into heaven.

The pentagon had as much success with the upper ten thousand of London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, as the philosopher's stone ever enjoyed; and large sums were given for a few grains of the rejuvenating *prima materia*. There exists yet between Basle and Strasburg a sumptuous Chinese temple, where the famous pentagon was worshipped; and the lodge "Sinai" at Lyons was as gorgeous as a palace.

But besides Masonic delusions, Cagliostro made use of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Prima materia*—Primal (or original) matter, supposed to contain a condensation of vital force.

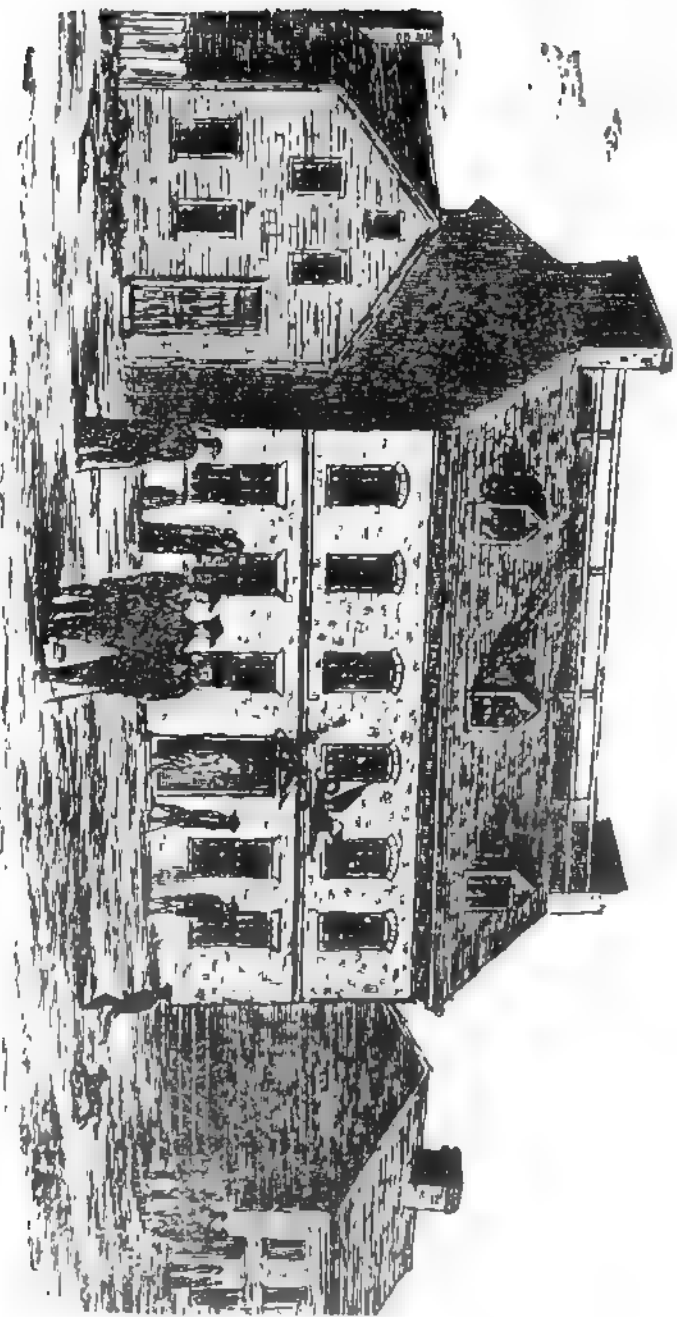
then little understood wonders of magnetism to attract adherents; and, as many persons are wrecked by the wine cup, so he made dupes of many by means of the water bottle, which trick, as might be shown, was very ancient, and consisted in divination by hydromancy.

A child, generally a little girl, was made to look into a bottle of water, and see therein events, past, present, and to come, the child having, of course, been well tutored beforehand; and, as Cagliostro was really a man of observation, he made many shrewd guesses as to the future, and sometimes fortune favored him — as in the case of Schieffort, one of the leaders of the Illuminati, who refused to join the Egyptian rite, at which Cagliostro was so incensed that he caused the little girl to see in the decanter the exterminating angel, who declared that in less than a month Schieffort would be punished.

Now it so happened that within that period Schieffort committed suicide, which, of course, gave an immense lift to Cagliostro and his bottle. In this respect indeed, Cagliostro was a forerunner of some of our modern spiritualists; and as he did not keep his occult power a secret from all, but freely communicated it, magical practices were thus introduced into the lodges, which well served the purposes of the astute, and brought discredit on the institution.

According to one of the fundamental laws of Masonry — and a rule prevailing in the greater mysteries of antiquity — women cannot be received into the order. Women cannot keep secrets, at least so Milton says through the mouth of Dalila. But we have already seen that Cagliostro admitted women to the Egyptian rite; and when at the beginning of the eighteenth century similar associations sprang up in France, which in their external aspect resembled Freemasonry, but did not exclude women, the ladies naturally were loud in their praise of such institutions, so that the Masonic brotherhood, seeing it was becoming popular, had recourse to the stratagem of establishing “adoptive” lodges of women, so called because every such lodge had finally to be adopted by some regular Masonic lodge.

The Grand Orient of France framed laws for their government, and the first lodge of adoption was opened in Paris, in 1775, in



THE GREEN DRAGON TAVERN, BOSTON, WHERE THE FIRST BOSTON LODGE WAS ORGANIZED.



which the Duchess of Bourbon presided, and was initiated as Grand Mistress of the rite. The Revolution checked the progress of this rite, but it was revived in 1805, when the Empress Josephine presided over the "*Loge Imperiale d'Adoption des Francs-Chevaliers*," at Strasburg. Similar lodges spread over Europe, Great Britain excepted; but they soon declined and are at present confined to the place of their origin, except that lately in America there has been instituted for women the Adoptive Masonic Order of the Eastern Star.

The adoptive rite consists of the same degrees as those of genuine Masonry. Every sister being a dignitary has beside her a Masonic brother holding the corresponding rank. Hence the officers are a Grand Master and a Grand Mistress, an Inspector and Inspectress, a Depositor and a Depositrix, a Conductor and a Conductress. The business of the lodge is managed by the sisterhood, the brethren only acting as their assistants; but the Grand Mistress has very little to say or to do, she being only an honorary companion to the Grand Master.

The first, or apprentice's degree, is only introductory; in the second, or companion, the scene of the temptation in Eden is emblematically represented; the building of the Tower of Babel is the subject of the mistress' degree; and in the fourth, or that of perfect mistress, the officers represent Moses, Aaron, and their wives, and the ceremonies refer to the passage of the Israelites through the wilderness, as a symbol of the passage of men and women through this to another and better life.

The lodge room is tastefully decorated, and divided by curtains into four compartments, each representing one of the four quarters of the globe, the eastern, or furthestmost, representing Asia, where there are two splendid thrones, decorated with gold fringe for the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress. The members sit on each side in straight lines, the sisters in front, and the brothers behind them, the latter having swords in their hands.

All this pretty playing at Masonry is naturally followed in France by a banquet, and on many occasions by a ball, very proper sequels to private theatricals! At the banquets the members use a symbolical language; thus the lodge room is called "Eden," the doors "barriers," a glass is called a "lamp," water "white

oil," wine "red oil"; to fill your glass is "to trim your lamp," etc.

The Jesuits, who according to the French proverb have to poke their nose into all things, soon poked it into Adoptive Masonry — and so they founded new lodges, or modified existing ones of that rite to further their own purposes. Thus it was that a truly monkish asceticism was introduced into some of these lodges, which by the Jesuits were divided into ten degrees; and we find such passages in the catechism as these: "Are you prepared, sister, to sacrifice life for the good of the Catholic, Apostolic Roman Church?" The tenth or last degree was called the "Princess of the Crown," and a great portion of the ritual treats of the Queen of Sheba. This rite was established in Saxony in 1779.

But whether or not Masonry descended from the ancient religious mysteries, its modern and practical value, from a religious point of view, can hardly be doubted by a candid mind, for whatever tends to break down the barriers of national and racial antipathy, and to produce unity and a sense of essential oneness among men, paves the way for a just appreciation of human life as a whole, and hastens the coming of a true civilization. An excellent example of that joint inculcation of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man which is the distinctive mark of the teaching of Masonry, is furnished by the following anecdote: —

A Jew entered a Parsee temple and beheld the sacred fire. "What!" said he to the priest, "do you worship the fire?"

"Not the fire," answered the priest, "it is to us only an emblem of the sun and of his genial heat."

"Do you then worship the sun as your God?" asked the Jew. "Know ye not that this luminary also is but a work of the Almighty Creator?"

"We know it," replied the priest, "but the uncultivated man requires a sensible sign in order to form a conception of the Most High, and is not the sun, the incomprehensible source of light, an image of that invisible being who blesses and preserves all things?"

"Do your people, then," rejoined the Israelite, "distinguish the type from the original? They call the sun their God, and,

descending even from this to a baser object, they kneel before an earthly flame! Ye amuse the outward, but blind the inward eye; and while ye hold to them the earthly, ye draw from them the heavenly light! Thou shalt not make unto thyself any image or likeness."

"How do you designate the Supreme Being?" asked the Parsee.

"We call him Jehovah Adonai; that is, the Lord who is, who was, and who will be," answered the Jew.

"Your appellation is grand and sublime," said the Parsee, "but it is too awful and far away."

A Mason then drew nigh and said, "We call him Father!" The Parsee and the Jew looked at each other and exclaimed, "Here is at once an image and a reality; it is a word of the heart."

Therefore they all raised their eyes to heaven, and said, with reverence and love, "Our Father," and they took each other by the hand, and all three called one another "brother."

At the same time that recent research by Masonic students compels us to doubt any absolute, direct connection between modern Masonry and the ancient attempts at fraternal alliance, the idea that Philosophical, Ritualistic Masonry sprang from that great craft of Operative Masonry which built so many wonderful edifices in the Middle Ages all over Europe, must also be abandoned. The history of these guilds and great mediæval corporations has been repeatedly published, and all that can be safely said is that the present Masonic *lodge system* is perhaps due to these corporations, but that Speculative or Philosophical Masonry, as it has been developed since 1725, when ritualism commenced, derived any of its principles from Operative Masonry, is inadmissible.

It has never been demonstrated that in all the guilds, corporations, and other associations of the eighteenth, seventeenth, and precedent centuries, there was anything whatever that could serve as a foundation for the philosophy of Masonry, as it has since been understood. For it has been well settled by such famous writers on Masonry as W. J. Hughan, A. F. A. Woodford, R. F. Gould, in England, and D. Murray Lyon, in Scotland, that as early as 1725 there was no ritual of the degrees; nor is there

any reliable evidence that in 1717 there was anything more than a "Mason word" whereby Masons could recognize one another. The Master Mason was so called after he became the presiding officer of his lodge;<sup>1</sup> and when an apprentice was to be "*Crafted*," two apprentices should be present to witness the ceremony.

George Eliot, the famous English novelist, whom some critics consider to have sounded the deeps of the human heart and brain more profoundly and truly than any other English writer, makes one of her humorous characters remark that the Masons are mad, because they haven't more to conceal, and it is, indeed, true that the mystery of Masonry is rather the mist which envelops its origin and its spread than anything else, since a few secret forms of initiation and communication can hardly be deemed of much moment, inasmuch as numerous other organizations have similar characteristics. What chiefly strikes the general student who, like the present writer, does not happen to be a Mason, is the historic uncertainty in which Masonry has been enshrouded; perhaps the devout Mason would add — enshrined. For no man can tell whence it originated, nor can any man trace accurately the manner in which it was transmitted from one to the other, until it has reached all parts of the civilized world. How came it to America? Who brought it here? The brother who did must have found here, or brought with him, *a kindred spirit ready to give and likewise to receive.*

There is no need to reiterate what has already been written as to its early history in the old country. There were, no doubt, many Freemasons among the early immigrants from England. Prior to the formation of the first Grand Lodge at London, in 1717, Masons assembled annually, at least, at some central point,

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<sup>1</sup>The city of York, in the north of England, is celebrated for its traditional connection with Masonry in that kingdom. No topic in the history of Freemasonry has so much engaged the attention of modern Masonic scholars, or given occasion to more discussion, than the alleged fact of the existence of Masonry in the tenth century at the city of York as a prominent point, of the calling of a congregation of the craft there in the year A. D. 926, of the organization of a general assembly and the adoption of a constitution. During the whole of the last and the greater part of the present century, the Fraternity in general have accepted all of these statements as genuine portions of authentic history; and the adversaries of the Order have, with the same want of discrimination, rejected them all as myths; while a few earnest seekers after truth have been at a loss to determine what part was historical and what part legendary. Recently, the discovery of many old manuscripts has directed the labors of such scholars as Hughan, Woodford, Lyon, and others, to the critical examination of the early history of Masonry, and that of York has particularly engaged their attention.

and met in lodge, selecting the oldest master present as Chief Master to preside over their deliberations. There were different classes of Masons, — the Operative Mason, the Speculative Mason who was free of the craft, the Apprentice, the Fellow or Craftsman, the Masters, the Wardens, and the Masters of the Work. Each one had his allotted task to do, and all disputes were settled, intricate problems solved, and the designs on the trestle board were studied with advantage to all.

History is silent as to what led to the coming together of the Masons of the four lodges or assemblies in London, at the Apple Tree Tavern. It may have been that the Operative brethren were tired of their wandering life, and wanted a fixed place of meeting. It may have been that a lull had come in the building of old minsters, cathedrals, and abbeys, and that a period of idleness was upon the craft. Or it may have been that the sun shone brightly on the fame of the great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, whose sole monument is St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and like our hero worshippers of the present time, they selected him as the Grand Master of the craft.

Suffice it to say that a wonderful change came over Freemasonry in 1717, and the spinning-wheel of fancy then began the gathering together of the fibres of old Masonic history; and as it turned slowly at first, these fibres were wound and twisted together, making a homely thread, and these, gathered by cunning hands and constantly expanding minds, in time formed that which now forms the basis of a beautiful piece of work, — the Masonic history of the nineteenth century.

These old Masons were not warranted to meet by any legal paper; they were never duly constituted into a lodge. We can imagine them meeting on the highest hill or in the deepest valley, where eavesdroppers could not intrude, and note the crude work of the Master, with the roll of the Old Charges of Freemasons in his hand, reading therefrom to the candidate, and his affirmation thereto, and the vow, "So help me God and halidom," which made him a Freemason.

The name "Freemason" appears for the first time in Statute 25, of Edward I., of England, A. D. 1350. "*Le statute d'artificer et servants*," and from the original French text of the statute



with the freedom of these bodies. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, persons who were *not* Operative Masons began to unite with the Freemasons, and were distinguished from the regular working Masons by the denomination of "Accepted."

It is certain that many noblemen, gentlemen, military officers, clergymen, and others, attracted by the moral principles of the Fraternity, joined the existing lodges, and to them may be ascribed the radical changes that afterward took place in the reconstruction of the Order. It is well known that some of those earlier and most prominent Masons were men of learning, and prone to push forward abstract theories, as well as to mix themselves up with matters philosophical. It is, therefore, easy to suppose that to such minds the dogmas of the ruling church would be distasteful.

By the year 1702, the Speculative lodges in England began to decay and fall into oblivion, becoming so degenerated as to be applied to purposes of gain and self-interest; appearing to the minds of the credulous and superstitious merely as a mysterious secret society, useful to mariners and travellers visiting different parts of the world, as a safe introduction among strangers. It is recorded in the publications of that day, that it was a common thing, when passing along the streets of London and Liverpool, particularly by the riverside, to see large painted signs over the doors of ale houses and sailors' lodgings: "*Masons made here for 12s.*"

It was when the ancient forms had commenced to decay and the true comprehension of the meaning of ceremonials, usages, and discipline was dying out, that the Fraternity felt the necessity of preventing its total extinction by re-establishing the Ancient Landmarks and reinstating the Order. The year 1717 saw a complete change, at the hands of James Anderson, D. D., born in Edinburg at the close of the seventeenth century, a minister of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, in Piccadilly, London, and John Theophilus Desaguliers, LL. D., of Christ Church, Oxford, the son of a French Protestant clergyman, who came to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, assisted by other old members chosen for their ability and knowledge of the Fraternity.

They were desired, by the rulers of the Order, to peruse and

digest into a *new* and *better* method "The History, Charges, and Regulations of the Ancient Fraternity." This was accordingly done, which points distinctly to the fact that the true character of Freemasonry is only the history of the operative sodalities and successive ages of architects.

These clergymen were, no doubt, actuated by a spirit of toleration, and desirous of introducing a code of morals without the aid of theology, and they therefore eradicated the sectarian element of Christianity, substituting the apocryphal legend of "Hiram" and "Symbolism of Solomon's Temple," transforming it into what we now find "Free and Accepted Masonry," by converting the old Stone-masons' allegory, upon which the legend of the third degree and death of Hiram Abiff is founded, into what anciently was the exposition of the story of the fall of mankind, the sacrificial redemption of the human race, and the doctrine of the resurrection.

It would seem that Doctor Anderson and his colleagues, in fulfilling the duty confided to them, may have exceeded their authority and made radical changes quite unknown before, in reorganizing the institution, which, after some amendments, was formally approved and accepted A. D. 1723, which became known as the "New Constitution," and is the Freemasonry of the present day.

They adopted a *universal creed* to suit the ideas of such members as preferred a *philosophical* interpretation of Christianity rather than one that inculcated the tenets of a particular form of religious belief inconsistent with toleration and universality. The adoption of a universal creed, on the plan of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Mankind, was to admit men of all



BROTHER GEORGE WASHINGTON'S  
MASONIC APRON.



religions, nationalities, and stations in life, — *not* to lay the foundation of an English, Scottish, Irish, or Protestant philosophy, but a philosophy of the world.

There does not seem to exist a doubt that Doctor Anderson, as a Christian minister of the Gospel, was faithful to his trust. He was actuated only by a desire to correct existing abuses, by changing the system of Freemasonry, as he found it, into a cosmopolitan philosophical society. But although the teachings of Ancient Freemasonry, formerly *distinctly* Christian, are now cosmopolitan, it does not prevent or interfere with the right of private judgment and conviction, there being room for the admission of the Christian, as well as the universal, exposition of the symbols and ritual, which, in the true spirit of the liberal and broad principles of the craft, should never be made the subject of strife, but held in fraternal peace and good-will by all.

It was years before the authority or prerogative of a Grand Lodge was understood or recognized. How all is changed! A lodge cannot be lawful now, unless duly warranted and constituted. At first, the brethren met and agreed to form a lodge, then the power of assembling the brethren as a lodge was vested in a Grand Master, who authorized the meeting; afterward, the Grand Master deputed this power to his Deputy or Provincial Grand Master, and he authorized or recognized the meeting of a lodge. First a deputation, afterward a warrant; and this was followed by the solemn ceremonies of constituting into a regular lodge.

During all the time from 1717 to the Revolution, Masonry was spreading in the colonies of England, perhaps as rapidly in proportion to population as in the British Isles, and nearly all the prominent men who wrote their names large on the early history of this country were members of the craft. And in the mother country the adherents of the four Grand Lodges, viz.: England, "Modern" and "Ancient," Scotland, and Ireland, were active workers, in the various questions then agitating the colonies, which brought with them unrest and discord.

The craft was divided between their loyalty to the king, and their sympathy for and fidelity to the colonies. The suggestions made by Daniel Coxe, in his plan for a union of the colonies,

which were advocated afterward by Franklin, and which finally led to the Declaration of Independence in 1776, were gradually permeating the craft. The feelings of the Fraternity had never been taken on this subject, but it is safe to say that the colonies' friends were found in the greatest numbers in the lodges under the "Ancients" and the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, while a large percentage of the Royalists or Tories were to be found in the adherents of the old Grand Lodge or "Moderns."

The Revolution came with all its bitterness, its devastation, its bloodshed, its sufferings, its sorrows. Brother was truly in arms against brother: but, amid the most terrible scenes of the strife, the touch of Masonry was felt to penetrate through the picket-line, past the sentinels, the guards, the camps of the privates, to the marque-tents of the commanding officers, and the exemplification of Masonic teachings was the one bright and redeeming star of that war. In adversity, in sorrow, it was Masonry; in prosperity, in happiness, it was Masonry still.

With the ending of the war and the return of peace came to Americans the longing for independence in all matters. The independence of the colonies must be followed closely by that of the Masonic Fraternity. In this the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts took the lead, followed closely by Pennsylvania and others. Then came the attempt, which was repeated more than once, to make Freemasonry like unto the government, a union of States and a union of Grand Lodges. Brother Gen. George Washington was the first and only one suggested for Grand Master; but the action taken, by the several Grand Lodges, adverse thereto, resulted in its abandonment before much progress had been made.

The following facsimile of Washington's reply to a farewell address of Brother Masons on his retirement to private life will be read with profound interest and reverential regard by all patriotic Americans.

With the death of Washington the proposed General Grand Lodge fell through, only to be revived a few years later, with still less chance of success, and Grand Lodges became more jealous of their jurisdictional rights, which are now, happily, so strong that they are respected over the length and breadth of our land. A Grand Lodge territory is sacred from invasion. Within

its limits it is supreme. The State can do no wrong, neither can a Grand Lodge. Its authority is respected by political power, and civil law finds no cause for interference. It judges it by its own constitution and landmarks which are unchangeable and which are founded on equal justice to all.

Freemasonry contains within itself the divine law of doing unto others as people would that others should do unto them. In peace it is prosperous, in strife it is sympathetic, in adversity it is submissive. In this country it has had its times of prosperity and adversity. The ending of the Revolution marked a period of thankfulness for delivery from bondage and an almost worship for the deliverer, Gen. George Washington, whose death was mourned as none other but Lincoln's has been mourned in this country. Then came the mysterious disappearance of Morgan and the attack upon the institution, by some fanatics and politicians, which gave a temporary setback to Masonry, and which to this day still raises in some minds an unwarrantable prejudice against the Order.

Then followed the cruel Civil War, or that of the Rebellion, the most unfortunate and sorrowful of all, in which attempts were made to involve Masonry; but the wise counsel of the leaders of the craft in the several States prevented the mixing up of Masonry and the State, and while Masonry did not go forth in the advance with the flag to avert the blow, it was found among the sick and wounded, the suffering and the dying, and it planted the sprig of acacia at the head of many a brother's grave, on both sides of the lines.

Then came another and better era, purely Masonic, that in which we are now living. The care of the aged brother, his wife, widow, and orphans, enlists the sympathies of the craft everywhere. Throughout the land there are springing up the homes, the asylums, and Masonic establishments for the care of poor and needy. This may be termed the golden era of Freemasonry.

A few notes of the most important Masonic events in American history will be of interest to any reader who desires to be well informed, whether approving of Masonry or not. On June 27, 1835, Masonry laid the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument. General Lafayette was present, and assisted at the

special convocation of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts and the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone. The monument was dedicated with Masonic ceremonies, in 1845.

*Fellow-citizens and Brothers,  
of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania*

*I have received your address  
with all the feelings of brotherly affection,  
mingled with those sentiments, for the  
Society, which it was calculated to excite*

*To have been, in any degree, an  
instrument in the hands of Providence,  
to promote order and union, and erect upon  
a solid foundation the true principles of  
government, is only to have shared with  
many others in a labour, the result of  
which let us hope, will prove through  
all ages, a sanctuary for brothers and  
a lodge for the virtues -*

*Permit me to reciprocate your  
prayers for my temporal happiness,  
and to supplicate that we may all  
meet thereafter in that eternal temple  
whose builder is the great Architect  
of the Universe*

*G Washington*

FACSIMILE OF WASHINGTON'S REPLY.

The Anti-Masonic excitement, caused by the mysterious disappearance of Morgan, raged long and bitterly in Massachusetts. Many of the smaller lodges suspended work until the storm was

spent, while a few surrendered their warrants. In the midst of the excitement, the Grand Lodge, finding itself without a home, purchased, in 1830, a lot of ground, and arranged to lay the corner-stone of a new hall. Amid the hooting and yelling of a crazy crowd, the Grand Lodge and brethren, numbering two thousand, with Boston Encampment of Knights Templars at their head, marched from Faneuil Hall to the place where the corner-stone was duly and truly laid.

On December 31, 1831, the Masons of Boston published the famous "Declaration," prepared by Charles W. Moore, which did more to halt the public excitement, cool off the hot-headed, and restore reason to the doubting, than any other document issued in this country. This declaration was affirmed and re-affirmed by all the Grand Lodges of the New England States. But the legislature, this same year, led by the Anti-Masons, had notified the Grand Lodge to appear and show cause why the act of incorporation granted in 1817 should not be repealed, and the Grand Lodge, on December 27, 1833, placing all its property in the hands of trustees, surrendered in a formal and legal manner, through its committee, the said act of incorporation to the legislature, together with a "Memorial" setting forth their action in surrendering their charter. Seventeen years after, this Grand Lodge was incorporated a second time by the legislature, in an act which allows the holding of real estate not exceeding the value of \$500,000, and personal estate not exceeding the value of \$50,000.

The legislature of Massachusetts has also incorporated the "Masonic Education and Charity Trust," the whole amount of funds and property authorized to be held by the corporation not to exceed \$1,000,000. While the Grand Lodge is itself incorporated, it has prohibited its subordinate lodges from accepting a charter, under an act of incorporation, from "any legislature or political government."

The Temple is situated in the heart of Boston facing the Common, on the corner of Boylston and Tremont Streets, half a stone's throw from the old Public Library. Large, commodious, built of gray granite, it has ample accommodations for the Grand and subordinate lodges, the officers of the Grand

Lodge, and the library of the Grand Lodge. The property is valued at about half a million. The Grand Charity Fund amounts to about \$60,000. A temporary appropriation of \$2,000 annually is made from the general funds of the Grand Lodge, until the income of the Grand Charity Fund shall be available. Relief is granted by a committee of three, to worthy brethren, their widows and orphans in distress.

This Grand Lodge retains in activity many of its oldest lodges. The first lodge, Saint John's, July 30, 1733, is the oldest on this continent; Saint Andrew's, 1756, Boston, is the oldest under Scottish constitution, and there are thirty-three others, all dating prior to 1799. The *minimum* fee for the degree is \$25; the annual dues generally from \$2 to \$3, with some lodges at \$10 and \$15. In this temple is a fine and valuable library, rich in rare Masonic books, proceedings, and magazines. It has been fortunate in those who have been called to preside over it, many of whom have been distinguished above their brethren, in public and political life, local, State, and National.

The Masonic Temple in Philadelphia, the finest and largest Masonic building in the world, is devoted exclusively to Freemasonry. One of its halls, the Egyptian Hall, lately decorated by "the Art Association of the Masonic Temple," is unique in ornamentation and is said to be the finest specimen of Egyptian decoration outside of Egypt. This room is known as the "William J. Kelly testimonial to his brother, Thomas R. Patton," and was paid for by Brother Kelly as a testimony of a brother's regard for a brother.

In 1890 there was laid the foundation stone in Chicago of an immense building eighteen stories high, the upper portion of which (the seventeenth and eighteenth stories), is to be used by the Fraternity. The grounds cost \$1,100,000, and the structure when completed, not less than \$2,000,000. It is to be fire-proof throughout and finished in marble, alabaster, and onyx, with mosaic floors. The principal entrance to the building will be through an archway opening forty-two feet high and twenty-eight feet wide. The main rotunda will occupy 3,700 square feet. This court will be supplied with fourteen elevators in a semi-circle facing the main entrance. These will have facilities for

lifting between 30,000 and 36,000 people per day. Instead of numbering the different stories 1, 2, 3, 4, etc, they will be called by names as of streets. This order of affairs continues until the seventeenth story, when the Masonic apartments are reached. The roof is to be laid out like a garden, with plants and flowers during the summer, and the view from this point will be unquestionably the finest in Chicago.

But these local and national demonstrations of Masonic glory in a material way are but symbols of its nobler and larger life, for Masonry may be considered to have developed from a simple secret society into a great international bond—a means to mitigate the jealousy of nations, soften the asperities of war, and hasten the day when the Laureate Tennyson's dream shall be realized by "a parliament of man—a federation of the world."

Yet Masonry may also be called a government within government, for it takes cognizance of certain acts of its members in a fashion supplementary to the action of the State authority. For instance, in a Southern State where duelling was countenanced to a great degree by public opinion, in 1814, the bearer of a challenge, that passed between two Master Masons, to fight a duel, was tried and suspended for one year by his lodge. On appeal to the Grand Lodge, at the recommendation of the committee, to whom the matter was referred, the sentence was set aside, and that of reprimand substituted. Some few years later the Grand Master, William H. Richardson, emboldened, doubtless, by this leniency, fought a duel with a member of his own lodge. At the 1818 communication, the Grand Master and his opponent, Benjamin W. Dudley, were cited to appear before the Grand Lodge for having engaged in a duel. It was then resolved that the Grand Lodge had jurisdiction to inquire into the charge, and on motion of Brother Henry Clay, a committee was appointed "to produce a reconciliation between them." The next day the committee reported, recommending, as a substitute for the resolution of expulsion then pending, suspension from the privileges of Masonry for one year; which recommendation was adopted.

The real glory of Masonry lies in its being a pure democracy. In the lodge all men are one. The emperor and the peasant meet with that perfect equality in which men are born and in which

they die. More than this, if a Mason were passing by the Prince of Wales, or Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, for instance, who are two of the highest Masons in the world, and should make the sign of distress, and these high dignitaries should pay no heed to the appeal, they could be and would be summoned before their lodges on information of the same, and unless they could give a satisfactory reason for their neglect, they would be punished therefor.

Another great point of the Masonic Fraternity is that one of its most binding oaths and obligations is to watch over and guard the chastity of the women of Masonic brothers. It might be objected, possibly, by some doubter of the value of Masonry, that it is just as much a man's duty, as a member of the brotherhood of humanity, to protect a woman's chastity and to preserve his own for the one to whom he should belong in that ideal government, which goes under the triune name of home, wife, and children, and therefore that Masonry can lay no special claim to honor on this score.

But it may be answered that whatever tends to emphasize in men's minds the value as well as the beauty of chastity is a great help in hastening that day when the social evil shall no longer show its sorrowful, hideous, pestilential, unnecessary face in this bright world, which men and women could make still brighter, if they would only listen more faithfully to the voice of their higher self.

Up to the year 1826, the growth of Masonry in this country had been very rapid, and lodges had been instituted rather carelessly without that regard for perpetuity and solidity which is a vital element in the welfare of an institution. Nor this alone, but there was a laxity in regard to the material accepted and, at the first reverse in the onward march of Masonry, the ranks were largely depleted in certain sections. This reverse was of so remarkable a character that it bade fair to destroy the institution in this country. Its effects were felt in the New England States, Pennsylvania, and more particularly in the State of New York, where the trouble arose.

In reviewing the history of those times, and weighing the cause, a candid conclusion would seem to be that, in a large degree, its effects were attributable to the lack of judgment and



unnecessary alarm on the part of a few over-zealous members of the craft, which, combined with other causes, — notably of a political character, — fanned the flame into a raging fire.

The various accounts published at the time are so colored by the personal interest of the writers that, as in many matters of history, certainty is out of the question and a reasonable probability is all that any student can expect to evolve. It would seem that the supposed mystery of Masonry tempted one William Morgan (who had deceitfully entered a lodge and obtained some degrees, and who felt vindictive for some rebuffs he had received among his associates) to believe that if he published an exposure of the secrets of Masonry, he could count on the curiosity of the public to buy his publication and thus lay the foundation of a fortune. We have the same kind of people to-day in the shape of "escaped nuns" and "reformed monks," detailing in lurid and lugubrious lectures to empty-headed people the imaginary horrors of the religious institutions in which they have been living.

The politicians who engineered the crusade against Freemasonry in this country, boasted that they had not left one stone above another in the walls of the Masonic temples, and that they had driven the plow-share of ruin through the foundations, so destroying the mystic keystones that the inscriptions on them could not be deciphered. But the "ancient landmarks" remained; the time-honored temples were again gradually re-dedicated; good and true men were initiated, and Freemasonry, with recruited ranks, resumed the discharge of its duties. There is now a Grand Lodge of Masons in every State of the Union, each with its subordinate lodges, having 593,164 regularly affiliated Master Masons on their rolls.

Royal Arch Masonry, which exists in English-speaking countries, is supplementary to the universal three first degrees — Entered Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Master-mason. The degrees of Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and Royal Arch Mason, are conferred in Chapters. Delegates from the Chapters in each State constitute a Grand Chapter, and the representatives of the Grand Chapter constitute the General Grand Chapter of the United States, which was organized in 1816. There are now in the different States forty-four Grand Chapters,



WASHINGTON ON HORSEBACK.

with 140,960 regularly affiliated companions on the rolls of subordinate chapters.

Templar Masonry is a semi-military organization, based on the "valiant and magnanimous order" of the Knights Templar, who are believed to have been initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry. The Templar degrees are only conferred upon Master Masons who have also taken the Royal Arch degrees, and Templar Masonry is affiliated with, although totally independent of, those organizations. The only distinction is, that while Hebrews can take those degrees, Knights Templar must believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Does it not strike the thoughtful reader as a rather curious thing that the only affiliated order of modern Masonry which is sacred to Christians alone is the one which is warlike in its origin and reminiscence and which in its ceremonial is almost as much military as Masonic? Strange illustration at this late day of the truth contained in the words, "I come not to bring peace but a sword," uttered by the Galilean Dreamer and Disturber,<sup>1</sup> nearly nineteen hundred years ago!

Yet when we reflect how many roses of romance have clustered around the shining arms of the Knights Templar since those days in the close of the eleventh century, when Godfrey de Bouillon rescued the Holy Sepulchre from the Turks, we cannot wonder much that men in whom the religious and militant instincts are still strong should take delight in belonging to such an organization.

The age of chivalry unquestionably tended to foster the Masonic spirit and to color with it the conduct of men, especially such as had enrolled themselves Knights of the Temple, with a strange mixture of monasticism, mysticism, and ultra-philosophic freedom of thought.

Walter Scott, a more profound, because more sympathetic, student of life than either Carlyle or Buckle (one of whom thought that the currents of history were determined by the lives of single great men, or the other that they were determined by the courses of single great rivers), shows in his character of Brian de Bois

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<sup>1</sup> "'Disturber and Dreamer' the Philistines cried, when he preached an ideal creed,  
Knowing not that the men who have changed the world with the world have disagreed."  
— Boyle O'Reilly's poem on Wendell Phillips.



A FEMALE CRUSADER SAVING A KNIGHT-TEMPLAR.

Guilbert in *Ivanhoe* what was probably a typical Knight Templar of the early period, when individualism was at a premium, and before the Masonic spirit of true fraternity had begun to permeate the mass of that fanatic soldiery who called themselves Templars.

It is likely, however, that their constant contact through conflict with the Saracens acquainted them finally with the broader ideas of that civilization, and it is not improbable that thence were derived many of the rites, customs, and oddly astrologic ceremonies which afterwards produced or were grafted upon the Speculative Masonry, whose authentic origin is apparently so recent.

The Crusades, after a loss of six million lives and incalculable treasure, failed in the original aim of dislodging the infidel possessors of Palestine. But what the Crusaders failed to gain in the way of gratifying their religious instincts was, perhaps, more than compensated by the advance in science which came to Europe from contact with the Saracens.

The cross is embroidered on the banners of Knights Templar, and under that "sign" they march shoulder to shoulder, to combat intolerance, error, and infidelity. The local commanderies of Knights Templar are dedicated to Saint John the Almoner, and in them are conferred the orders of Knight of the Red Cross, Knight Templar, and Knight of Malta. There is a Grand Commandery in almost every State, and its delegates form the Grand Encampment, originally organized in 1816, which meets every three years. The Knights Templar always appear in public, either mounted or on foot, in uniform and armed. They have a distinctive system of tactics, and since the war of 1861-65 they have received into their ranks so many old soldiers that they march and drill like veterans. There are in the United States 725 commanderies, with 68,226 regularly affiliated Sir Knights.

The Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, which is entirely independent of the organizations of the York rite already mentioned, consists of thirty-three degrees, commencing with the Entered Apprentice, and ending with that of Sovereign Grand Inspector-General. In some countries a Supreme Council, formed of nine Inspectors General, constitute the Grand Masonic Tribunal of the rite, and there are two Supreme Councils. That of the Southern Jurisdiction, the "Mother Council of the

World," established in 1801, which has its see at Washington, exercises jurisdiction over the States south of Mason and Dixon's line, and the states and territories west of the Mississippi River. We presented at the beginning of this chapter a likeness of the late Albert Pike for many years the head of this Council and one of the most august Masons in the world.

The other States are under the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction, organized in 1807, which has its see at New York. There have been several schisms in the Northern Supreme Council at different times, and there is now a Supreme Council which claims authority from a body organized by Joseph Cerneau, in 1813, as "the Supreme Council for the United States of America, its Territories and Dependencies." The number of Scottish Rite bodies is about 13,000, of whom about 10,000 are included in the northern jurisdiction.

In addition to the degrees and rites above mentioned there have been others invented from time to time to gratify those who have desired Masonic novelties. Among these have been the "Rite of Memphis," with ninety-five degrees, the "Rite of Misraim," with over one hundred degrees, and a variety of offshoots from the Scottish Rite. There is also a Supreme Council, a Grand Encampment, and a Grand Lodge of Freemasons of African Descent, claiming to derive legitimate authority from grand bodies in Great Britain and France.

What, then, in its true essence is this order which has survived so great a storm brought upon it by its own indiscreet champions, and which flourishes to-day in spite of the hostility of an organization far greater in extent, and a power which may be called the accumulation of ages, namely, the Catholic Church, which has ever been the foe of secrecy? This Order of Freemasonry is a comprehensive system of government founded upon the rights of man, and exercised and enjoyed in the perfection of loyalty, union, efficiency, and harmony.

Its mission is peace, progress, and prosperity. It contains the antecedent ideals, the germs and models of the best forms of human government. It demonstrates the unnumbered mutual benefits and blessings flowing from the alliance of sovereignties co-equal in status, rights, privileges, and prerogatives; and it

points out, and leads the way among free, enlightened, and progressive peoples, to the friendly federation of the world.

Not a religion or a system of religion, it is the handmaid of all seeking truth, and light, and right. A centre of union for good and true men of every race and tongue, who believe in God and practise morality, it knows no politics, no sect, no hierarch, no Cæsar. Without claiming total exemption from the errors and frailties incident to all things human, or the entire absence of Iscariot betrayers, or of emissaries seeking to destroy, and without pretensions to unattainable perfection, it ever strives, by spreading the light of science and moral truth, by increasing the power of knowledge, to make the whole realm of nature subservient to the best interests, the highest hopes, and the loftiest aims of man.

Freemasonry is a system of human philosophy, a school of learning, a college of builders, a home of brethren. To the artist and the artisan; to the poet and the philosopher; to the theorist and the utilitarian; to the speculative and the operative; to the man of business and the sage; to the prince and the peasant; to the old, the middle-aged, and the youth, Freemasonry is alike congenial, instructive, and beneficent. Therein all meet upon the Level, work by the Plumb, and part upon the Square.

Freemasonry is based upon immutable truth and right. It knows not the changes and shifts of expediency and opportunism. It is as moveless as the silent rock on which the storm-tossed ocean rolls in wrath. Firm as the mystic pyramids, it stands, benign and placid as the musing Sphinx. It survives the commotions and downfall of empires; and of it, in substance and essence, the truth proclaims, *semper eadem*. It lacks only one element to make it a true fraternity: it does not admit women into its magic circle.

### XIII.

## Experimental Republicanism.

**T**HE French republic, like that of the United States, is the offspring of revolution. It was born towards the close of the last century amid the wildest social convulsions which the world has ever witnessed. Like Pallas Athene, the fabled Goddess of Wisdom, from the brain of Jove it sprang, armed and equipped, into the arena of conflict with the allied monarchs of Europe, who joined their forces to stamp out the young giant that was proclaiming *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity* to all the people. In place of the ancient superstition of the divine right of kings to rule, France promulgated the doctrine of popular sovereignty and maintained it successfully against the royal coalition in a desperate struggle lasting many years and only now appearing to have achieved a permanent victory.

The causes which produced the French Revolution of 1789 were manifold, but they may be summed up in a simple statement: long continued oppression of the masses of the French people. A brief epitome of the condition of the people prior to the Revolution will be necessary in order to understand the cause of the great upheaval. The peasantry who constituted the great mass had no voice in either the local or national government from the time of Louis XIV., or for more than a century prior to the Revolution. They were merely beasts of burden, producers of wealth for the king, nobility and aristocratic clergy.



Louis XIV. had absorbed in his own person all the powers of government; he became the absolute master of France; he made and annulled laws and levied taxes at his pleasure. His celebrated declaration, "I am the State," made in reply to the request that he should call the States-General or ancient parliament together, summarizes his ideas of the rights of sovereigns; ideas not peculiar to him alone, but which at the time prevailed generally throughout Europe.

Louis XIV. appointed eighteen councillors of State to assist him in governing the kingdom and its dependencies, and his successors continued this form of government until Louis XVI., through necessity, found it indispensable to convoke the States-General in 1789. During this period liberty of speech and liberty of the press did not exist.

The penal law allowed the application of torture before trial, permitted the most atrocious punishments, mutilations, and death without according to the accused the right of having a lawyer to manage his case and plead for him, and the judge who imposed sentence was not even required to state a reason for the sentence which he pronounced. The criminal code did not press on all persons alike. A noble was not punished as severely as a peasant for a similar offence.

There were three general classes or orders of beings in the kingdom: the nobility, clergy and plebeians. These were again divided into other distinct classes. Among the nobility there were the greater and the lesser; the former living at the court in splendor on the taxes which came into the national treasury, the latter in the provinces on their estates on the rents and services wrung from their tenants.

There were also among the clergy the very rich who enjoyed the wealthy benefices, and the very poor who ministered to the spiritual wants of the masses. Among the plebeians the commercial and professional class looked down with contempt upon the artisan, and the latter scorned the peasant who lay at the bottom of the ladder in poverty and ignorance supporting the whole social superstructure.

There was inequality in the family itself; the custom of primogeniture gave to the younger sons of the nobles only an oppor-



NAPOLÉON CROSSING THE ALPS.

tunity to enter the church or army, and to many of the daughters the only refuge was the convent. In addition to these general classes were the serfs bound to certain estates, the Jews and the Protestants, who had no civil rights whatever until after the death of Louis XIV., which occurred in 1715.

The taxes which were levied by the king and his eighteen royal councillors were placed in such a way that they were practically all paid by the peasantry and artisans. According to the official report of M. Bailly, Inspector-General of Finance under Louis XVI., in 1786, there was paid into the treasury for the benefit of the king the sum of 558,172,000 livres; for the benefit of individuals, corporations, and communities 280,395,000 livres; for the benefit of the provinces 41,448,000, making a total of 880,015,000 livres.<sup>1</sup>

Of this enormous sum the clergy who, besides the revenue derived from their immense property, received tithes of the products of the lands, paid little or nothing; they were expected to make "gratuitous donations" to the national exchequer. The nobility were subject to the payment of a poll tax and one twentieth of their income, but they generally found means to evade the payment of the latter. They owned nearly all the land of France, but paid none of the land tax or *taille*, as it was termed.

The common people who possessed only a very small portion of the soil paid the whole land tax amounting to 91,000,000 livres; also the tithe, which in one portion of the kingdom was one fortieth and in another was one fourth of the gross product, and cost the agricultural portion of the inhabitants the sum of 133,000,000, the seigniorial dues amounting to 35,000,000 and the *corvees* or manual service due the lords estimated at 20,000,000 livres. In addition to this gigantic burden the peasants were subject to multifarious restrictions for the benefit of the owners of the soil.

Under these crushing burdens the people of France groaned for more than a century. The misery of the common people during the reign of Louis XIV. was frightful. In years of fair harvests they had barely sufficient to keep body and soul together; in

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years of scarcity they were destitute and died of starvation by thousands. In many places there was almost a relapse to savagery. The peasants of fertile Normandy lived chiefly on oats, and dressed in the skins of beasts. In Beauce, the very granary of Paris, the farmers lived by begging during a portion of the year. In a large number of the provinces most of the people did not know the taste of animal food.

Vauban informs us that in the whole of France not more than ten thousand families were in comfortable circumstances. The amount of articles of food consumed was between two and three times less per head of the population than at the present time. La Bruyère, writing in the time of Louis XIV., calls these peasants "Certain ferocious animals, male and female, scattered over the country, black, livid, and burned by the sun, attached to the land which they dig and work upon with incomprehensible obstinacy; they have an articulate voice, and when they rise on their feet they exhibit a human face; and in fact they are men. At night they retire to their dens where they live upon black bread, water, and roots; they spare other men the trouble of sowing, cultivating and gathering articles of food."

In the midst of this horrible suffering the king, nobility, and aristocratic clergy rioted and revelled at the expense of the plundered masses. In debauchery and licentiousness the plunderers dissipated the wealth produced by the workers. Immorality became the prevailing fashion radiating from the royal court outward. Moral ideas had lost all practical force among the upper classes.

As an illustration of the depth to which morality had fallen the Marquis d'Argenson, a very estimable man, considering the times, and one of the royal ministers, writing in a matter-of-fact way regarding marriage, said: "Marriage, that monstrous obligation which will surely go out of fashion!" And continuing he declared that the proper marriage contract should be "like a lease contract which could be entered into in October and given up in January, free unions being much more favorable to the race."

This was the view of marriage entertained and acted upon by the leaders of society, from the king downward, as the contemporary writers abundantly show. Never since the time of Nero,

Caligula, and the other monsters of the Roman empire had morality fallen so low, or had corruption become so general and brazen as in the kingdom of France before the Revolution.

But, while this long-continued Belshazzar orgy proceeded, new forces antagonistic to this unnatural order of things entered the field. The frightful abuses, the gross inequality among men, and the great disorder and intense poverty, provoked criticism among the few who had not lost every spark of decency and honesty. Fénelon demanded reform from a religious and political point of view, while Vauban and others, confronted by a constantly increasing national debt, demanded it from an economic.

The Marquis d'Argenson, in his work "Considerations on the Government of France," declared for municipal and cantonal self-government, freedom of trade at home and abroad, the election of royal officers by ballot, and fearlessly asserted that "Two things were chiefly to be desired for the good of the State: one that all citizens should be equal, and the other that each should be the son of his own works."

The men of letters, generally the children of the middle class, or bourgeois, assailed with wit, ridicule and satire the foibles and vices of the aristocrats. The former were warmly welcomed to the salons of the great, for, singular as it may seem, the frivolous, sensual, egoistic society of the eighteenth century carried on even amid its vices the cult of ideas.

It laughed at a well-polished *bon mot* even at its own expense. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists, philosophized on government and flung their multifarious shafts at the existing order in Church and State with a skill and force which attracted the attention of a multitude of minds, and their ideas even found their way among the dense mass which lived but to furnish wealth for the frivolous and vicious.

The tremendous political influence of these three men on the thought of their age can be clearly traced in the three great epochs which made up the Revolution; that of Voltaire widespread and general in the universal enthusiasm of 1789; that of Montesquieu, calm and statesmanlike in the attempts of the National Assembly to devise and perpetuate a constitutional government, and of Rousseau in the thought and action of the savage

leaders who took the helm in the Reign of Terror until they were themselves swallowed up in the maelstrom which they helped to create.

Many strange stories are told of the era just preceding this Revolution in France, stories which the sober historian is perhaps too ready to reject, forgetting the wisdom embodied in Hamlet's speech: "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy." One of these legends is that just before the crash in a gay salon the aged poet and humorist, Cazotte, had a vision. The polished company had been talking with volubility and eloquence of the wonderful change which was going to be wrought in the condition of the common people by the educational force of the fraternal doctrines which Diderot, Voltaire, and the other social philosophers who were styled Encyclopædists had been industriously disseminating.

In the midst of this brilliant company who were discussing all sorts of condescending schemes for the improvement of the masses, plans which might have been well enough, had they not been too late, the old poet Cazotte was smitten with clairvoyance. The room swam red around him, and in a voice that seemed to labor up from a vast distance, but which every one heard with thrilling distinctness, he cried aloud: "I see the end. The Revolution, whose advent you so joyously prophesy, will come; but it will come, not as a feast of roses, but a flood of blood."

The lords and ladies, wits and philosophers, laughed loudly and one gay dame exclaimed: "Bravo! How humorous the dear old Cazotte is to-night; how well he acts it, like the Jew before Belshazzar!" Then the Marquis de Condorcet spoke up: "Why not tell us our separate fates, Cazotte? Can you not prophesy by retail as well as by wholesale?" And the ancient poet answered: "Many lovely women and many brilliant and noble men in the days of the impending Revolution will come under the hands of the headsman, but you, Marquis de Condorcet, though perishing in prison, will not be profaned by the vile fingers of the executioner, for in those days wise men like you will carry poison about them as a preventive. And you," he continued, pointing from one to another in rapid succession, "your virtues will not help you then, fair dame. And you, your venerable

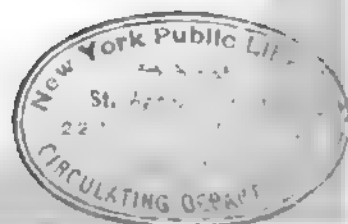
age will be no safeguard. And you your learning and your genius will not save. Your trunkless heads now stare me in the face."

Such was the restrained and evidently repressed intensity of the speaker that an uncanny thrill ran through the crowd, but La Harpe, the disciple of Voltaire, La Harpe, the aggressive atheist, feeling his neck with his taper fingers, as if fearful that his head was already going, said quizzically: "Cazotte, what about me? This gory drama of your dream, why am I not in it? I want to be a star!" "And so you shall," Cazotte replied, "for you shall live through that tempest and, strangest of all, when the calm has come, you, yes, you, La Harpe, shall become a Christian."

How they roared at this! It seemed the crowning joke. Cazotte in all his life, some said, had never been so finely fantastic as that night. Then one in the crowd cried out: "O prophet, prophesy of thyself," and in the hush that followed Cazotte said: "It is writ in history that for seven days prior to the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, a man ran about the walls of that city whereof not one stone was to be left upon another, rending his garments and crying aloud: 'Woe unto thee, Jerusalem! Woe unto thee and me!'" and on the seventh day, at the very beginning of the siege, a stone from a Roman catapult made that man the first of the dead." Cazotte bowed his head and left the gay salon. Some shivered a little but most of them tried to laugh it away.

A similar story is told of the wizard Cagliostro mention of whose remarkable powers has been made in our chapter on Masonry. It is said that Cagliostro, sitting at dinner with a number of prominent nobles and foreign ambassadors just on the eve of the French Revolution, was asked to look into the future. Shading his eyes with his heavily jeweled hand, he spoke in a strange voice full of fearful intonations, giving a similar picture of the horrors to come, and prophesying that certain Frenchmen in the company would meet with sudden and frightful ends.

One man, a foreign nobleman, asked laughingly if there were no special dish for him at such a feast of horrors; and the wizard, leaning forward and looking deep into his eyes, answered: "Not here in France, dear Count, but further on. I do not see quite









GUSTAVUS III OF SWEDEN KILLED AT A BAL-MASQUÉ.







how; the scene is dim, as if clouded with smoke, but beware of masks!" One of the wits present exclaimed: "A very safe and sage advice, for behind them is often some face too fair for a man's peace." The foreign count replied that he did not fear; he was too old a soldier in that kind of warfare to do aught but love the danger. Some years afterwards this prophecy or guess of Cagliostro was startlingly verified. The foreign nobleman had become Gustavus III. of Sweden, and he was assassinated from behind with a pistol at a masked ball as is faithfully portrayed in our illustration.

The taxes had more than doubled during the reign of Louis XV., who died in 1774, and yet there was a large annual deficit. Louis XV. foresaw quite clearly that a day of terrible reckoning was close at hand, but in his utter selfishness and moral degradation he consoled himself with the reflection that the storm would descend upon another head than his own. On one occasion he said: "Matters will go on as they are as long as I live; my successor may get out of the difficulty as well as he can." And his favorite, Madame de Pompadour, who ruled France through her turpitude, repeated with him "After us the deluge."

When Louis XVI. ascended the throne, on the death of his grandfather, he was only twenty years of age. He was a young man of excellent morals, loving the right, and desirous of doing justice to all. He immediately commenced to abolish the abuses that surrounded him, beginning with the royal residence, entrance to which was denied to the titled courtesans who had frequented its corridors and occupied the highest places at the fetes in its apartments during the reign of his predecessor.

He called to his aid as advisers two of the best and most eminent Frenchmen living, Malesherbes and Turgot, making the former minister of the royal household, and the latter minister of finance. Turgot, from the very moment of his appointment, in 1774, the year preceding the opening of the American Revolution, urged upon Louis XVI. "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no borrowing."

He planned extensive reforms in various directions, a gradual development of the principle of local self-government in the municipalities and communes, the abolition of the *corvée* or

tunity to enter the church or army, and to many of the daughters the only refuge was the convent. In addition to these general classes were the serfs bound to certain estates, the Jews and the Protestants, who had no civil rights whatever until after the death of Louis XIV., which occurred in 1715.

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It laughed at a well-polished *bon mot* even at its own expense. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists, philosophized on government and flung their multifarious shafts at the existing order in Church and State with a skill and force which attracted the attention of a multitude of minds, and their ideas even found their way among the dense mass which lived but to furnish wealth for the frivolous and vicious.

The tremendous political influence of these three men on the thought of their age can be clearly traced in the three great epochs which made up the Revolution; that of Voltaire widespread and general in the universal enthusiasm of 1789; that of Montesquieu, calm and statesmanlike in the attempts of the National Assembly to devise and perpetuate a constitutional government, and of Rousseau in the thought and action of the savage

leaders who took the helm in the Reign of Terror until they were themselves swallowed up in the maelstrom which they helped to create.

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points out, and leads the way among free, enlightened, and progressive peoples, to the friendly federation of the world.

Not a religion or a system of religion, it is the handmaid of all seeking truth, and light, and right. A centre of union for good and true men of every race and tongue, who believe in God and practise morality, it knows no politics, no sect, no hierarch, no Cæsar. Without claiming total exemption from the errors and frailties incident to all things human, or the entire absence of Iscariot betrayers, or of emissaries seeking to destroy, and without pretensions to unattainable perfection, it ever strives, by spreading the light of science and moral truth, by increasing the power of knowledge, to make the whole realm of nature subservient to the best interests, the highest hopes, and the loftiest aims of man.

Freemasonry is a system of human philosophy, a school of learning, a college of builders, a home of brethren. To the artist and the artisan; to the poet and the philosopher; to the theorist and the utilitarian; to the speculative and the operative; to the man of business and the sage; to the prince and the peasant; to the old, the middle-aged, and the youth, Freemasonry is alike congenial, instructive, and beneficent. Therein all meet upon the Level, work by the Plumb, and part upon the Square.

Freemasonry is based upon immutable truth and right. It knows not the changes and shifts of expediency and opportunism. It is as moveless as the silent rock on which the storm-tossed ocean rolls in wrath. Firm as the mystic pyramids, it stands, benign and placid as the musing Sphinx. It survives the commotions and downfall of empires; and of it, in substance and essence, the truth proclaims, *semper eadem*. It lacks only one element to make it a true fraternity: it does not admit women into its magic circle.

### XIII.

## Experimental Republicanism.

**T**HE French republic, like that of the United States, is the offspring of revolution. It was born towards the close of the last century amid the wildest social convulsions which the world has ever witnessed. Like Pallas Athene, the fabled Goddess of Wisdom, from the brain of Jove it sprang, armed and equipped, into the arena of conflict with the allied monarchs of Europe, who joined their forces to stamp out the young giant that was proclaiming *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity* to all the people. In place of the ancient superstition of the divine right of kings to rule, France promulgated the doctrine of popular sovereignty and maintained it successfully against the royal coalition in a desperate struggle lasting many years and only now appearing to have achieved a permanent victory.

The causes which produced the French Revolution of 1789 were manifold, but they may be summed up in a simple statement: long continued oppression of the masses of the French people. A brief epitome of the condition of the people prior to the Revolution will be necessary in order to understand the cause of the great upheaval. The peasantry who constituted the great mass had no voice in either the local or national government from the time of Louis XIV., or for more than a century prior to the Revolution. They were merely beasts of burden, producers of wealth for the king, nobility and aristocratic clergy.

Louis XIV. had absorbed in his own person all the powers of government; he became the absolute master of France; he made and annulled laws and levied taxes at his pleasure. His celebrated declaration, "I am the State," made in reply to the request that he should call the States-General or ancient parliament together, summarizes his ideas of the rights of sovereigns; ideas not peculiar to him alone, but which at the time prevailed generally throughout Europe.

Louis XIV. appointed eighteen councillors of State to assist him in governing the kingdom and its dependencies, and his successors continued this form of government until Louis XVI., through necessity, found it indispensable to convoke the States-General in 1789. During this period liberty of speech and liberty of the press did not exist.

The penal law allowed the application of torture before trial, permitted the most atrocious punishments, mutilations, and death without according to the accused the right of having a lawyer to manage his case and plead for him, and the judge who imposed sentence was not even required to state a reason for the sentence which he pronounced. The criminal code did not press on all persons alike. A noble was not punished as severely as a peasant for a similar offence.

There were three general classes or orders of beings in the kingdom: the nobility, clergy and plebeians. These were again divided into other distinct classes. Among the nobility there were the greater and the lesser; the former living at the court in splendor on the taxes which came into the national treasury, the latter in the provinces on their estates on the rents and services wrung from their tenants.

There were also among the clergy the very rich who enjoyed the wealthy benefices, and the very poor who ministered to the spiritual wants of the masses. Among the plebeians the commercial and professional class looked down with contempt upon the artisan, and the latter scorned the peasant who lay at the bottom of the ladder in poverty and ignorance supporting the whole social superstructure.

There was inequality in the family itself; the custom of primogeniture gave to the younger sons of the nobles only an oppor-



NAPOLÉON CROSSING THE ALPS.

tunity to enter the church or army, and to many of the daughters the only refuge was the convent. In addition to these general classes were the serfs bound to certain estates, the Jews and the Protestants, who had no civil rights whatever until after the death of Louis XIV., which occurred in 1715.

The taxes which were levied by the king and his eighteen royal councillors were placed in such a way that they were practically all paid by the peasantry and artisans. According to the official report of M. Bailly, Inspector-General of Finance under Louis XVI., in 1786, there was paid into the treasury for the benefit of the king the sum of 558,172,000 livres; for the benefit of individuals, corporations, and communities 280,395,000 livres; for the benefit of the provinces 41,448,000, making a total of 880,015,000 livres.<sup>1</sup>

Of this enormous sum the clergy who, besides the revenue derived from their immense property, received tithes of the products of the lands, paid little or nothing; they were expected to make "gratuitous donations" to the national exchequer. The nobility were subject to the payment of a poll tax and one twentieth of their income, but they generally found means to evade the payment of the latter. They owned nearly all the land of France, but paid none of the land tax or *taille*, as it was termed.

The common people who possessed only a very small portion of the soil paid the whole land tax amounting to 91,000,000 livres; also the tithe, which in one portion of the kingdom was one fortieth and in another was one fourth of the gross product, and cost the agricultural portion of the inhabitants the sum of 133,000,000, the seigniorial dues amounting to 35,000,000 and the *corvees* or manual service due the lords estimated at 20,000,000 livres. In addition to this gigantic burden the peasants were subject to multifarious restrictions for the benefit of the owners of the soil.

Under these crushing burdens the people of France groaned for more than a century. The misery of the common people during the reign of Louis XIV. was frightful. In years of fair harvests they had barely sufficient to keep body and soul together; in

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<sup>1</sup> A livre is equal to 18½ cents.

years of scarcity they were destitute and died of starvation by thousands. In many places there was almost a relapse to savagery. The peasants of fertile Normandy lived chiefly on oats, and dressed in the skins of beasts. In Beauce, the very granary of Paris, the farmers lived by begging during a portion of the year. In a large number of the provinces most of the people did not know the taste of animal food.

Vauban informs us that in the whole of France not more than ten thousand families were in comfortable circumstances. The amount of articles of food consumed was between two and three times less per head of the population than at the present time. La Bruyère, writing in the time of Louis XIV., calls these peasants "Certain ferocious animals, male and female, scattered over the country, black, livid, and burned by the sun, attached to the land which they dig and work upon with incomprehensible obstinacy; they have an articulate voice, and when they rise on their feet they exhibit a human face; and in fact they are men. At night they retire to their dens where they live upon black bread, water, and roots; they spare other men the trouble of sowing, cultivating and gathering articles of food."

In the midst of this horrible suffering the king, nobility, and aristocratic clergy rioted and revelled at the expense of the plundered masses. In debauchery and licentiousness the plunderers dissipated the wealth produced by the workers. Immorality became the prevailing fashion radiating from the royal court outward. Moral ideas had lost all practical force among the upper classes.

As an illustration of the depth to which morality had fallen the Marquis d'Argenson, a very estimable man, considering the times, and one of the royal ministers, writing in a matter-of-fact way regarding marriage, said: "Marriage, that monstrous obligation which will surely go out of fashion!" And continuing he declared that the proper marriage contract should be "like a lease contract which could be entered into in October and given up in January, free unions being much more favorable to the race."

This was the view of marriage entertained and acted upon by the leaders of society, from the king downward, as the contemporary writers abundantly show. Never since the time of Nero,



Caligula, and the other monsters of the Roman empire had morality fallen so low, or had corruption become so general and brazen as in the kingdom of France before the Revolution.

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age will be no safeguard. And you your learning and your genius will not save. Your trunkless heads now stare me in the face."

Such was the restrained and evidently repressed intensity of the speaker that an uncanny thrill ran through the crowd, but La Harpe, the disciple of Voltaire, La Harpe, the aggressive atheist, feeling his neck with his taper fingers, as if fearful that his head was already going, said quizzically: "Cazotte, what about me? This gory drama of your dream, why am I not in it? I want to be a star!" "And so you shall," Cazotte replied, "for you shall live through that tempest and, strangest of all, when the calm has come, you, yes, you, La Harpe, shall become a Christian."

How they roared at this! It seemed the crowning joke. Cazotte in all his life, some said, had never been so finely fantastic as that night. Then one in the crowd cried out: "O prophet, prophesy of thyself," and in the hush that followed Cazotte said: "It is writ in history that for seven days prior to the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, a man ran about the walls of that city whereof not one stone was to be left upon another, rending his garments and crying aloud: 'Woe unto thee, Jerusalem! Woe unto thee and me!'" and on the seventh day, at the very beginning of the siege, a stone from a Roman catapult made that man the first of the dead." Cazotte bowed his head and left the gay salon. Some shivered a little but most of them tried to laugh it away.

A similar story is told of the wizard Cagliostro mention of whose remarkable powers has been made in our chapter on Masonry. It is said that Cagliostro, sitting at dinner with a number of prominent nobles and foreign ambassadors just on the eve of the French Revolution, was asked to look into the future. Shading his eyes with his heavily jeweled hand, he spoke in a strange voice full of fearful intonations, giving a similar picture of the horrors to come, and prophesying that certain Frenchmen in the company would meet with sudden and frightful ends.

One man, a foreign nobleman, asked laughingly if there were no special dish for him at such a feast of horrors; and the wizard, leaning forward and looking deep into his eyes, answered: "Not here in France, dear Count, but further on. I do not see quite









how; the scene is dim, as if clouded with smoke, but beware of masks!" One of the wits present exclaimed: "A very safe and sage advice, for behind them is often some face too fair for a man's peace." The foreign count replied that he did not fear; he was too old a soldier in that kind of warfare to do aught but love the danger. Some years afterwards this prophecy or guess of Cagliostro was startlingly verified. The foreign nobleman had become Gustavus III. of Sweden, and he was assassinated from behind with a pistol at a masked ball as is faithfully portrayed in our illustration.

The taxes had more than doubled during the reign of Louis XV., who died in 1774, and yet there was a large annual deficit. Louis XV. foresaw quite clearly that a day of terrible reckoning was close at hand, but in his utter selfishness and moral degradation he consoled himself with the reflection that the storm would descend upon another head than his own. On one occasion he said: "Matters will go on as they are as long as I live; my successor may get out of the difficulty as well as he can." And his favorite, Madame de Pompadour, who ruled France through her turpitude, repeated with him "After us the deluge."

When Louis XVI. ascended the throne, on the death of his grandfather, he was only twenty years of age. He was a young man of excellent morals, loving the right, and desirous of doing justice to all. He immediately commenced to abolish the abuses that surrounded him, beginning with the royal residence, entrance to which was denied to the titled courtesans who had frequented its corridors and occupied the highest places at the fetes in its apartments during the reign of his predecessor.

He called to his aid as advisers two of the best and most eminent Frenchmen living, Malesherbes and Turgot, making the former minister of the royal household, and the latter minister of finance. Turgot, from the very moment of his appointment, in 1774, the year preceding the opening of the American Revolution, urged upon Louis XVI. "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no borrowing."

He planned extensive reforms in various directions, a gradual development of the principle of local self-government in the municipalities and communes, the abolition of the *corvée* or



manual service tax on the peasantry, the imposition of a land tax on the clergy and nobility, the suppression of the greater part of the monasteries, the equalization of the land tax by a national land survey, liberty of conscience including the abolition of the penal code against Protestants, a national code of laws, and a uniform system of weights and measures for the whole kingdom, with several other beneficent measures which, could they have been carried out, might have averted the awful catastrophe which some years later burst like a cyclone over France, astounding the world with its destructive violence.

But the privileged classes, the nobility and many of the clergy whose selfish interests were threatened by Turgot's propositions made bitter war on the minister, and opposed his every effort to carry his reforms into practical operation. His progress was slow and partial. Almost the entire nobility opposed the removal of the *corvée* tax on the peasants for a sum equivalent to it laid on the landowners, but the minister, backed up by the king, succeeded in abolishing this hoary wrong.

He also freed industries from the control of the seigneurs or landlords on whose estates they were carried on, and by so doing increased the number of his enemies. All the selfishness of the ancient regime formed a conspiracy against him. The young king was beleaguered by his enemies and finally, growing weary of the mental strain to which he was subjected by Turgot on the one side holding up to his view vast designs which were beyond his capacity, and the importunities and whispered suspicions of the conspirators on the other, he asked the minister to resign.

In May, 1776, after two years of service, Turgot sent in his resignation in writing, saying: "My only desire is that you will always be able to believe that I have been mistaken, and that I have warned you of *fancied* dangers. I hope that time will not justify my fears and that your reign may be as happy and as peaceful as your people have expected from your principles of justice and benevolence."

Malesherbes, the other upright minister, was also forced to resign. Thirteen years later he volunteered to defend his royal master before the National Convention which thirsted for his blood. Both ministers were succeeded by temporizing and incom-

petent men. Four months afterwards all the reform measures had been repealed, and the privileged classes reinstated in wrongdoing. But France had now assumed a new financial burden by her war with England, as an ally of our colonies during the war for independence. In order to meet this great emergency it was necessary to call to the assistance of the incompetent minister of finance some one capable of devising ways and means to support the army and navy.

This person was found in a celebrated Geneva banker named Neckar, who acquitted himself with honor in a position made difficult by the jealousy of the ministers, and the ill-concealed hostility of the courtiers. He, too, was forced to resign after five years of arduous service.

The cause of his fall was the publication of his famous "Account Rendered," or report on the state of the French finances, which he gave to the public in 1781. In this report the receipts as set forth appeared to be 10,000,000 livres more than the expenses, but there was no account of the money borrowed, nor of the total expenditures for war purposes. The public applauded the financier and his report, and the capitalists, on the strength of it, lent the minister of finance an additional 236,000,000 livres.

The court, however, and all the noble placemen and pensioners decried the publication as a monstrous innovation, a decided breach of privilege. It was an appeal to the public opinion of France, something hitherto unheard of and not to be tolerated. What would become of the pensions and the customary robbery carried on in secret, if the national accounts were to be submitted to the public scrutiny?

Neckar's fate was decided by his celebrated *Compte Rendu*. Maurepas, the first minister of the king, engineered the attack, and the assault which had been successful against Turgot proved successful against his successor. Louis gave way to the clamor of the courtiers, and Neckar was deposed for daring to lay before the people even a partial report of the amount of money which they paid into the royal treasury, and the purposes for which it was expended.

Thus things drifted from year to year, the treasury becoming

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The court, however, and all the noble placemen and pensioners decried the publication as a monstrous innovation, a decided breach of privilege. It was an appeal to the public opinion of France, something hitherto unheard of and not to be tolerated. What would become of the pensions and the customary robbery carried on in secret, if the national accounts were to be submitted to the public scrutiny?

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Thus things drifted from year to year, the treasury becoming

more deeply involved in debt at enormous rates of interest, destitution among the masses growing more intense, while profound fermentation of thought gained in power among the middle classes, permeating even to the peasantry, who growled like Caliban in restlessness and misery. Calonne, who was appointed Comptroller-General of Finance in 1783, had little or no ability for the difficult position which he occupied, but he managed to borrow and expend 500,000,000 francs over and above the ordinary taxes in three years with the country at peace.

On his disclosing to the king this state of affairs it was determined to stop further borrowing and to reform the whole system of taxation. Calonne now proposed to adopt in great part the plan laid down by Turgot; he would subject the privileged classes to a tax and the payment of a subsidy based on land; he would diminish the land tax and thus lighten the burden of the peasants; grant freedom of trade in grain, and abolish other annoying restrictions which the common people were loudly crying out against.

To effect these popular reforms it was necessary to have recourse to the nation. The king and Calonne were in favor of summoning the States-General, or parliament, of all France, which had not been convened for over a century. But the very name of the States-General excited alarm in the breast of every pensioner and courtier, and the king did not venture to do more than convene a meeting of the notables.

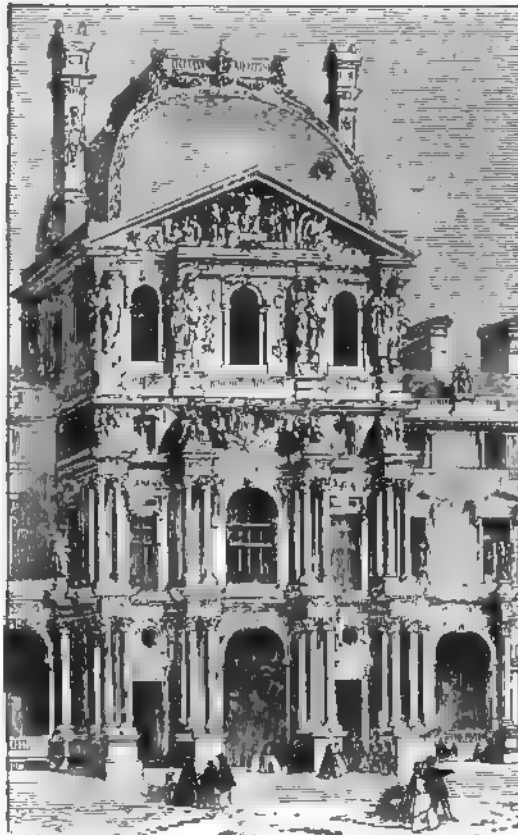
They met on February 12, 1787, to the number of one hundred and forty-four members, of whom twenty-seven were set down as representing the third estate or bourgeois, although in fact there were only six or seven of the latter among them. The representatives of the Third Estate approved the plans of reform set forth by Calonne, but the nobles refused their assent to burden their class with a tax on land which they preferred should continue to be paid by the peasantry.

The discussion on this point waxed warm; the king took a leading part in it, growing angry at the stolid opposition to the measures which he endorsed, and he informed them that they should confine their deliberation to the manner in which the taxes should be laid, and not to the principle of them. But the nobles

were almost unanimously adverse, and finally the king was forced to give way and send Calonne into exile in Lorraine.

A year later Necker was recalled to office as first minister by the king. His return to power was hailed by acclamations of welcome. Confidence revived and the public securities immediately advanced thirty per cent. He found only 500,000 livres in the treasury, while the claims upon it were very large and urgent. No trivial remedy would meet the requirements of the situation. Necker proposed, and the king sanctioned the convocation of the States-General; the nobility strenuously resisted, but the king, backed up by his able minister, was inflexible, and the States-General was ordered to assemble at Versailles on the first day of May, 1789. Profound excitement prevailed throughout the country among all classes on receipt of this news.

Democratic clubs sprang into existence in all the cities and towns, which were harangued nightly by impassioned orators who declaimed against the wrongs the people suffered. The following platform of principles was adopted by the Third Estate which the deputies to the States-General were instructed to support.



TURGOT PAVILION OF THE LOUVRE.

1. Political: that sovereignty emanating from the people should be exercised only by the agreement of the national representatives with the hereditary chief of the state; the urgency of establishing a constitution for France; the exclusive right of the States-General to make the laws which, before being promulgated, should obtain the royal sanction, to control public expenses and to vote taxes. The abolition of financial immunities and personal privileges of the clergy and the nobility; the suppression of the last remnants of serfdom; the admissibility of all citizens to public employment; the responsibility of the agents of executive power.

2. Moral: liberty of worship and of the press; *education of poor and abandoned children by the state.*

3. Judicial: uniformity of legislation and of jurisprudence; the suppression of exceptional jurisdictions; the publicity of debates; the amelioration of penal laws; the reform of procedure.

4. Administrative: the creation of provincial assemblies; unity of weights and measures; a re-division of the kingdom according to population and revenue.

5. Economic: liberty of industries; the suppression of internal customs duties; the replacing of the various taxes by a real estate and personal tax which would reach the products but never the capital.

On the second of May all the deputies were assembled and formally presented to the king. On the fifth day Louis opened the proceedings, seated on his throne surrounded by the princes of the blood royal. The court occupied the steps of the throne. On the right of the king sat the clergy numbering 291 members, comprising 48 archbishops and bishops, 35 abbés or canons, 204 curates, and 3 monks. On the left were seated the nobility numbering 270 members, consisting of one prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans, 240 gentlemen, and 28 magistrates of the superior courts; while directly in front of the king at the lower end of the hall sat the Third Estate consisting of 584 members, of whom 12 were gentlemen, 2 priests, 18 mayors or consuls of large cities, 162 magistrates, 212 lawyers, 16 physicians, 162 merchants or land-owners and farmers.

The king addressed the assemblage in a brief speech which was

warmly applauded. Neckar presented an extensive report on the state of the treasury, in which he showed that there existed an annual deficit of 56,000,000 livres and 260,000,000 of anticipated receipts, and he declared that the king desired the states to assist him in developing the industries of the kingdom and placing its prosperity upon a lasting basis.

The assemblage on proceeding to organize for business encountered the first difficulty on the question of who should be entitled to pronounce judgment on the credentials of the members. The clergy and nobility claimed that each order should pass upon its own members, while the members of the Third Estate unanimously insisted that the verification of the credentials of each member to the States-General should be by the vote of all taken together.

Inasmuch as the future method of voting upon all questions depended on this matter as a precedent, a bitter struggle ensued which continued for five weeks. If the vote was to be taken by orders or classes the clergy and nobility were certain of a majority as against the Third Estate or plebeian order, while if it was taken by members the latter had a good working majority. Hence the importance of the contest.

A number of democratic priests from among the clergy joined the Third Estate in a separate hall which they occupied. At length, on the 17th of June, 1789, the Abbé Sieyès arose among the benches of the Third Estate and moved that it resolve itself into a national assembly, "inasmuch as this assembly is already composed of representatives sent directly by at least ninety-six hundredths of the nation," etc.; and afterwards, by another resolution, the word "constituent" was added, thus giving to the assemblage its official designation "National Constituent Assembly" of France.

The order of the clergy by a small majority voted on the 19th of June to act with the assembly. The court, the nobility, and some of the aristocratic clergy pressed the king to disperse the Assembly by force. On the 20th of June soldiers patrolled the vicinage of their place of meeting and guarded the doors of their hall, keeping them closed, whereupon the president of the Assembly, M. Bailly, convened the members in a tennis court where



they took a solemn oath before God and their fellow members not to separate, whatever the consequences, until they had adopted a written constitution for the people of France.

The majority of the clergy now joined the Third Estate, and on June 21st, in the Church of Saint Louis, the Assembly proceeded formally to hold its first session. The king held a royal sitting on the following day, June 22d, and he warned the deputies to refrain from laying violent hands on the ancient and constitutional rights of the three orders of the States-General.

"I will work out the welfare of my people alone if you abandon me," continued the king. He then requested the three orders to retire to the respective places of meeting assigned them. The nobility and some of the clergy obeyed, but the deputies of the Third Estate remained in their seats. The Marquis de Breze, the king's high chamberlain, returned to the hall and addressed them, saying, "Gentlemen, you have heard the orders of the king." The Count de Mirabeau, one of the popular deputies from Provence, rebuked the king's messenger for daring to intimidate the representatives of the people in the performance of their duty, and told him amid the plaudits of his colleagues, "Go and tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will be sent away only at the point of the bayonet."

On the next day the Assembly solemnly proclaimed the inviolability of its members. Forty-seven members of the nobility and a majority of the clergy now united with the members of the Third Estate and finally the king deemed it the wisest course to persuade all of the two orders to join the third, which they did on June 27th. The Assembly then organized its committees for business.

Meantime it was generally believed that the court was preparing to use force against the National Assembly. Thirty thousand troops were drawn around Paris, among them some foreign regiments in the king's pay, on the pretext of protecting the representatives during their deliberations. The people of Paris were much excited over this uncalled-for military display, and the Assembly, by a large majority, demanded that the soldiers be removed from the city.

The royal reply to this demand was the dismissal and exile of



HOTEL DES INVALIDES.

Neckar on July 11th. The anger of the populace became unbounded. Several collisions between groups of citizens and soldiers immediately took place. The people turned out into the streets en masse, selected their officers, made fifty thousand pikes in thirty-six hours, seized thirty thousand muskets with cannon and sabres which were stored in the *Hotel des Invalides*, of which historic place we present a picture, and on the 13th of July marched upon the Bastille which they stormed after severe loss, and put to death every one of its garrison, refusing quarter to any. The Revolution was thus baptized in blood, the forerunner of rivers yet to flow.

The Revolutionary flame spread to the remote country districts. Within a few weeks after the storming of the Bastille the peasantry arose in many places armed with scythes, axes, and other instruments of husbandry, and set fire to castles and convents, *to destroy the old title deeds to the soil*, believing that by their destruction they would become the owners of the land which they and their fathers had cultivated for the benefit of the lords.

Lives were lost in the conflict which took place between the retainers of the castles and the ignorant, maddened peasants who, just aroused to a dim realization of their position and strength, struck out blindly and brutally. It was Caliban awakening. To meet the threatening storm which lowered all round the horizon, wholesale reforms became urgent even in the mind of the nobility. The nobles in the Assembly, therefore, moved to abolish all the exclusive privileges which they had hitherto possessed, and also ecclesiastical tithes, municipal and provincial privileges. Thus feudalism was abolished in the nation, and the first plank in the platform of the Third Estate — the equality of man — had become a reality.

Lafayette, the friend of Washington, was appointed general of the citizen militia of Paris. The prestige which he had gained in the war for American independence led to his selection by the king with the assent of the Assembly. He endeavored to control the eddies and whirlpools of passion that seethed and foamed along the revolutionary current, and for a time he partially succeeded, but eventually was forced to retire, impotent in the face of the gigantic upheaval which flung to the surface of society

conflicting elements inflamed with passion and filled with vanity at their suddenly acquired power. The conservative leaders were gradually pushed aside by the more radical and violent as the Revolution progressed. Many of the nobility and clergy fled the country.

Meantime the National Constituent Assembly passed many beneficent laws. It adopted a constitution which among other things decreed absolute toleration in matters of religious faith, liberty of speech, press, industry and commerce. It abolished the feudal laws of primogeniture and entail of estates and confiscation of property, and decreed the division of property among all the children of a deceased person. Protestants and Jews were admitted to all civil rights, the former were reinstated in such portions of their estates as has been added to the property of the state, and *the colored people of the French colonies acquired all the civil rights of the whites.* All titles of nobility were abolished; all the people without distinction were simply citizens of France, and the king was declared chief officer of the state for life.

From the opening of the Assembly in 1789, to the day of its dissolution on September 30, 1791, two powerful opposing forces battled for supremacy, not only in the hall of the Assembly, but throughout France; the one desirous of seeing the country governed by a constitutional monarch under a written constitution, after the British plan, the other intolerant of any government save that of a republican form, which they purposed to model in their own way.

The constitution which had been adopted also provided that the legislative power of the nation should be exercised by one permanent chamber, the members of which should be elected every two years. It alone possessed the right to initiate laws and to declare war. A limited veto power was allowed the king and the right to vote was conferred on two millions of Frenchmen, a very radical innovation in those days of limited suffrage. The Assembly, before closing its two years term of office as prescribed by the constitution, passed a general amnesty law, pardoning all political offenders with the view of recalling all those who had fled the country. It then dissolved.

The Legislative Assembly that succeeded had new and for-

midable difficulties to meet. The monarchs of Europe boldly announced that they purposed by force of arms to restore Louis XVI. to all his former rights, and the Emperor Leopold of Austria and the King of Prussia published a declaration to that effect on August 27, 1791. To this threat the Assembly replied on November 29, 1791, saying: "That if the princes of Germany continued to favor preparations directed against France, *the French would carry into their lands, not fire and sword, but liberty.* It was for them to estimate what would be the consequences of this awakening of the nations." The kings, however, perfected their coalition, moved their armies towards the French frontier, and a war commenced which continued for twenty-three years.

The radical element now assumed the direction of affairs. Lafayette was proscribed and forced to leave France. There was no longer room for such republicans. The mob of Paris dictated terms both to the king and the Assembly. It attacked and sacked the Tuileries, after murdering the Swiss guards and nobles. The king took refuge in the midst of the Assembly, but the mob marched into the members' hall demanding that the king should be deposed, and that a national convention should be convoked immediately.

The Assembly was powerless in the presence of armed men fresh from the sacking of the Tuileries; it ordered the king to be imprisoned and authorized a call for a national convention. In September, 1792, the mob broke open the prisons and murdered about one thousand prisoners chiefly confined for political offences. The helpless Assembly looked on in terror, but was powerless, even if it desired, to offer effective opposition. The Reign of Terror had begun.

While these sanguinary deeds were occurring in Paris, the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of a Prussian and Imperialist army of one hundred and sixty thousand men, invaded France. He proclaimed that he came to reinstate Louis XVI., and to visit with condign punishment all who offered opposition. These threats of the invader brought the French masses to their feet almost as one man.

Their undisciplined levies marched to the frontier singing the famous *Ça Ira*, and on the hill of Valmy, with vastly inferior

force in point of numbers, in a battle which raged for several hours, they taught the Prussians a lesson which dampened the ardor of the Duke of Brunswick. The latter offered to negotiate, but the National Convention which had assembled on the very next day (September 21) after the victory at Valmy and proclaimed the republic, refused to listen to any of his propositions under the circumstances, resolving "that the French Republic can listen to no proposition until the Prussian troops have entirely evacuated the French territory." The Prussians retreated across the frontier on October 1. On the 6th of November an Austrian army of the coalition was defeated at Jemmapes with great loss, which gave the republican forces possession of the Netherlands with Brussels as headquarters. On the southeastern frontier other decisive victories were won by the French.

The bitterness against royalty and all its surroundings increased in the convention. The radicals were growing more radical day by day, and the direction of everything passed into the control of the most violent among them. Louis XVI. was led from prison to be tried for his life, notwithstanding that the constitution declared him inviolable, and that no penalty could be legally pronounced against him save deposition, which had already taken place.

But he was tried, sentenced, and guillotined within twenty-four hours after sentence was pronounced, January 21, 1793. This unfortunate monarch, courageous, just and generous, suffered for the crimes of his predecessors. "After us the deluge," Madame de Pompadour had said, laughing, to show her pearly teeth, and shrugging her nacreous shoulders. The deluge had come. The king's accusers who were his judges put him to death, they said, to ensure the public safety. It was a huge, political blunder, for his death aroused all the kings to a new coalition against the republic. England with her money and navy, and Spain with her army now joined the other nations.

It was a royal crusade against the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity which the republic had proclaimed in the face of Europe. The convention appointed a committee of public safety, consisting of nine persons, who controlled all public authority to render it more effective in defence against

external enemies. It also appointed a committee of public security to ferret out all persons suspected of disaffection, and a revolutionary tribunal to punish them, as a means of protection against domestic enemies. The Reign of Terror was thus legalized, and the guillotine commenced its sanguinary work, first with the nobility and clergy, and a little later with members of the convention itself who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the faction in power for the time being.

A murderous mania seemed to have seized France. As the marvellous revolutionary poet of the age, Byron, wrote, with a sort of sublime coarseness, "So France got drunk with blood to vomit crime." To be suspected was to be sentenced and executed by the revolutionary committee. Hundreds of the best citizens in all the cities were put to death as "suspects" without any evidence adduced against them other than that of the basest wretches.

In Paris, the Queen, M. Bailly, the first president of the Third Estate, Lavoisier, the famous chemist, Malesherbes, the octogenarian advocate and ex-minister who defended Louis XVI., General Custine, the Duke of Orleans, and over a thousand others, notable in the literary or professional world, were executed in the month of October, 1793.

At length, fortunately for the lives of many others, the bloodthirsty extremists in the convention, the faction designated as the Mountain, commenced to quarrel among themselves. The quarrel developed into a trial of strength, with the result that the defeated parties were ordered to the guillotine by Robespierre and his associates on the pretext that the public safety was endangered by their existence. In forty-seven days of May and June, 1794, fourteen hundred persons were executed in the city of Paris alone under the rule of Robespierre.

Another turn of the wheel and Robespierre and his confrères were sent to the scaffold, July 28, 1794, amid the jeers of a mob which had become satiated with blood. Thus culminated the period known as the Reign of Terror, which had lasted for four hundred and twenty days; during which time 2,669 sentences of death had been carried out in Paris, without speaking of the much larger number put to death in the provinces.

The outrages and oppression of the French kings and nobility had brought forth a bloody issue in which the innocent suffered as well as the guilty.

The clergy of that time shared with the nobility the bitter harvest of popular hate which they had helped to sow, and in some parts of France it was as unsafe to be a priest or be connected with a monastery in any way as it was to be suspected of aristocratic blood or royalist tendencies. Yet some of the monastic



A FRENCH MONASTERY DURING THE REVOLUTION.

houses survived the storm, by bending to it gracefully, like the humble lily of the meadow, instead of trying to brave it off, like the haughty oak of the mountain. Our illustration shows the head of a monastery calmly receiving orders from a republican general to disperse his brotherhood and close his gates.

The imagination of those in power grew prodigal of horrors. It seemed as if the ingenuity of hate sought to surpass all previous exhibitions of fiendishness in celebrating the revenge of the



common people on the aristocrats, who for so many years had trampled them in the dust and reduced them to a condition really worse than that of animals; for horses and dogs and the game creatures of the forest were treated with an amount of attention to which the men, women, and children of the lower classes of France were strangers. And yet, the infliction of these horrors produced at times scenes of dramatic beauty that brought out the finer and tenderer sides of French human nature in colors as clear as its fiercer passions were showing themselves.

One of the most striking incidents, and an excellent example of the times, occurred when Carrier, a republican general, arrived at a small place on the River Loire which was strongly suspected of having royalist sympathies. Here in his lust for vengeance he seized young men and maidens, and stripping them stark, tied them together in pairs, attaching to each pair a cannon ball, and then flung them into the river, which he called instituting the ceremony of republican marriage.

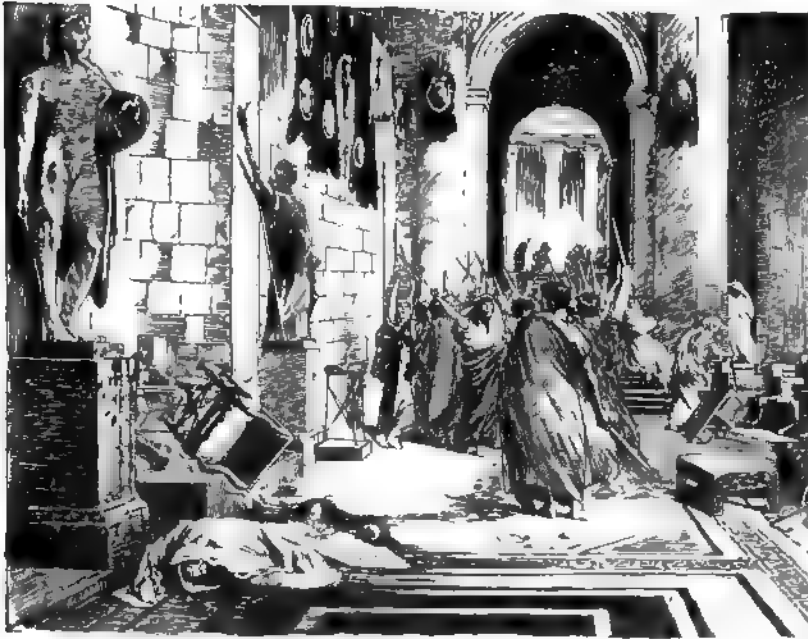
As one of these young men and a beautiful girl were brought before him, and sentenced to this dreadful end, the man exclaimed: "O Judge, I thank thee! and at the day of judgment, when thy sins shriek against thee, if I were in the deepest deep of hell, I would spring to thy side and plead thy cause with the Most High; for this doom to which thou hast adjudged me is most sweet, since I have loved this woman all my life, and as there was no chance of her becoming my wife, next to the sweetness of living with her is the bliss of dying with her."

Such is the story, a legend possibly, yet probably having some foundation in fact, since there is no doubt that the ruthless Carrier did throw young men and maidens into the river in the manner mentioned.

While this carnival of blood was going on within the republic, its frontier was defended by the bravest armies that ever marched to battle. The disciplined forces of the allied kings were confronted by twelve hundred thousand fresh-levied republican recruits, officered by men who knew little or nothing of military manœuvres, and yet the latter, in almost every instance, defeated their opponents. Carnot, the head of the French military office, "the organizer of victory," as he was flatteringly styled, instructed

his newly made generals to strike the enemy rapid blows, to march their troops right on with the bayonet, regardless of the number opposed to them, and these tactics were carried out to the letter successfully. They exactly suited the raw but enthusiastic republican soldiers who sung their celebrated *Ca Ira* at the opening of the battles, and then rushed impetuously to close quarters with the hirelings of Europe's kings.

But in spite of repeated victories of such headlong valor, at the



ASSASSINATION OF JULIUS CESAR.

end of August, 1793, France was invaded by still larger armies from every direction, while its coast line was blockaded by the British fleet. The situation looked desperate, but within four months the republican soldiers had stemmed the assault, beaten the English and Dutch in the north, hurled the Austrians across the Rhine, compelled the Prussians to retreat, held the Piedmontese along the line of the Alps and fallen back slowly before the Spaniards from the base of the Pyrenees. Lyons and Toulon in the south were recaptured by the republicans, the latter city

in December, 1793, chiefly through the skill of a certain Captain Bonaparte of the artillery.

The conflict with the kings continued during 1794-5. The republican generals and their troops, growing inured to warfare, now began to take the initiative and carried the war into the enemies' countries. They established the Batavian Republic in Holland, invaded Spain, and prepared to enter Prussia and Austria. Prussia and Spain, fearful of the result, asked for peace. This was granted on certain terms favorable to the Republic, which was thus officially recognized for the first time by two of the monarchs of Europe.

The Republic was now definitively established, and the principles of the Revolution vindicated by the French people against the royal conspirators. *Those principles have never since been forgotten by the French masses, whatever temporary aberrations have occurred in their governmental forms.* Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity have been more than glittering generalities to the Gallic mind since the fateful period when they first rang out over Europe like a trumpet blast, calling the people to arms against the divine pretensions of the kings.

The military dictatorship of the successful general, Napoleon Bonaparte, succeeded the Revolution. It was inevitable under the circumstances, just as inevitable as was the assumption by Julius Cæsar of the supreme power in Rome, when the patricians had begun to quarrel over their prey, the people.

And just as Cæsar was assassinated by patrician conspirators in an actual way, so was Napoleon assassinated metaphorically by the conspiracy of kings against him. Yet, had he not been overcome from without, it is probable that he would have perished in the same physical way as did the greater Roman whose fall at the foot of the statue of his rival, Pompey, is one of the large pictures of history, second only, perhaps, in its importance and influence on that epoch to the nobler death-scene which we have shown in our chapter on Theocracy.

Napoleon was a necessity to France just then. Chaos demands a creator. Royal enemies threatened France from the outside, and internal disorders prevailed. The country, to secure the social equality which the Revolution had won, threw herself at

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A WOODMAN'S HUT AT ARDENNES ON THE WAY TO WATERLOO, 1815. 351

the feet of the man who wielded the conquering sword. She postponed political liberty for a time to preserve equality. The Revolution abdicated in favor of the military power but its principles lived on in the hearts of the people, and were spread over Europe with the victories of the French armies under the consulate and the empire.

The faults of the French Revolution were many; they have been vividly blazoned in the pages of history by worshippers of kingly power, but the American student should give due consideration to the other side of the picture so truthfully sketched by the Abbé Mignet, a broad-minded Catholic scholar, where he says: "In moral affairs it secured tolerance, sought for justice, proclaimed rights, demanded civil equality, recommended human fraternity, abolished cruelty in penal institutions, did away with the arbitrary administration of public affairs, endeavored to make reason the guide of intellect, liberty the guide of governments, progress the ambition of peoples, and law the sovereign of the whole world."

The history of France from 1799 until the fall of the Emperor at Waterloo is the history of Napoleon Bonaparte, first the victor at Rivoli and Areole, then first consul for ten years, next first consul for life, and finally emperor. *It should not be forgotten, however, that these titles with the powers given him were the expressed will of the nation.* After the French Senate proclaimed him emperor the voters of the country ratified the choice by 3,572,329 votes against 2,569. *They chose him as their leader at the ballot box.* On his defeat in 1815, the monarchs of Europe re-established Louis XVIII. on the throne without consulting the voters of France. Individual liberty was curtailed, a rigid censorship of the press put into operation, and the political powers of the great landed proprietors were increased. The republicans conspired in secret to overthrow the rule imposed upon them without their consent, but failed.

Charles X., who succeeded to the throne in 1824, was a true type of the Bourbon prince. He was one of the first emigrants who fled the country during the Revolution of 1793. He had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. He believed he was in duty bound to restore the ancient monarchy in all its ancient pre-

rogatives, notwithstanding the constitution and the people who elected the Chamber of Deputies.

On the 26th of June, 1830, he issued a series of ordinances suppressing the liberty of the press, annulling the elections of all the members to the legislature which had just been held, and creating a new method of election. The people flew to arms, defeated the royal guards, and in a conflict lasting three days drove Charles from the throne.

The Chamber of Deputies then selected Louis Philippe as king, who reigned until 1848, when his ministry, attempting to suppress political meetings in the February of that year, were opposed by force; an insurrection broke out, the national guards sympathized with the insurgents, and Louis abdicated the throne, whereupon the Republic was proclaimed and re-established after the lapse of half a century.

Universal suffrage was immediately decreed by the National Assembly. The electorate of France numbered nine millions of citizens. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president for four years, but afterwards by cunning, duplicity, and gross violation of the laws which he had solemnly sworn to observe, he succeeded in having himself proposed as Emperor of the French by his adherents, which proposition he submitted to the voters, who adopted it by 7,839,552 affirmative votes against 254,501 in the negative.

He took the title of Napoleon III., and governed France with considerable discretion until his downfall and capture by the Prussians, which occurred at the disastrous battle of Sedan, September 2, 1870. When the news from Sedan reached Paris, the Chamber of Deputies formally deposed the Emperor and proclaimed the Republic, which has existed since and gives fair promise of continuance as the permanent form of government in that country.

The constitution of France differs in many particulars from that of the United States. The following are its outlines: The legislative power is exercised by two assemblies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate consists of three hundred members, each of whom must be at least forty years old. They are elected by the departments, the electoral body in each depart-

ment for that purpose consisting of its deputies, the general council, the councils of the *arrondissements* or subdivisions, and delegates elected by each commune. The senators serve for a term of nine years, one third retiring by rotation every three years.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of members chosen for a term of four years by universal suffrage under the arrangement called the *scrutin de liste*, which means that each department being entitled to a number of deputies proportioned to the number of its citizens, the deputies for each are voted for on a general or departmental ticket.

The executive, or president of the republic, is elected for a term of seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies united in a single body called the National Assembly. The president is eligible for re-election; he has the initiative of legislation concurrently with the two chambers, the execution of the laws, control of the army and navy, and the power of appointment to all civil and military offices. With the assent of the Senate he can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the end of its four years' term and order a new general election of members of the lower house. A law has been passed declaring ineligible to the office of president any prince of the families formerly reigning in France.

The present Republic, the offspring of 1793, appears to rest on a solid basis. The recent conciliatory attitude of Pope Leo XIII. towards it, as evidenced by his advice to the French bishops to cordially accept and work with it in all things which do not conflict with their spiritual jurisdiction, is a harbinger of great promise. The standing aloof of French Catholics in opposition, as many have stood in the past, had weakened the Republic materially. All signs point now to a new era of better feeling in this respect. The Republic deserves well of France. *Esto perpetua!*

#### XIV.

### Government Among Secret Orders.

**E**VERY secret society of a political character which has appeared in history may be regarded as an act of reflection, therefore of conscience. For is not conscience in the individual generally a cumulation and crystallization of reflection?

A something alive and vivid in nearly every thinking self, yet outside of self, Conscience is the true tyrant of the world. Intangible, no stiletto can touch it, no axe behead it. The charms of woman cannot lull it long, no prayers can mollify, no menace fright it.

Remorse makes us feel within ourselves the constant duel of a dualism. There are two selves within us — one accusing, the other defending. Virtue or soundness is peaceful, at one with itself, a calm unit, a healthy atom adjusted to the harmony of the universe, making and feeling music in the soul.

Yet there may be such a thing as a collective conscience, and every secret society with a political aim may be called the expression on a grand scale of the reflection and remorse of the governed — an avenging and purifying remorse which moves onward through destruction and death to regeneration and a saner life.

But the collective conscience which has its expression in secret orders for the promotion of change differs from personal rancor,



or from the action of individual conscience, in that it wishes to punish institutions, not persons, to decapitate ideas, not men.

Such organizations, when they apparently perish, nevertheless leave a pious legacy of hate, a superb malediction of indormant and indomitable justice which enlarges the responsibility and character of the man or the people that inherit the reforming or rebellious impulse. A legitimate hatred of evil is the salvation of nations. Woe to a race that knows not how to hate!

It must be admitted, however, that some of the secret governments within government which have been and still flourish in the world, while having a scientific excuse for existence by force of the social conditions that have produced them, are nevertheless, in their general scope, simply a brigandage, such as might more fitly, perhaps, have been classified under our third chapter of Gypsies, Brigands, and Thieves.

We shall begin, therefore, by depicting briefly a secret society of murder, torture, and robbery, called the *Chauffeurs*, which flourished in France at the beginning of this century, and we shall close by giving an account of the famous Tammany Society of New York, whose methods are regarded by its opponents as exemplifying the art of political brigandage on a colossal scale. Between these two we shall consider the Carbonari of Italy, the Fenians, and the Nihilists.

The *Chauffeurs* or Burners, so-called on account of their applying fire to their victims to wring revelations of the hiding-places of secret treasure, were a secret society existing in France before and during the Revolution, and they were only finally extinguished in the beginning of this century.

The *Chauffeurs* constituted a compact body, governed by a single head. They had their own religion, and a code of civil and criminal laws, which, though only handed down orally, was none the less observed and respected. They received into their fraternity all who chose to claim admission, but preferred to enroll such as had already distinguished themselves by criminal deeds.

Whole families belonged to this Order of Disorder, and the children were early taught how to act as spies, commit small thefts, and similar crimes, which were rewarded more or less liberally, as they were executed with more or less daring or adroitness. Want



AN IMITATION AMONG THE CHATTEAUS.

of success brought proportionate punishment with it, very severe corporeal castigation, which was administered not merely as punishment, but also to teach the young members to bear bodily pain with fortitude.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen the boy was initiated into the first degree of the society. At a kind of religious consecration he took an oath, calling down on his own head the lightning and wrath of heaven, if ever he failed in his duty towards the order. The initiation of a grown-up candidate into this curious company was, according to one writer, a most singular combination of a monkish penance by flagellation, and an orgy afterwards such as the wildest of wild Indians might have envied.

Our illustration of this whip dance by torch-light in the face of a rude cross is, perhaps, a fair picture of the beginning, the primary object being, no doubt, to see if the candidate for danger could bear pain, and to show off the endurance of the past-masters in iniquity. The orgy that followed can be easily imagined by anyone who has ever witnessed a Commencement Day at some of our leading colleges.

The master had almost unbounded authority ; he kept the common purse, and distributed the booty according to his own discretion. Theft from the profane, as outsiders were called, was the fundamental law, and, indeed the support of the society, but theft from a brother was punished, the first time, by a fine three times the amount stolen. When repeated, the fine was heavier, and sometimes the thief was put to death.

Each brother was bound to come to the assistance of another when in danger. Their mode of administering justice was rational, i. e., summary. The accused person was called before the general assembly of the members, informed of the charge against him, confronted with the witnesses and, if found innocent, acquitted ; but if guilty he had either at once to pay the fine imposed, receive the number of blows allotted, or submit to hanging on the nearest tree, according to the tenor of the sentence.

The religious worship of the Chauffeurs was a parody on that of the church. The sermons of their preachers were chiefly directed to instructing them how most profitably to pursue their profession, and how to evade the pursuit of the profane. On fête-days the

priest celebrated Mass, and especially invoked the heavenly blessing on the object and designs of the society.

Their marriage ceremony was unique. On the wedding-day the bridegroom and bride, accompanied by the best man and chief bridesmaid, presented themselves before the priest who, after having read some ribald nonsense from a dirty old book, took a stick, which he sprinkled with holy water, and after having placed it in the hands of the two chief witnesses, who held it up between them, he invited the bridegroom to leap over it, while the bride stood on the other side awaiting him.

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But it was chiefly during the Reign of Terror that the Chauffeurs committed their greatest ravages. At night large bands of them invaded isolated houses and the castles of the nobility, robbing the rich and poor alike. During the day children and old women,

the feet of the man who wielded the conquering sword. She postponed political liberty for a time to preserve equality. The Revolution abdicated in favor of the military power but its principles lived on in the hearts of the people, and were spread over Europe with the victories of the French armies under the consulate and the empire.

The faults of the French Revolution were many; they have been vividly blazoned in the pages of history by worshippers of kingly power, but the American student should give due consideration to the other side of the picture so truthfully sketched by the Abbé Mignet, a broad-minded Catholic scholar, where he says: "In moral affairs it secured tolerance, sought for justice, proclaimed rights, demanded civil equality, recommended human fraternity, abolished cruelty in penal institutions, did away with the arbitrary administration of public affairs, endeavored to make reason the guide of intellect, liberty the guide of governments, progress the ambition of peoples, and law the sovereign of the whole world."

The history of France from 1799 until the fall of the Emperor at Waterloo is the history of Napoleon Bonaparte, first the victor at Rivoli and Areole, then first consul for ten years, next first consul for life, and finally emperor. *It should not be forgotten, however, that these titles with the powers given him were the expressed will of the nation.* After the French Senate proclaimed him emperor the voters of the country ratified the choice by 3,572,329 votes against 2,569. *They chose him as their leader at the ballot box.* On his defeat in 1815, the monarchs of Europe re-established Louis XVIII. on the throne without consulting the voters of France. Individual liberty was curtailed, a rigid censorship of the press put into operation, and the political powers of the great landed proprietors were increased. The republicans conspired in secret to overthrow the rule imposed upon them without their consent, but failed.

Charles X., who succeeded to the throne in 1824, was a true type of the Bourbon prince. He was one of the first emigrants who fled the country during the Revolution of 1793. He had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. He believed he was in duty bound to restore the ancient monarchy in all its ancient pre-

rogatives, notwithstanding the constitution and the people who elected the Chamber of Deputies.

On the 26th of June, 1830, he issued a series of ordinances suppressing the liberty of the press, annulling the elections of all the members to the legislature which had just been held, and creating a new method of election. The people flew to arms, defeated the royal guards, and in a conflict lasting three days drove Charles from the throne.

The Chamber of Deputies then selected Louis Philippe as king, who reigned until 1848, when his ministry, attempting to suppress political meetings in the February of that year, were opposed by force; an insurrection broke out, the national guards sympathized with the insurgents, and Louis abdicated the throne, whereupon the Republic was proclaimed and re-established after the lapse of half a century.

Universal suffrage was immediately decreed by the National Assembly. The electorate of France numbered nine millions of citizens. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president for four years, but afterwards by cunning, duplicity, and gross violation of the laws which he had solemnly sworn to observe, he succeeded in having himself proposed as Emperor of the French by his adherents, which proposition he submitted to the voters, who adopted it by 7,839,552 affirmative votes against 254,501 in the negative.

He took the title of Napoleon III., and governed France with considerable discretion until his downfall and capture by the Prussians, which occurred at the disastrous battle of Sedan, September 2, 1870. When the news from Sedan reached Paris, the Chamber of Deputies formally deposed the Emperor and proclaimed the Republic, which has existed since and gives fair promise of continuance as the permanent form of government in that country.

The constitution of France differs in many particulars from that of the United States. The following are its outlines: The legislative power is exercised by two assemblies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate consists of three hundred members, each of whom must be at least forty years old. They are elected by the departments, the electoral body in each depart-

ment for that purpose consisting of its deputies, the general council, the councils of the *arrondissements* or subdivisions, and delegates elected by each commune. The senators serve for a term of nine years, one third retiring by rotation every three years.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of members chosen for a term of four years by universal suffrage under the arrangement called the *scrutin de liste*, which means that each department being entitled to a number of deputies proportioned to the number of its citizens, the deputies for each are voted for on a general or departmental ticket.

The executive, or president of the republic, is elected for a term of seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies united in a single body called the National Assembly. The president is eligible for re-election; he has the initiative of legislation concurrently with the two chambers, the execution of the laws, control of the army and navy, and the power of appointment to all civil and military offices. With the assent of the Senate he can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the end of its four years' term and order a new general election of members of the lower house. A law has been passed declaring ineligible to the office of president any prince of the families formerly reigning in France.

The present Republic, the offspring of 1793, appears to rest on a solid basis. The recent conciliatory attitude of Pope Leo XIII. towards it, as evidenced by his advice to the French bishops to cordially accept and work with it in all things which do not conflict with their spiritual jurisdiction, is a harbinger of great promise. The standing aloof of French Catholics in opposition, as many have stood in the past, had weakened the Republic materially. All signs point now to a new era of better feeling in this respect. The Republic deserves well of France. *Esto perpetua!*

#### XIV.

### Government Among Secret Orders.

**E**VERY secret society of a political character which has appeared in history may be regarded as an act of reflection, therefore of conscience. For is not conscience in the individual generally a cumulation and crystallization of reflection?

A something alive and vivid in nearly every thinking self, yet outside of self, Conscience is the true tyrant of the world. Intangible, no stiletto can touch it, no axe behead it. The charms of woman cannot lull it long, no prayers can mollify, no menace fright it.

Remorse makes us feel within ourselves the constant duel of a dualism. There are two selves within us — one accusing, the other defending. Virtue or soundness is peaceful, at one with itself, a calm unit, a healthy atom adjusted to the harmony of the universe, making and feeling music in the soul.

Yet there may be such a thing as a collective conscience, and every secret society with a political aim may be called the expression on a grand scale of the reflection and remorse of the governed — an avenging and purifying remorse which moves onward through destruction and death to regeneration and a saner life.

But the collective conscience which has its expression in secret orders for the promotion of change differs from personal rancor,



or from the action of individual conscience, in that it wishes to punish institutions, not persons, to decapitate ideas, not men.

Such organizations, when they apparently perish, nevertheless leave a pious legacy of hate, a superb malediction of indormant and indomitable justice which enlarges the responsibility and character of the man or the people that inherit the reforming or rebellious impulse. A legitimate hatred of evil is the salvation of nations. Woe to a race that knows not how to hate!

It must be admitted, however, that some of the secret governments within government which have been and still flourish in the world, while having a scientific excuse for existence by force of the social conditions that have produced them, are nevertheless, in their general scope, simply a brigandage, such as might more fitly, perhaps, have been classified under our third chapter of Gypsies, Brigands, and Thieves.

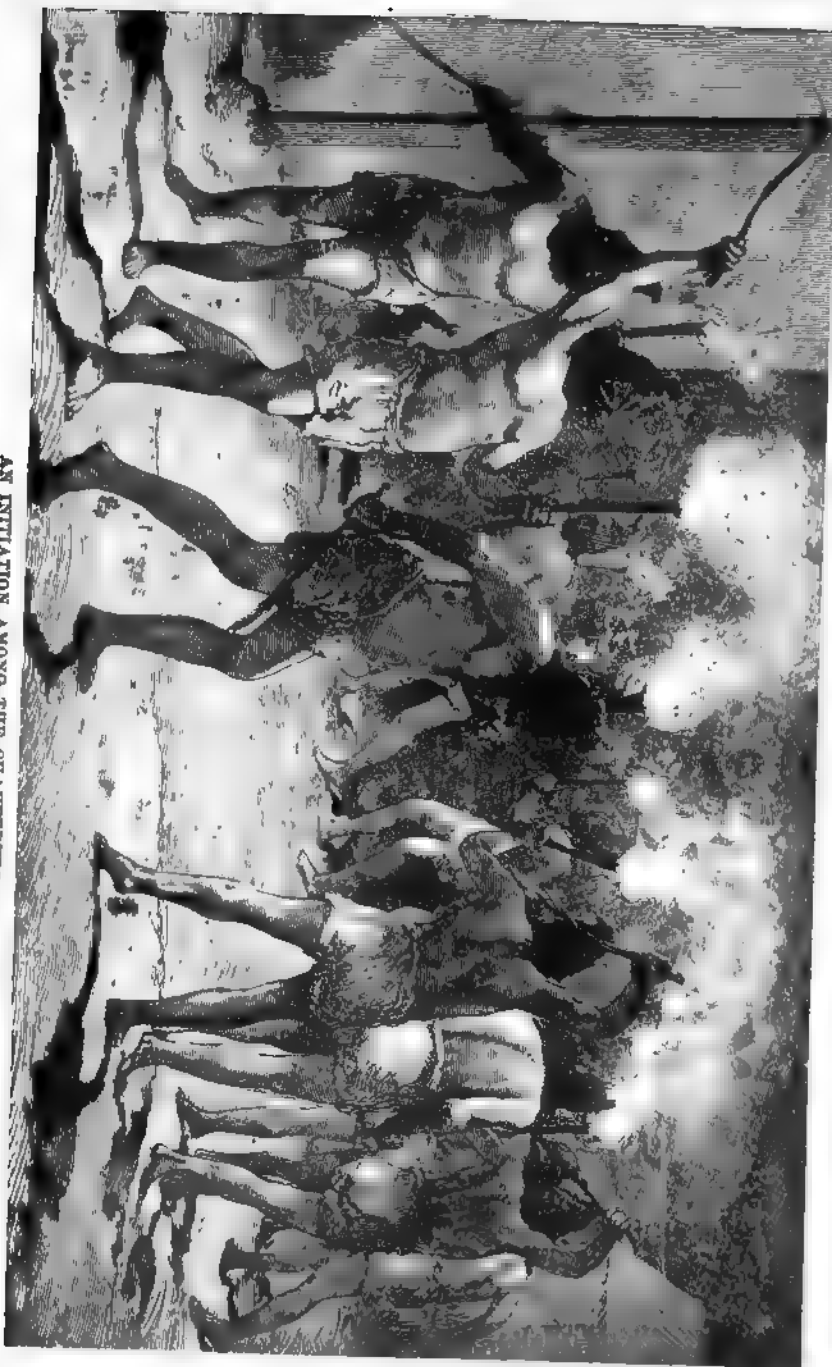
We shall begin, therefore, by depicting briefly a secret society of murder, torture, and robbery, called the *Chauffeurs*, which flourished in France at the beginning of this century, and we shall close by giving an account of the famous Tammany Society of New York, whose methods are regarded by its opponents as exemplifying the art of political brigandage on a colossal scale. Between these two we shall consider the Carbonari of Italy, the Fenians, and the Nihilists.

The *Chauffeurs* or Burners, so-called on account of their applying fire to their victims to wring revelations of the hiding-places of secret treasure, were a secret society existing in France before and during the Revolution, and they were only finally extinguished in the beginning of this century.

The *Chauffeurs* constituted a compact body, governed by a single head. They had their own religion, and a code of civil and criminal laws, which, though only handed down orally, was none the less observed and respected. They received into their fraternity all who chose to claim admission, but preferred to enroll such as had already distinguished themselves by criminal deeds.

Whole families belonged to this Order of Disorder, and the children were early taught how to act as spies, commit small thefts, and similar crimes, which were rewarded more or less liberally, as they were executed with more or less daring or adroitness. Want

AN INITIATION AMONG THE CHATPEPTE.



of success brought proportionate punishment with it, very severe corporeal castigation, which was administered not merely as punishment, but also to teach the young members to bear bodily pain with fortitude.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen the boy was initiated into the first degree of the society. At a kind of religious consecration he took an oath, calling down on his own head the lightning and wrath of heaven, if ever he failed in his duty towards the order. The initiation of a grown-up candidate into this curious company was, according to one writer, a most singular combination of a monkish penance by flagellation, and an orgy afterwards such as the wildest of wild Indians might have envied.

Our illustration of this whip dance by torch-light in the face of a rude cross is, perhaps, a fair picture of the beginning, the primary object being, no doubt, to see if the candidate for danger could bear pain, and to show off the endurance of the past-masters in iniquity. The orgy that followed can be easily imagined by anyone who has ever witnessed a Commencement Day at some of our leading colleges.

The master had almost unbounded authority ; he kept the common purse, and distributed the booty according to his own discretion. Theft from the profane, as outsiders were called, was the fundamental law, and, indeed the support of the society, but theft from a brother was punished, the first time, by a fine three times the amount stolen. When repeated, the fine was heavier, and sometimes the thief was put to death.

Each brother was bound to come to the assistance of another when in danger. Their mode of administering justice was rational, i. e., summary. The accused person was called before the general assembly of the members, informed of the charge against him, confronted with the witnesses and, if found innocent, acquitted ; but if guilty he had either at once to pay the fine imposed, receive the number of blows allotted, or submit to hanging on the nearest tree, according to the tenor of the sentence.

The religious worship of the Chauffeurs was a parody on that of the church. The sermons of their preachers were chiefly directed to instructing them how most profitably to pursue their profession, and how to evade the pursuit of the profane. On fête-days the

priest celebrated Mass, and especially invoked the heavenly blessing on the object and designs of the society.

Their marriage ceremony was unique. On the wedding-day the bridegroom and bride, accompanied by the best man and chief bridesmaid, presented themselves before the priest who, after having read some ribald nonsense from a dirty old book, took a stick, which he sprinkled with holy water, and after having placed it in the hands of the two chief witnesses, who held it up between them, he invited the bridegroom to leap over it, while the bride stood on the other side awaiting him.

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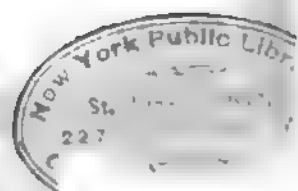
But it was chiefly during the Reign of Terror that the *Chauffeurs* committed their greatest ravages. At night large bands of them invaded isolated houses and the castles of the nobility, robbing the rich and poor alike. During the day children and old women,

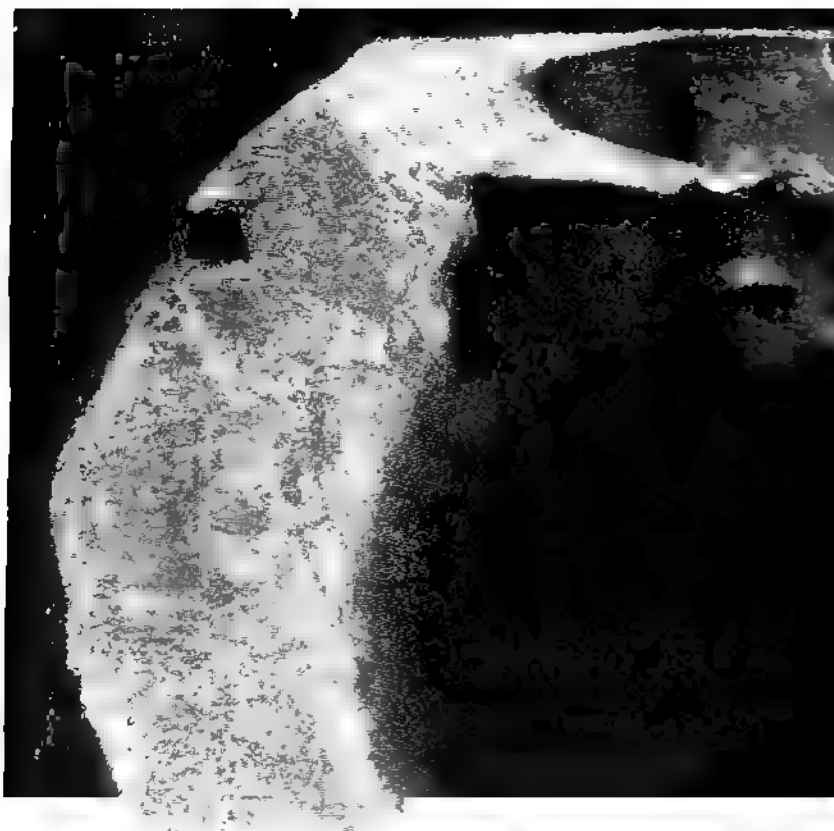
under various disguises and pretences, penetrated into places where property worth carrying off might be expected to exist, and on their reports as a basis the society laid its plans.

Sometimes disguised as national guards, they demanded and obtained admission in the name of the law. Sometimes disguised as wandering musicians, as represented in our illustration, they sought information from servants. If they met with resistance they employed violence; if not, they contented themselves with robbery. But sometimes they suspected that the inmates of the dwelling they had invaded concealed valuables; in which case they would tie their hands behind their backs, and casting them on the ground apply fire to their feet — whence the name *chauffeurs*, “burners,” until they revealed the hiding-places of their treasures, or died in frightful agony. Such as survived this treatment were generally crippled for life.

A young man, who had suffered from some of the members of the society, determined to be revenged on them by betraying them into the hands of justice. He revealed his plan, which was very simple, to the authorities of Chartres, and then set about its execution. In broad daylight in the market-place of Chartres he picked the pocket of a gendarme or policeman. The gendarme, having his instructions, of course, saw nothing, but a *chauffeur*, some of whom were always prowling about, noticed the apparently daring deed, and reported it to his fellows and to his chief. That so clever and bold a thief should not belong to the brotherhood seemed unnatural; very soon, therefore, he was sought out and very advantageous offers were made to him if he would join them. At first, he seemed disinclined to do so, but eventually yielded, and then showed all the zeal usual with neophytes. He attended all the meetings of the society, and speedily made himself acquainted with all their secrets, their signs, passwords, modes of action, hiding-places, etc.

Their safest retreat and great depot, where the booty was stored, was a wildwood in the neighborhood of Chartres. When the false brother had made these discoveries, and had also ascertained a day when nearly all the chief members of the society would be assembled on the spot for planning an expedition, he managed to evade their vigilance, and hastened to the authorities, who had held

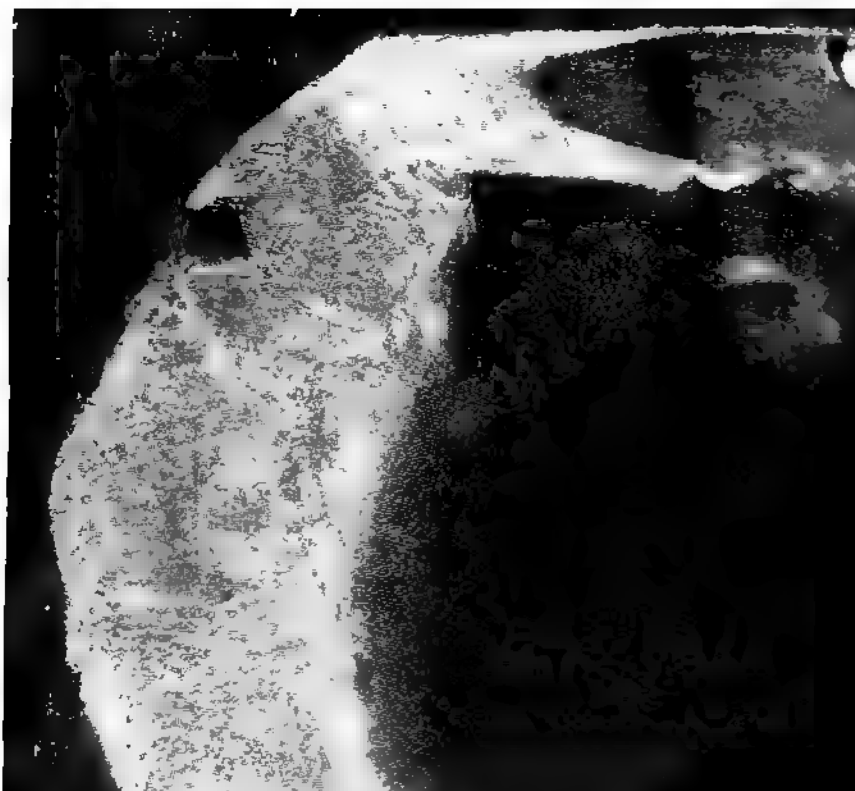






CHAUFFEURS DISGUISED AS MUSICIANS AND FLOWER PEDDLERS









a large force of men ready in the expectation of this chance. These were at once despatched to the locality indicated by the guide, the wood was surrounded and the Chauffeurs, being taken unawares, either perished fighting or were taken prisoners. After this blow, which was the almost total extinction of their leaders, the common herd of Chauffeurs either dispersed, or emigrated.

The Society of the Carbonari, which came to light about the same epoch, was much more powerful and equally picturesque. It would seem in some parts of its career like an odd blend of Masonry and Catholicism fermenting into political action. Pietism appeared as the base, but patriotism grew to be the bulk of the building. Some of its ceremonies may be of interest, especially to compare with those described in our Masonry chapter.

The Lodge of the Carbonari, or Good Cousins, as they were called, was a room of wood shaped like a barn, the pavement of brick, the interior furnished with benches without backs. At the end was a three-legged block where sat the Grand Master; on each side was a block of similar size for the orator and secretary.

On the Grand Master's seat were the following symbols: a linen cloth, water, salt, a cross, leaves, sticks, fire, earth, a crown of white thorns, a ladder, a ball of thread, and three ribbons, one blue, one red, and one black; an illuminated triangle with the initial letters of the password of the second rank in the middle; on the left hand a triangle, with the arms of the lodge painted, and on the right three transparent triangles, each with the initial letters of the sacred words of the first rank.

The Grand Master, and first and second assistants, who also sat before a large wooden block, held hatchets in their hands. The masters were ranged along the wall of one side of the lodge, the apprentices on the other. The Grand Master, having opened the lodge, spoke as follows:—

“First Assistant, where is the first degree conferred?”

A. In the hut of a Good Cousin, in the lodge of the Carbonari.

G. M. How is the first degree conferred?

A. A cloth is stretched over a block of wood, on which are arranged the bases; firstly, the cloth itself, water, fire, salt, the crucifix, a dry sprig, a green sprig. At least three Good Cousins



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G. M. How is the first degree conferred?

A. A cloth is stretched over a block of wood, on which are arranged the bases; firstly, the cloth itself, water, fire, salt, the crucifix, a dry sprig, a green sprig. At least three Good Cousins

must be present for an initiation; the introducer, always accompanied by a master, who remain outside the place where are the bases and the Good Cousins."

The master who accompanied the introducer then gave three taps with his foot and cried: "Masters, Good Cousins, I need succor." The Good Cousins surrounded the block of wood, against which they struck their waist cords and made the sign, carrying the right hand from the left shoulder to the right side, one of them exclaiming, "I have heard the voice of a Good Cousin who needs help. Perhaps he brings wood to feed the furnaces." The introducer was then brought in. The assistant became silent, and the Grand Master addressed the new-comer: —

"My Good Cousin, whence come you?"

I. From the wood.

G. M. Whither go you?

I. Into the Chamber of Honor, to conquer my passions, submit my will, and be instructed in Carbonarism.

G. M. What have you brought from the wood?

I. Wood, leaves, earth.

G. M. Do you bring anything else?

I. Yes; faith, hope, and charity.

G. M. Who is he whom you bring hither?

I. A man lost in the wood.

G. M. What does he seek?

I. To enter our order.

G. M. Introduce him.

The neophyte was then brought in. The Grand Master put several questions to him regarding his morals and religion, and then bade him kneel, holding the crucifix, and pronounce the oath, repeating it with solemn slowness after the Grand Master: "I promise and bind myself on my honor not to reveal the secrets of the Good Cousins; not to attack the virtue of their wives or daughters, and to afford all the help in my power to every Good Cousin needing it. So help me God!"

After some preliminary questioning the Grand Master then addressed the novice who had been drilled beforehand: "What means the block of wood?"

N. Heaven and the roundness of the earth.

- G. M. What means the cloth ?  
 N. That which hides itself on being born.  
 G. M. The water?  
 N. That which serves to wash and purify from original sin.  
 G. M. The fire?  
 N. To show us our highest duties.  
 G. M. The salt?  
 N. That we are Christians.  
 G. M. The crucifix?  
 N. It reminds us of our redemption.  
 G. M. What does the thread commemorate?  
 N. The Mother of God that spun it.  
 G. M. What means the crown of white thorns?  
 N. The troubles and struggles of Good Cousins.  
 G. M. What is the furnace?  
 N. The school of Good Cousins.  
 G. M. What means the tree with its roots up in the air?  
 N. If all the trees were like that, the work of the Good Cousins would not be needed.

This catechism is much longer, but enough has been given to show its quality. Lacking explanations, one would be tempted to fancy that this were modelled after, if it were not the prototype of the forms used to-day by many secret societies in America that seek by their fantasy to stir from the start the imagination of the aspirant for secret degrees.

But, as in other societies, like that of the Illuminati, the object was not at the outset to alarm the neophyte, for his disposition had first to be tested before the real meaning of the ritual was revealed to him. Still, some of the figures betray themselves, though studiously concealed.

The furnace was the collective work at which the Carbonari labored. The sacred fire they kept alive was Liberty's flame with which they aspired to illumine the world. They did not carelessly choose coal for their symbol; for coal is the dark fountain of light and warmth that purifies the air. The forest represented Italy, the wild wood of Dante, infested with wild beasts, that is at that time thronged with foreign oppressors. The tree with the roots in the air typified kingdoms destroyed and thrones overthrown.



Catholic mysticism constantly came to the surface through these ceremonies, the highest honors being given to Christ, who was indeed the Good Cousin of all men. Carbonarism did not in its infancy openly assail religious belief, but made use of it, endeavoring to simplify and reduce it to first principles, just as Freemasonry does. The candidate, as in the last-named order, was supposed to perform journeys through the forest and through fire, to each of which a mystical meaning was attached.

But the true meaning was not told in this degree. In fact, for all who wished to gain an insight into the real objects of Carbonarism, this degree could not suffice. It was necessary to proceed to the second degree, nearly the whole of which was occupied with the martyrdom of Christ, imparting to the catechism a tristful character, calculated to surprise and terrify the candidate.

The former figures were here invested with new and unexpected meanings, touching the minutest points of the crucifixion of the Good Cousin Jesus, which more and more led the initiated to believe that the unusual and whimsical forms were simply stupendous artifices framed to confound the ideas and suspicions of their enemies, and cause them to lose the traces of the fundamental idea.

In this constant Carbonarian recurrence to the martyrdom of Christ two aims are discernible,—the one essentially educational, to familiarize the new Cousin with the idea of sacrifice, even of life, if necessary; the other, chiefly political, intended to gain proselytes among the superstitious, the mystics, the souls loving Christianity — the souls fundamentally good, however prejudiced, because loving — who constituted the greater number in a Roman Catholic country like Italy.

Thus, the furnace signified the Holy Sepulchre; the rustling of the leaves symbolized the flagellation of the Good Cousin, the Grand Master of the Universe, and so on. The candidate for initiation into this degree had to undergo further trials. He represented Christ, while the Grand Master took the name of Pilate; the first councillor that of Caiaphas; the second that of Herod; the Good Cousins generally were called the people.

The candidate was led bound from one officer to the other, and finally condemned to be crucified; but he was pardoned on taking

A TRAVELLING CARDINAL APPREHENSIVE OF CARBONARI - ITALY IN 1800.



a second oath, more binding than the first, consenting to have his body cut in pieces and burnt, as in the former degree. But still even then the true secret of the order was not revealed till the degree of Grand Elect, which degree was only conferred with the greatest precautions, secretly, and to Carbonari known for their prudence, zeal, courage, and devotion to the order.

Besides, the candidates introduced into the grotto of reception had to be true friends of popular liberty, and ready to fight against tyrannical governments. The admission of the candidate took place by voting, and three black balls sufficed for his rejection. He had to be thirty-three years and three months old, the supposed age of Christ on the day of his death.

The religious drama now merged into a political one. The lodge was held in a remoter and more secret place, only known to the Grand Masters already received into the degree of Grand Elect. The lodge was triangular, truncated at the eastern end. The Grand Master Grand Elect was seated upon a throne. Two guards, from the shape of their swords called Flames, stood at the entrance. The assistants were named Sun and Moon. Three lamps, in the shape of sun, moon, and stars hung at the three angles of the grotto or lodge.

The catechism now revealed to the candidate that the real object of the association was political, and aimed at the overthrow of all tyrants, and the establishment of universal liberty, the time for which, according to their dreams, had arrived. To each prominent member a station and duties in the coming conflict were assigned, and the ceremony concluded by all present kneeling and pointing their sword at their breast, while the Grand Elect pronounced the following formula :—

“I, a free citizen of Ausonia,<sup>1</sup> swear before the Grand Master of the Universe, and the Grand Elect Good Cousin, to devote my whole life to the triumph of the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Progress, which are the soul of all the secret and public acts of Carbonarism. I promise that, if it be impossible to restore the reign of Liberty without a struggle, I will fight to the death. I consent, should I prove false to my oath, to be slain by my Good Cousins Grand Elect: to be fastened to the cross in a

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<sup>1</sup> Ausonia was the ancient name for Italy.

lodge, naked, crowned with thorns; to have my belly torn open, the entrails and heart taken out and scattered to the winds. Such are our conditions. SWEAR!" The Good Cousins replied: "We swear."

This degree of Grand Master Grand Elect, the highest of Carbonarism, was only accessible to those who had given proofs of great intelligence and resolution. The Good Cousins being assembled in the lodge, the candidate was brought in blindfold. Two members, representing the two thieves, carried a cross, which was firmly planted in the ground. One of the two pretended thieves was then addressed as a traitor to the cause, and condemned to die on the cross.

He resigned himself to his fate, as fully deserved, and was tied to the cross with silken cords; and, to delude the candidate, whose eyes were still bandaged, he uttered loud groans. The Grand Master pronounced the same doom on the other robber, but he, representing the non-repentant one, exclaimed: "I shall undergo my fate, cursing you, and consoling myself with the thought that I shall be avenged, and that strangers shall exterminate you to the last Carbonaro. Know that I have pointed out your retreat to the chiefs of the hostile army, and that within a short time you shall fall into their hands. *Do your worst.*"

The Grand Elect then turned to the candidate and, alluding to the punishment awarded to traitors as shown on the present occasion, informed him that he also must be fastened to the cross, if he persisted in his intention to proceed, and must receive on his body the sacred marks, whereby the Grand Masters Grand Elect of all the lodges are known to each other, and must also pronounce the oath, whereupon the bandage would be removed, he would descend from the cross, and be clothed with the insignia of the Grand Master Elect.

He was then firmly tied to the cross, and pricked three times on the right arm, seven times on the left, and three times under the left breast. The cross being erected in the middle of the cave, that the members might see the marks on the body, on a given sign, the bandage being removed, the Cousins encircled the candidate, pointing their swords and daggers at his breast, and threatening him with even a worse death, should he turn traitor. They also watched his demeanor to see if he betrayed any fear.

Seven<sup>1</sup> toasts in his honor were then drunk, and the Grand Elect explained the real meaning of the symbols, which were never printed, but were only written down and jealously guarded, the owner promising to burn or swallow them, rather than let them fall into other hands. The Grand Master concluded by speaking in praise of the revolution which had then begun, and exclaimed: "Very soon the nations, weary of tyranny, shall celebrate a victory over the tyrants; very soon. . . ."

Here the wicked thief exclaimed: "Very soon all ye shall perish!" and suddenly was heard outside the grotto the clash of weapons and shouts of struggling men. One of the doorkeepers cried out that the door was on the point of being broken through, and a battering on it was heard directly after. The Good Cousins rushed to another door which was behind the crosses, and therefore unseen by the candidate; the noise then grew louder, and the cries of Austrian soldiery nearer. The Cousins returned in great disorder, as if overpowered by superior numbers, said a few words of encouragement to the candidate fastened to the cross, and disappeared through the floor, which opened beneath them.

Cousins, dressed in the hated uniform of the foreigner, entered and expressed wonder at the mysterious disappearance of the Carbonari. Perceiving the persons on the crosses and finding them still alive, they proposed to put an end to their misery. They charged their guns and prepared to shoot, when suddenly a number of balls rattled into the cave, the soldiers fell as if struck, and the Cousins re-entered through many openings, closing at once behind them, while they shouted: "Victory! Death to tyranny! Long live the republic of Ausonia! Long live liberty! Long live the government established by the brave Carbonari!"

In an instant the apparently dead soldiers and the two thieves were carried out of the cave; and the candidate having been helped down from the cross, was proclaimed by the Grand Master, who struck seven blows with his axe, a Grand Master Grand Elect.

The Carbonari played no small part in general European politics outside of Italy, and when the lurid star of the Corsican was

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<sup>1</sup>Seven is the mystic number and seems to rule very strongly through men's most practical associations as it does in their most fantastic speculations.

declining they were bargaining with England for a guaranty of the complete independence of Italy, with Rome for its capital, and for its boundaries the three seas and the Alps; Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the seven islands and those on the coasts of the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Ionian Seas to be integral portions of the new Roman Empire -- a superb dream of nationality which has now partially materialized.

This project, however, fell through at the time, although the bait held out to England was exceedingly tempting. But the ambition of the Carbonari to obtain a constitutional government for their country began to bear fruit in other countries which, of course, by reaction stirred up the original society.

In 1819 took place the rising at Cadiz, by which the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII., was compelled to give Spain constitutional privileges. This aroused the enthusiasm of the Carbonari to the point of ardency, but there was no unanimity in their counsels, and their intrigues only led to many being imprisoned and others banished.

An attempt made in 1820, however, with the Abbé Menichini for their leader, extorted a constitution. The influence of the Carbonari now increased; lodges were established everywhere. Even women now became connected with the sect, and female lodges with the title of "the Garden Women" (*le Giardinieri*) were formed, each sister taking the name of a flower. The secrets of Carbonarism, its signs, words, and symbols were openly proclaimed, and blessed in the churches. But the triumph did not last long. Austrian influence, the disloyalty of the king, and treason in the sect itself, put an end to it in 1821.

The Carbonari in the Roman States about this time aimed at the overthrow of the papal power, and chose the moment when the Pope was expected to die to carry out their scheme. They had collected large forces and provisions at Macerata, but the sudden recovery of the Pope put a stop to the enterprise. The leaders were betrayed into the hands of the government, and some of them condemned to death and others to perpetual imprisonment; though the Pope afterwards commuted the sentences. Up to this point Carbonarism had been an ally of Catholicism, but afterwards, as Carbonarism degenerated in its power, its membership grew

vicious and its methods so unholy, that even a travelling cardinal in some parts of Italy, if his horses shied at the lightning of a summer storm, would fancy at first that the stopping of his carriage might be due to the Carbonari, and that he would be robbed.

Carbonarism was introduced into France in 1820 by Joubert and Dugier, who had taken part in revolutionary movements in their own country, and after having for some time found refuge in Italy, where they had joined the Carbonari, brought their principles to France on their return from exile. The sect made rapid progress among the French; all the students at the different universities became members, and Lafayette was chosen its chief. Lodges existed at La Rochelle, Poitiers, Niort, Bordeaux, Colmar, Neuf-Brisach, and Belfort, where in 1821 an unsuccessful rise took place against the government.

The insurrections fomented by this order in other places were surface failures; still, though they missed their mark temporarily, it is clear that they caused subsequent concessions on the part of politic rulers to the principles they promulgated. But, apart from any specific results, Carbonarism is of special historic interest, for it marks a transition period in the evolution of secret societies.

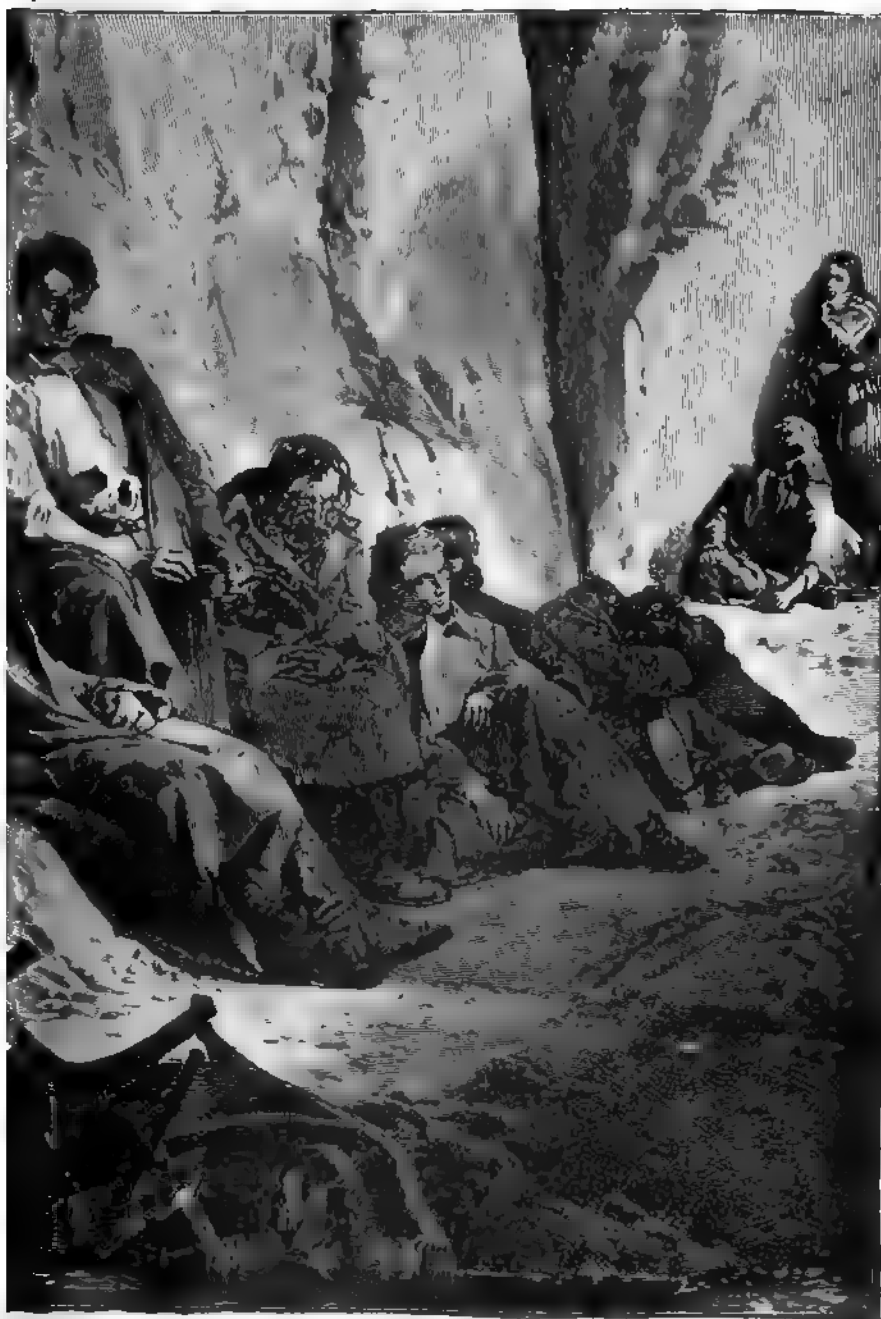
From secret societies occupied with religion, philosophy, and politics in the abstract, it led up to the secret societies whose objects were more immediately and practically political. And thus in France, Italy, and other states, it gave rise to numerous and various sects, wherein we find the men of thought and men of action, dreamers and doers, combining for one common object — the progress, as they understand it, of human society.

Carbonarism, in fact, was revived about the year 1825, and some ten years after combined, or rather coalesced, with the society known as Young Italy, whose aims were identical with those of the Carbonari — the expulsion of the foreigner from Italian soil, and the unification of Italy. The Carbonari succeeded, in 1831, in driving the Duchess of Parma, Maria Louise, into exile. One of her most trusted councillors was a Carbonaro, who, when she entered her carriage, coolly wished her a happy journey, to which she replied by saying to the lady of honor who accompanied her, "What a Judas!" This triumph of the Carbonari, however, lasted only twenty-eight days; for the duchess

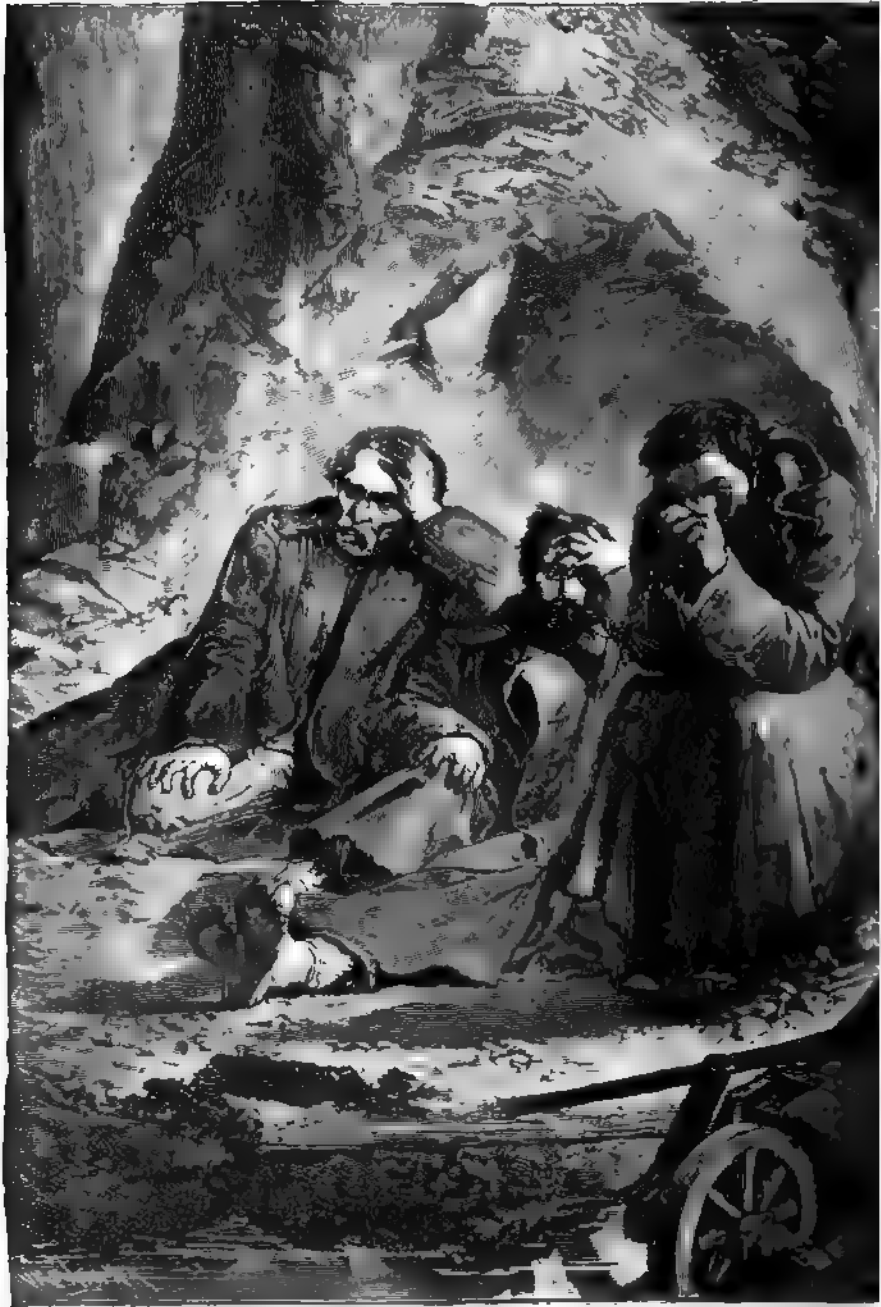




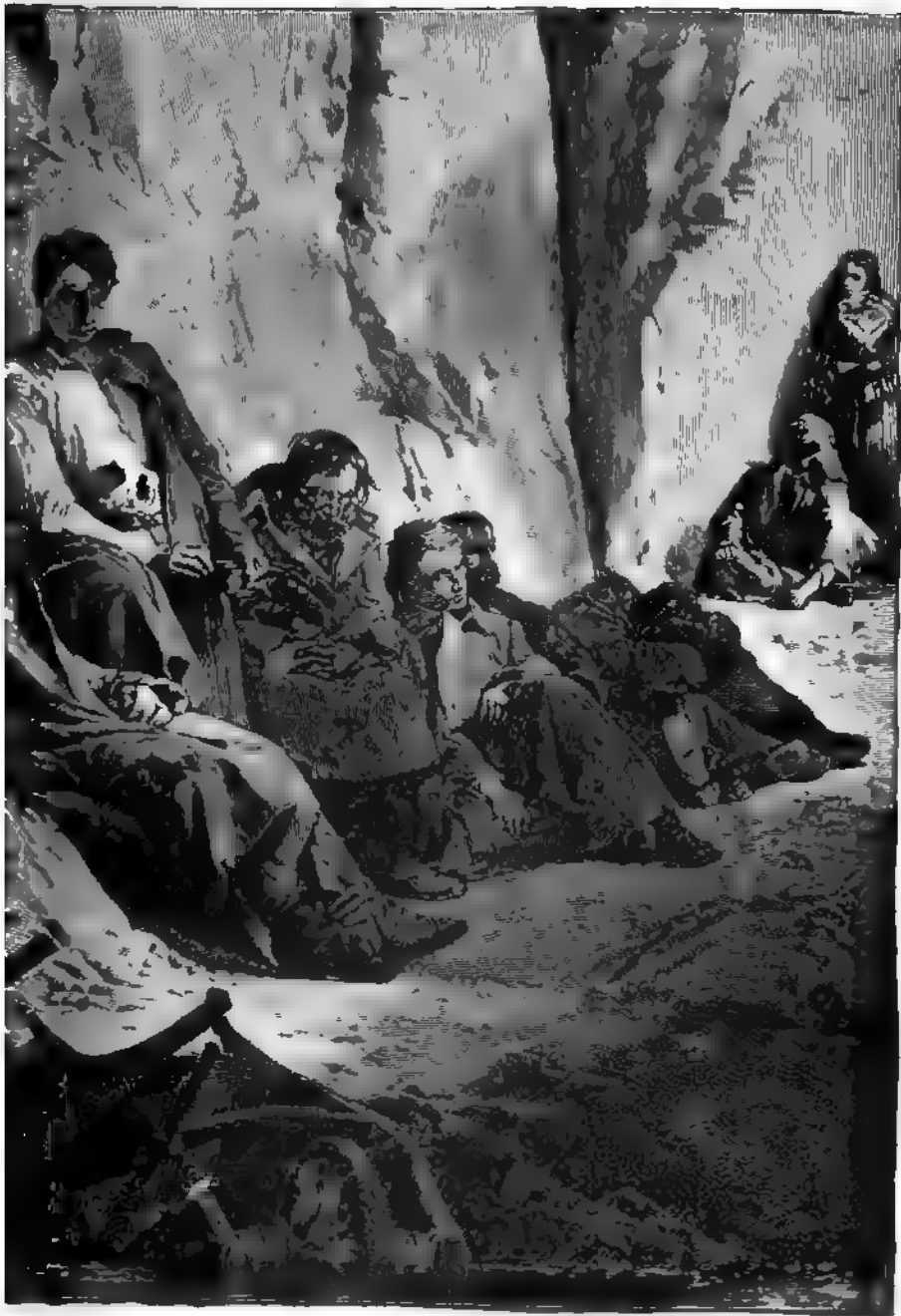




IN SIBERIA.



RUSSIAN PO



IN SIBERIA.



at the end of that period re-entered her capital, Austria, having by force of arms effected her restoration.

Another Italian society merits a passing word from its singular name and the singular man whom gossip connected with it, and that is the society of the "American Hunters," which was founded at Ravenna shortly after the prosecution at Macerata, and the measures taken by the Austrians in 1818, against the Carbonari.

The famous poet, Lord Byron, whose love of Italy seems to have been a genuine passion, was said to be at the head of this, and his absence from Italy was ardently desired by the Austrian authorities, who on one occasion tried to provoke a personal encounter with the poet. Then was witnessed the beautiful scene of his brother poet, the incomparable Shelley, throwing himself between the Austrian officer and the haughty Byron to receive the swordstroke himself. How far Byron was mixed up in the subterranean politics of that epoch is a conundrum that has never been guessed, but his vast popularity to this day among the common people of Italy is a fact that seems more traceable to his personality and his deep-felt sympathy with Italian wrongs than to the tragic magic of his verse.

This Society of American Hunters was said to be extremely ethical as well as practical, and to have some intention of attempting to revive the Delphic mysteries. They expected a sort of Saviour who was to come from America. It was asserted at one time that Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-King of Spain, was a member of the American Hunters, and it is not improbable that the Italian partisans of Napoleon, of whom there were many, gathered new hopes after the events of 1815. A sonnet, of which the first quatrain is here given, was at that time very popular in Central Italy, and shows the direction of the political wind:—

"Scandalized by groaning under kings so fell,  
Filling Europe with dismay in ev'ry part,  
We are driven to solicit Bonaparte  
To return from Saint Helena or from hell."

The secret revolutionary society of Nihilists, discovered in Russia about a generation ago, so many members of which have

been seized and condemned to various horrible punishments, is stronger now than ever, and will unquestionably succeed before long, at least, in part of its aims. It has for its object the overthrow of Imperialism and the establishment of universal philosophic Anarchism. The following articles, taken from a document produced at an early trial, and containing the programme of what these root-and-branch reformers intend, will show that they belong to the most advanced school of revolutionism: —

1. The revolutionist is a man condemned. He can have no interests, nor business, nor feelings, nor attachments, nor property, nor even a name. Everything in him is absorbed in one sole and exclusive interest, in one single idea, *in one solitary passion — the Revolution*

3. The Revolutionist despises all doctrines, and has renounced all science of this world, which he leaves to future generations. *He knows but one science, that of destruction.*

6. Severe towards himself, he must be severe towards others. All tender feelings of family, friendship, love, gratitude, and even of honor, must often be stifled in his breast by the one cold passion of Revolution. For him there is but one repose, but one consolation, but one recompense, *but one satisfaction, the success of the Revolution.*

This society, at its beginning, as it does now, embraced men of every rank of life, the leading spirit being Netchaiev, who escaped. Dolgow, the next in importance, was the son of a councillor, and these two succeeded in enlightening with their opinions the minds of many of the students at the Petrovsky University. They were seconded in their efforts by Rippona, the son of a military officer, and Prince Cherkésoff, who on several occasions supplied the funds required. Their plans were secretly made known to the friends of the movement by means of a paper entitled "From the United to the Isolated," which called on the Russians to revolt against the government.

The sentences on these early prisoners, who were all found guilty, were comparatively mild, the severest being that on Prince Cherkésoff, who was deprived of his rights and privileges and ordered to take up his abode in the province of Towsk for the space of five years. The other conspirators were condemned to periods of imprisonment varying from a year and a half to three weeks.

Since then, however, the sufferings of political prisoners amid

the mines of Siberia have been so frightful that English and American civilization, forgetting the more frequent slow and insidious murders perpetrated by cunning corporations under forms of English and American law, has often of late cried out aghast and held public meetings of protestation against Russian enormities.

Our picture of political exiles in Siberia is one that will appeal to every heart with any throb of humanity, for it tells the story of tyranny more vividly than any printed words could do. It is not merely life-like, it is life, life-in-death, which many generous-hearted Russians are enduring to-day for the sake of the men, and women, and children of the future unto whom shall belong the earth and the fulness thereof. For the old superstition that the many were created for the use and benefit of the few — the divine right of Dives to be rich by reason of the labors of Lazarus — is beginning to die out of the minds of men, though, like all things of darkness, it dies hard.

It is greatly to be feared, however, that this old fetish, so fatal to human happiness, will not utterly perish and be happily buried until a few cities like Boston, New York, Chicago, Paris, or London have been burned to the ground as warnings to the world at large, or to serve as torches that shall light man's onward steps a little faster to that true state of progress in which the wealth of a nation shall be found to consist in an even distribution of all its products, based on equal efforts demanded of all able-bodied men and women in an industrial republic of organized common-sense

One of the most active of political secret societies of recent times was that of the Fenians, and there are indications, every now and then, that this association is not extinct, but is only a slumbering volcano, waiting for a chance, when England shall be involved in some war of magnitude (say with the Russians in Europe and in India simultaneously) to pour forth such a flood of lava as would drive the last Englishman out of Ireland and possibly cause some of the Australian colonies, where Irish blood is thick, to declare themselves independent republics.

Fifteen years ago, the writer of this history was living in Melbourne, which is one of the handsomest and most civilized cities



in the world, and, happening to render some slight but deeply appreciated service to an Irish gentleman, was introduced as an honorary or courtesy member to an Irish Musical Club.

The members all had music in their souls, but, contrary to the often quoted lines of Shakespeare, they were fit, or were fitting themselves, for "treasons, stratagems and spoils" against the English Government. Their music was merely a veil to hide their real purposes, which the writer soon discovered to be the gradual dissemination of democratic doctrines throughout Australia, leading up to the idea of complete political independence.

Several of the members were brilliant writers, and they never missed a chance, even in their lightest newspaper articles, of stimulating the Australian's local pride and proclaiming Australian ability to govern Australia. A war with Russia then seemed imminent, and when the writer left Australia, some of the politicians were ready in that event to spring on the world the Australian Republic. It was even hinted, outside of Fenian circles, that England would acquiesce readily, because such a move would save her the trouble and expense of defending her Australian possessions and permit her to utilize her navy elsewhere.

The founders of Fenianism in America were two exiles of the famous year 1848, Col. John O'Mahoney and Michael Doheny. It was, at first, a semi-secret association; that is, its meetings were secret, though its chief officers were publicly known as such. But the operations of the brotherhood were hidden from the public view. It rapidly increased in numbers, spreading through every State of the American Union, through Canada and the British Provinces.

In November, 1863, the organization assumed a new character. A grand national convention of delegates met at Chicago, and avowed the object of the Brotherhood, namely, the separation of Ireland from England, and the establishment of an Irish republic, the same changes being first to be effected in Canada.

Another grand convention was held in 1864 at Cincinnati, the delegates at which represented some 250,000 members, and each member was called upon for a contribution of five dollars, which call was promptly met. At that period the Fenians con-



JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

fidently relied on the assistance of the American government, which was justly indignant with England for her conduct in the Civil War, and the press of New York City rather favored this notion which, however, soon proved itself unfounded or at least premature.

In Ireland the Brotherhood never attained the dimensions it reached in the United States, and without the assistance of the latter could do nothing. Still, the Irish, as well as the American Fenian Association, had its chiefs, officers, both civil and military, its common fund and financial agencies, its secret oaths, passwords and emblems, its laws and penalties, its concealed stores of arms, its nightly drills, its correspondents and agents, its journals, and even its popular songs and ballads.

But traitors soon set to work to destroy the organization from within. The head centre, O'Mahoney, who was in receipt of an official salary of \$2,000, is thus mentioned in the official report of the Investigating Committee of the Fenian Brotherhood of America (1866): —

After a careful examination of the affairs of the Brotherhood your Committee finds in almost every instance the cause of Ireland made subservient to individual gain; men who were lauded as patriots sought every opportunity to plunder the treasury of the Brotherhood, but legalized their attacks by securing the endorsement of John O'Mahoney . . . In John O'Mahoney's integrity the confidence of the Brotherhood was boundless, and the betrayal of that confidence, whether through incapacity or premeditation, is not a question for us to determine . . . Sufficient that he has proved recreant to the trust . . . Never in the history of the Irish people did they repose so much confidence in their leaders; never before were they so basely deceived and treacherously dealt with. In fact, the Moffat mansion (the headquarters of the American Fenians) was not only an almshouse for pauper officials and hungry adventurers, but a general telegraph office for the Canadian authorities and Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister at Washington. These paid patriots and professional martyrs not satisfied with emptying our treasury, connived at posting the English authorities in advance of our movement.

From this report it further appears that in 1866 the Fenian treasury in the States contained the sum of \$185,000; that the expense of the Moffat mansion and the parasites who flocked

thither in three months amounted to \$104,000; and that Stephens, the Irish head centre in the same space of time received from America, in money sent to Paris, the sum of nearly \$106,000, though John O'Mahoney in many of his letters expressed the greatest mistrust of Stephens.

Possibly he looked upon the latter as a more clever and daring rogue, who materially diminished his own share of the spoil. Stephens' career in Ireland is sufficiently well known, and there is scarcely any doubt that while he was leading his associates to their ruin, he acted as a spy upon them, and that there existed some understanding between him and the English authorities.

Another man of note among the Fenians was John Mitchell, who had been implicated in the troubles of 1848, was transported, escaped, and made his way to the United States. During the Civil War which raged in this country, he was a supporter of the Southern cause, was taken prisoner by the North, but liberated by the President at the request of the Fenians in America. One of the ablest and noblest of this band was John Boyle O'Reilly, the poet, whose songs and whose life have endeared him to every warm American heart.

The Fenians, to raise money, issued bonds to be redeemed by the future Irish Republic, of which the following is a specimen:—

HARP.	£	GODDESS OF LIBERTY.	£	SHAMROCK.
<p><i>Ninety days after the establishment of</i></p> <p><b>THE IRISH REPUBLIC.</b></p> <p><i>Redeemable by</i> _____ <i>Board of</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Finance.</i></p>				
<div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; padding: 2px 10px;">SUNBURST.</div>				

Obscurity envelops the origin of the word, Fenian, just as obscurity now enwraps the operations of the society. Irish tradition says that the Fenians were an ancient militia employed on

home service for protecting the coasts from invasion. Each of the four provinces had its band, that of Leinster, to which Fionn and his family belonged, being at the head of the others. This Fionn is the Fingal of MacPherson, and the leaders of the movement, no doubt, saw an advantage in connecting their party with the historic and traditionary glories of Ireland.

Many curious documents and songs, some replete with grim humor, come to light from time to time concerning Fenianism, of which oddities — or odd ditties — the following extracts from the Patriotic Litany of Saint Lawrence O'Toole, published for the use of the Fenian Brotherhood, may suffice as a specimen. This litany was actually sung in recitative by some of the brotherhoods, and the effect was unique.

*Call to thine aid, O most liberty-loving O'Toole, those Christian auxiliaries of power and glory — the soul-inspiring cannon, the meek and faithful musket, the pious rifle, and the conscience-examining pike, which, tempered by a martyr's faith, a Fenian's hope, and a rebel's charity, will triumph over the devil, and restore to us our own in our own land forever. Amen.*

*O'Toole hear us.*

*From English civilization,  
From British law and order,  
From Anglo-Saxon cant and freedom,  
From the hest of the English queen,  
From rule Britannia,  
From the cloven hoof,  
From the necessity of annual rebellion,  
From billeted soldiery,  
From a pious church establishment,  
From the slavery of praying for crowned heads,  
From royal anniversaries,  
From mock trials,  
From all other things purely English,*

*O'Toole deliver us!*

---

*Fenianism the salvation of our race!*

*Record it above, O'Toole.*

---

*Fenianism to be stamped out like the cattle plague!*

*We will prove them false prophets, O'Toole.*

<i>Ireland reduced to obedience,          Ireland loyal to the crown,          Ireland pacified with concessions,          Ireland to recruit the British              army,          Ireland not united in effort,</i>	}	<i>It is a          falsehood,          O' Toole.</i>
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*Ireland never again to be dragged at the tail of any other nation!  
 Proclaim it on high, O' Toole.*

The term Tammany was first applied to the Columbian order, an association for fraternal and political purposes in New York City which took form in the year 1789, and which, when incorporated in the year 1805, assumed the additional appellation, Tammany, and also gave this odd name to the place of meeting which was owned or leased by the society. In this Tammany Hall the regular Democratic organization of the city and county of New York assembled up to the year 1879. Thus the name Tammany grew to be applied as a rule to the political organization which met in Tammany Hall whether it was the regular Democratic organization or not.

This would seem to prove that nowadays there may be much in a name, for this name has been applied indiscriminately for eighty years. First freely used for a secret benevolent society, next given to the regular political city and county organization of a national party assembling in the hall of that society, and in its third and last evolution of meaning, the title, Tammany, has come to be attached especially to the Democratic *faction* which assembles in Tammany Hall, and which is sometimes regular and sometimes refractory or boltish.

Not for forty years has Tammany commanded the unquestioned allegiance of the voters of the Democratic party, but has played the part, if not of dog-in-the-manger, at least of a most determined growler on several occasions. One of its most striking characteristics is that it has preserved to a large extent the features of a secret society and applied them to a political action. Most of its councils are confidential, and its leaders have worked for the success of the society first, as a rule, and for the Democratic party second. They claim, however, that the success of the Democratic party and the society are identical, although Tam-

many in its present stage of development has been described, even by Democrats, as "a well-disciplined body of predatory politicians."

The history of Tammany for the last fifty or sixty years, as it looks to an outsider, has been the record of an organization sharing the principles of a National party, but bent first and foremost on controlling the government of the city in which it exists. Or, in plainer words, it has been a highly successful scheme to govern a huge, overgrown, unwieldy city by organizing its purchasable vote, by confining in one black-magic circle of self-interest the day-laborer who desires steady employment on the public roads, and the learned lawyer solicitous for a judgeship of \$15,000 a year, with its additional refereeships and wide influence. Tammany keeps an eye wide open for smart young lawyers likely to become distinguished at the bar, and throws its coils around them.

The early history of Tammany is exceedingly curious, and furnishes a suggestive contrast with its later political performances. It seems that there was an obscure Indian chief called Tam-mamend, who signed his mark to one of the treaties with William Penn concerning the lands of the Delawares. An attempt was made at one time to connect this legendary gentleman with an equally obscure Saint Tammany, whose festival on the 12th of May came in the closing days of the Revolution to replace Saint George's day.

After William Mooney had organized the Columbian order with its thirteen tribes, its twelve sachems or directors, its sagamore or master of ceremonies, and its wiskinski or door-keeper, the secondary name of Tammany society was adopted, and in the processions of the day its members wore the garb of Indians. In 1790 they even entertained an embassy from the Creek Nation, going about for several days together in Indian costume, a compliment, no doubt, highly relished by those sagacious savages.

In reports of these meetings nowadays the New York papers still use the odd, old Indian phraseology referring to "the season of flowers, council fires, and great wigwams," just as they were used in the days of Washington. But Time, that grotesque alchemist, that mocking transmuter of fine things into base, of

gold into brass, has changed the great sachem of Tammany into a mere political boss, and the chief business of its present wiskinski, who once gathered at the door the dollars of the faithful, has become simply the prompt collection of political



**RICHARD CROKER, THE PRESENT CHIEF OF TAMMANY.**

assessments levied on Tammany office-holders to perpetuate the power of the machine in New York City.

But it must not be imagined that its power has been confined to local politics. Since its beginning it has played no small part in national affairs. Its strong grip on the country at large was demonstrated in 1801, and the result of its local success at the polls was the cause, the following winter, of the nomination of Aaron Burr as vice-president in the congressional caucus at Washington on the strength of Tammany's victory, and from that



day to this there have been very few national elections in which the power of Tammany has not been manifested.

It would, however, tire the general reader to pursue step by step the political growth of this faction, for its intricate relations with New York politics have sometimes been a puzzle even to special students. Yet a few things should be noted as indicative of its power. Just as a man's strength of character is sometimes to be measured not so much by his successes as by his recovery from defeats and his attitude of mind in adversity, so the strength of an organization may be estimated at times by its setbacks. Tammany has survived several. Chief of these was its connection with the Tweed ring, which connection and the loss of power, after the plunder of the Tweed ring was stopped, are things still fresh in the public mind. It shows the inherent power of organization that, even in spite of some severe defeats in recent times, Tammany has regained and still retains its potency in New York politics, and is to-day perhaps stronger than ever, having a leader in Richard Croker far the superior of Tweed in ability to manipulate men, and the equal, if not the superior, of John Kelly in honesty.

The Tammany legend to which we have referred has been hinted at by New York papers but has never, so far as we know, been fully presented since the year 1795, when S. L. Mitchill, Professor of chemistry, natural history, and agriculture in the College of New York, delivered an oration before the Columbian order on the life, exploits, and precepts of Tammany, the famous Indian chief. This oration is so curious that the reader will thank us for reproducing the substance of it, and in some places the exact language.

The Professor begins with the solemn adjuration: "Brothers, possess your minds! Peace!" After an allusion to the council fire and the women and children present, and after stating that certain archæological monuments, found west of the Alleghanies and northward from the Ohio River, are silent witnesses of the hero, Tammany, and his people, Professor Mitchill plunges into a description of various battles or rather hand-to-hand duels which the great Indian chief had with Hobbamock, the Evil Spirit, or in plain American, the Devil himself.

According to this New York historian the Devil was much troubled at the prosperity which the people were enjoying under the rule of Tammany, and so in their pastures His Satanic Majesty secretly planted poison-sumachs and stinging nettles which, upspringing in profusion, gave the people no end of trouble. Tammany, after studying the situation, and after cutting down the trees, and uprooting the nettles, only to find that they grew all the faster, discovered that the soil was of such a peculiar character that he could set fire to it.

In doing this Tammany not only reduced the sumachs and nettles from a multitudinous majority among the flora to an easily endured minority; but, in the conflagration of the pastures, the Arch Fiend, who happened to be skulking about, gloating over his evil work, got sorely singed by the flames. In revenge for this roasting Hobbamock invented the rattle-snake, and sent innumerable specimens of his invention into the realm of Tammany; but the clever chief not only showed his people how to make life unpleasant for the rattle-snake by sowing the seeds of the ash tree, but discovered also the virtues of seneca root and the use of plantain leaves for his people to apply to the snake-bites.

Old Nick, however, was full of schemes and showed a patience and fertility of invention worthy of a better cause, suggesting the idea that if the Devil could have been, or could be, reformed by Tammany what a valuable citizen he might become. His next move, says our Professor of natural history, was to send alarming droves of mammoths from the other side of Lake Superior, which ferocious animals, when turned loose on the Tammanial territory, did incredible mischief.

Their hides, like those of modern politicians, were so thick that the light arrows of the followers of Tammany rattled off them like hailstones from a tin roof, and Tammany was put to his wits' end to discover a way of ridding his people of these pests.

Tammany had noticed, however, in the days when, like the eloquent Professor, he had studied natural history, that animals were fond of salt; so he sent to the ocean and got a large quantity of it. Digging some deep pits, he set firmly at the bottom of these pits an array of tough spears, covered the holes with

a light network of interlaced saplings and turf, to imitate solid ground, and then sprinkled his huge traps all over with heaps of salt.

The mammoths soon got wind of this salt, and came to the conclusion that they had found their earthly paradise. They made an indiscriminate rush for the salt beds, crashed through the light flooring, fell into the pits, and were by their own weight spitted on the solid spears waiting to receive them. "Then," adds the Professor, "the country was cleared of these monsters whose bones, discovered to this day at the Licks, confirm the reality of the story."

Satan now tried to drown Tammany and his tribe by a flood, and to do this he cunningly raised a dam of rock above Ontario, and caused the rise of Lake Erie; he made another dam above Detroit, confining Lakes Huron and Michigan, and presently the country to the south began to be inundated. Tammany, learning of this plot in time, opened the drains or courses in which the Alleghany, Miamis, and Wabash Rivers now run, cut the ditch which forms the channel of the Ohio through a bed of solid limestone, and thus, giving an easy vent to the dangerous body of waters impending, turned an imminent colossal calamity into a broad and brilliant blessing; for which fine example of mechanical engineering he was rightly hailed as the saviour of his country. "The lakes," remarks the profound college Professor, "subsided, but the rapids of Detroit and Niagara remain to this day — monuments to the astonishing event!"

But the Enemy of souls, though baffled, was not beaten. Soon after he managed to stir up the red men of the east and north, and they descended in great numbers on the land of the peaceful Tammany and his people. Yet, though fond of peace, Tammany was always ready for war, and with his devoted army he defeated the invaders and took a multitude of their best men prisoners. To be taken prisoner among the Indians then was accounted very disgraceful, and the captives not only expected but hoped for a sudden execution.

Tammany, however, did not torture them as was their custom, nor allow his people to insult them in any way, but on the contrary, after keeping them in quiet seclusion for a while began to

treat them as though they were honored guests, invited them to live among his people, and so conciliated them that they became staunch admirers of his policy and, when offered their entire freedom, some of them staid, and others went home and brought back their wives and children, to live under the benign influence of Tammany.

The Devil now decided that the only way to conquer the gentle savage was to take him off his guard and kill him personally, after which perhaps it would be easy to get the best of his people. "Herein," suggests the Professor, "the Devil's meanness was amply demonstrated, for, instead of sending an open challenge to Tammany, he hid in a bush to waylay him, but by the peculiar smell which evil spirits emit, Tammany, coming along, knew him at once, and when he sprang out was ready to grasp him."

A terrible tussle it was, and appears to have been a sort of Græco-Roman-American-Indian-New-York-Ward-politician-up-and-down wrestle, since, according to the historian, "for more than a league the trees and bushes were smashed up, and the contest lasted for fifty days, until Tammany, by a hiplock, threw the Devil head and shoulders to the ground, and then tried to roll him along, intending to drown him in the Ohio River; but a huge rock stood in the way, and Tammany was so tired with his tremendous exertions that he could not roll the Devil round the rock."

Relaxing his arm grip on the hips, the chief took Lucifer by the throat, but his wrists and thumb had been so weakened that he could not stop the enemy's weasand, and with a few wriggles the Devil slipped through his fingers. Tammany shouted after him, however, as he sneaked away that he had better confine himself to the cold regions of Labrador and Hudson's Bay, and not be caught showing his face again on this side of the "Many Waters" or Great Lakes.

After this more than Homeric battle the Indian hero and statesman turned his attention to the arts of peace. He was very fond of watching the habits of animals in order to get hints from them for the improvement of his followers, and in his rambles he noticed a plant much prized by the crows and raccoons which

grew rather abundantly in some places, bearing a silken tassel, and with yellowish seeds.

Taking some of the seeds of this wild plant he put them in richer soil, cultivated them carefully, and in this way produced corn, which he taught his people to roast, grind, and make up into bread, but not, so far as history goes, to convert into whiskey. Tammany also discovered how to improve to a high degree of excellence wild pulse, or beans, "thus annexing," says the Professor, "another ingredient to his bill of fare" and "thus," a modern humorist might be tempted to add, "probably anticipating the glory of Boston."

Tobacco, according to Professor Mitchill, was another of the discoveries of Tammany, who did not recommend his followers to use it in the modern method, but to prepare an infusion of it for the dispersion of fleas, and to smoke it occasionally as a deterrent to mosquitoes. The wild plum, mandrake, and onion Tammany also civilized; the crab tree, by his careful attention, was persuaded into bearing apples, and he also improved the canoes, and bows, and arrows of his people.

In all his endeavors to ameliorate and beautify human life his daughters assiduously helped him, and were rewarded with a sweet success, for, in the language of Mitchill, "The wild lilies quitted their abode in the valleys, and the roses forsook their habitations on the hills for the pleasure of being tended by these lovely damsels, and of occasionally furnishing a nosegay for their bosoms and a garland for their temples."

But the supreme trait of Tammany's character was that he was gentle; even improvements he never tried to force upon his people, but simply suggested them, as it were, for he "disdained usurpation, and would sooner have been bound, loaded with weights, and cast headlong into the lake than attempt any invasion of the people's rights." In this respect what a remarkable resemblance he bears to the Tammany of to-day!

About this time a deputation came to him from Manco Capac, the famous original Inca of Peru, asking Tammany to meet him half way in the neighborhood of the city of Mexico to take measures for the improvement of the world. Tammany wanted to meet the Inca, yet did not wish to go unless it was the desire of his people,

and so at first he refused the invitation, but the people coming together spontaneously to a huge council fire, urged their great leader to leave them and confer with the "Illustrious Sachem of the Andes."

Before departing, however, Tammany divided his people into thirteen tribes, giving to each a symbol and a sermon of specially valuable advice connected with that symbol. The symbols were to be the special belonging of each tribe, but the advice was to be their general property. It is noteworthy in this connection that in the organization of the Tammany society of modern day this division into thirteen tribes was religiously adhered to, for the additional reason, it is said, that there were originally thirteen states composing the American Union. At any rate, this



MEETING OF TAMMANY AND MANCO CAPAC.

is one of the curious coincidences of history, and should forever disprove the absurd superstition that there is any ill luck connected with the number thirteen.

"Children of the First tribe," said Tammany, "let the Eagle be your model! Learn from him to devote your mind to lofty objects, and never be caught sleeping in the sun. As he rises on the winds of morning far above the mountain peaks where he builds his eyry, so you should rise superior to the fogs of prejudice and passion."

“The symbol of the Second tribe is the Tiger, who affords a useful lesson to you by his extraordinary agility when roused to action, and by his power of seeing, when all light is withdrawn save that of the stars, — in short, by his discrimination in the dark.

“The symbol of the Third tribe is the Deer, from whom you should learn to avoid difficulties and dangers, and to escape gracefully from the toils of those who would entrap you.

“Of the Fourth tribe let the symbol be the Wolf! Notice his wide nostrils which catch every atom that floats on the air invisible as the air itself. As is the vigilance of the wolf, so should be the vigilance of the myrmidons of Tammany. They should be the first to rouse and turn their heads to snuff oppression in every tainted breeze.

“You of the Fifth tribe, my children, are to take useful hints from the Buffalo; though strong, he likes the company of his kind. From him comes this message: ‘Operate in concert; stand together and you will be a mountain that no one can move. Fritter down your strength by division, let wigwam be divided against wigwam, and you will be an anthill which a baby can kick over.’

“Let the symbol of the Sixth tribe be the Dog, who by his affection, even when ill or carelessly treated by his master, brings finally his master to a kinder and better way.

“Of the Seventh tribe let the symbol be the Beaver, who by his industry can build firm houses even in running waters.

“Let the Eighth tribe take the Squirrel, from whom we can all learn foresight; who, not satisfied with merely living in the present, takes up a collection against the storms of winter.

“For the Ninth tribe the symbol is the Fox, whose caution is shown by the fact that he always reconnoitres before starting on any journey, and even when started never goes headlong, but winds his ways so as to get sight or scent of any possible ambush.

“Let the Tenth tribe take the Tortoise, that remarkable animal, one of whom, according to ancient tradition, supports on his back the world we inhabit. Benevolence and moderation are characteristics of the tortoise. Sometimes that tortoise who supports the world is disgusted at the conduct of its people. By turning his shell suddenly he could cause the waters to flow over the land

in floods, but such is his benevolence generally, that he only shakes his shell a little, thus causing a few earthquakes, to admonish mankind of their evil deeds. The result of his moderation and temperance is such that his vital power is distributed almost equally all over his body and throughout his shell, so that on account of this distribution of vital force he is difficult to kill.

"Of the Eleventh tribe the symbol is the Eel, a creature of gentleness and grace, who slips through life in silence, and teaches us to eschew unnecessary noise. Though cast an orphan on creation, knowing neither his parents nor his origin, by his gentleness and his co-operativeness he makes life a valuable thing.

"Let the Twelfth tribe take the Bear who leads a life of patient endurance, sleeping calmly through the adversities of winter, confident of the return of spring.

"The model of the Thirteenth tribe shall be the Bee, whose life furnishes a lesson of order, economy, and discipline which conduces to the general good. Nor this alone, for we find in the world the bees' maxim pretty well established and illustrated, 'that he who works not shall have nothing to eat.' Learn also, as the bee extracts honey from faded flowers, to have that alchemy of mind which can transmute troubles into triumphs."

Having delivered to his people this singularly sensible sermon, Tammany departed southward to have his interview with Manco Capac. For this celebrated Peruvian Tammany drew the outlines of that happy government of Peru which the reader has found described in the eighth chapter, and which the eloquent orator and historian of 1795 thinks would have been flourishing to-day, had it not been for "the cursèd enterprise of Pizarro." According to Professor Mitchill, Tammany also mapped out a plan to civilize the Aztecs of Mexico, which plan in the course of time would unquestionably have succeeded, had it not been overthrown by what Professor Mitchill styles "the hellish crusade of Cortez."

Tammany then returned to find that the Devil during his absence had been doing much mischief in the Tammanial territory; had intercepted the courses of the rivers and turned them



in some places into pestiferous swamps whose miasma had produced fever and sickness among the people. Finding that in many ways they were sick or were going to the dogs, Tammany at once treated them with Peruvian bark, a medicine which he had received from the Incas, and when his supply of Peruvian bark gave out he tried as a substitute the bark of the dogwood or tulip tree; and another disease rather worse than swamp fever Tammany succeeded in mitigating by discovering the medicinal properties of the lobelia.

But at last this royal benefactor died and to him was given by a grateful people a most royal burial place. This place curious antiquarians have detected; he lies interred within the great Indian mound and fort of Muskingum, a monument second to nothing in symmetry and impressive solemnity except the Cheops pyramid of Egypt, which is the tomb, not of a great benefactor, but of a great oppressor of mankind. Singular contrast between Africa and America, between Pharaoh and Tammany!

The Professor then concludes his oration with this burst of eighteenth century eloquence: "You may consider the talk you have now heard as an effort to rescue a curious portion of unwritten history from oblivion. The Eastern world has long boasted of the superiority of its people, and the inhabitants of the Western Continent have been spoken of as a feeble or degraded race of men. Let Asia extol her Zamolxis, Confucius, and Zoroaster; let Africa be proud of her Dido, Ptolemy, and Barbarossa; let Europe applaud her numberless worthies, who from Romulus to Charlemagne and from Charlemagne down to the present day have founded, conquered, inherited, or governed states, but where, among them all, will you find coercion so tempered by gentleness, influence so co-operative with legal authority, and speculation so happily connected with practice, as in the *institutions of Tammany*?"

"Avaunt then, ye boasters! Cease, too, your prating about your Saint Patrick, Saint George, and Saint Louis, and be silent concerning your Saint Andrew and Saint David. Tammany, though no saint, was, you see, as valorous, intrepid, and heroic as the best of them, and besides that did a thousand times more good. Let us then imitate Tammany; let us get his precepts by heart; let us, like him, wage perpetual war against the Evil Spirit."

From fantasies to figures is almost like a plunge from the sublime to the ridiculous, but violent contrasts are sometimes very profitable to impress the mind with the full extent of a mischief or danger. An examination, therefore, of the following statistics will convince the casual reader that the followers of Tammany have followed the closing advice given by Professor Mitchill nearly a hundred years, by "waging so perpetual and successful a war against the Evil Spirit" that they have gotten under their control a large amount of that yellow stuff which is called the root of all evil.

Tammany Hall monopolizes all the best offices in the city of New York, and the society entered the year 1892 with a longer pay-roll than ever before. It is as follows:—

THOS. C. T. CRAIN, Chamberlain . . . . .	\$25,000
WM. H. CLARK, Corporation Counsel . . . . .	12,000
DAVID J. DEAN, Assistant Corporation Counsel . . . . .	10,000
HUGH J. GRANT, Mayor . . . . .	10,000
THEO. W. MYERS, Comptroller . . . . .	10,000

Of the subordinate officials we need not give the names; the salaries are sufficient.

1 at \$8,000 . . . . .	\$ 8,000	256 at \$2,000 . . . . .	\$512,000
2 " 7,500 . . . . .	15,000	1 " 1,980 . . . . .	1,980
2 " 7,000 . . . . .	14,000	4 " 1,900 . . . . .	7,600
4 " 6,000 . . . . .	24,000	6 " 1,850 . . . . .	11,100
27 " 5,000 . . . . .	135,000	125 " 1,800 . . . . .	225,000
1 " 4,900 . . . . .	4,900	2 " 1,750 . . . . .	3,500
6 " 4,800 . . . . .	28,800	11 " 1,700 . . . . .	18,700
5 " 4,500 . . . . .	22,500	3 " 1,680 . . . . .	5,040
20 " 4,000 . . . . .	80,000	9 " 1,600 . . . . .	14,400
24 " 3,500 . . . . .	84,000	2 " 1,550 . . . . .	3,100
1 " 3,250 . . . . .	3,250	251 " 1,500 . . . . .	376,500
1 " 3,200 . . . . .	3,200	152 " 1,400 . . . . .	212,800
39 " 3,000 . . . . .	117,000	3 " 1,380 . . . . .	4,140
3 " 2,800 . . . . .	84,000	5 " 1,350 . . . . .	6,750
49 " 2,750 . . . . .	134,750	186 " 1,300 . . . . .	241,800
14 " 2,700 . . . . .	37,800	2 " 1,260 . . . . .	2,520
3 " 2,600 . . . . .	7,800	27 " 1,250 . . . . .	33,750
25 " 2,500 . . . . .	62,500	1 " 1,248 . . . . .	1,248
12 " 2,400 . . . . .	28,300	3,430 " 1,200 . . . . .	4,116,000
3 " 2,300 . . . . .	6,900	9 " 1,150 . . . . .	10,350
23 " 2,250 . . . . .	51,750	618 " 1,110 . . . . .	679,800
5 " 2,200 . . . . .	11,000	20 " 1,080 . . . . .	21,600
15 " 2,100 . . . . .	31,500	6 " 1,060 . . . . .	6,300

566 at \$1,000 . . . . .	\$566,000	57 at \$192 . . . . .	\$10,944
22 „ 950 . . . . .	20,900	89 „ 180 . . . . .	16,020
167 „ 900 . . . . .	150,300	23 „ 168 . . . . .	3,864
1 „ 880 . . . . .	880	77 „ 144 . . . . .	11,088
2 „ 850 . . . . .	1,700	129 „ 120 . . . . .	15,480
7 „ 840 . . . . .	5,880	5 „ 96 . . . . .	480
1 „ 820 . . . . .	820	5 „ 72 . . . . .	360
49 „ 800 . . . . .	39,200	22 „ 60 . . . . .	1,320
20 „ 780 . . . . .	15,600	1 „ 20 . . . . .	20
4 „ 760 . . . . .	3,040	20 laborers at 5 a day, 250 days	
35 „ 750 . . . . .	26,250	a year (estimated) . . . . .	25,000
52 „ 720 . . . . .	37,440	17 laborers at 4.50 a day, 250	
29 „ 700 . . . . .	10,600	days a year . . . . .	19,125
4 „ 660 . . . . .	2,640	103 laborers at 4 a day, 250 days	
6 „ 650 . . . . .	3,900	a year . . . . .	103,000
73 „ 600 . . . . .	43,800	119 laborers at 3.50 a day, 250	
31 „ 572 . . . . .	17,732	days a year . . . . .	104,125
26 „ 540 . . . . .	14,040	235 laborers at 3 a day, 250 days	
53 „ 500 . . . . .	26,500	a year . . . . .	176,250
13 „ 480 . . . . .	6,240	243 laborers at 2.50 a day, 250	
17 „ 450 . . . . .	7,650	days a year . . . . .	301,500
1 „ 436 . . . . .	436	35 laborers at 50 cents an hour,	
65 „ 420 . . . . .	27,300	9 hours a day, 250 days (esti-	
25 „ 400 . . . . .	10,000	mated) . . . . .	39,375
5 „ 364 . . . . .	1,820	38 laborers at 39 cents an hour,	
304 „ 360 . . . . .	109,440	9 hours a day, 250 days . . . . .	33,345
1 „ 348 . . . . .	348	43 laborers at 35 cents an hour,	
31 „ 300 . . . . .	9,300	9 hours a day, 250 days . . . . .	33,862
5 „ 264 . . . . .	1,320	405 laborers at 25 cents an hour,	
2 „ 252 . . . . .	504	9 hours a day, 250 days . . . . .	227,812
230 „ 240 . . . . .	55,200	9 laborers at 16 cents an hour,	
10 „ 228 . . . . .	2,280	9 hours a day . . . . .	3,240
179 „ 216 . . . . .	38,664		
2 „ 225 . . . . .	450	Total . . . . .	\$10,123,887
1 „ 200 . . . . .	200		

This table is compiled from the *Official Record*, which gives the names and salary of every employee under the Tammany city government. As between two and three per cent. of all salaries are collected by Tammany for political purposes, the campaign fund this year must be at least \$250,000, exclusive of the special assessments levied upon those seeking nominations for office.

Go into the "Wigwam" — Tammany Hall — any afternoon at three o'clock, and you will find seated behind a great flat topped desk Richard Croker, the leader of the Tammany forces. Under his guidance and tutelage Tammany has been more successful





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than at any time since Tweed's downfall, and his friends boast that he has never managed a campaign which resulted in a defeat.

The organization of Tammany was cut out and planned before Croker became a leader, but he has perfected it in such a way that to-day the composition and discipline of an army is not more accurate or severe. While the Tammany leader occupies a prominent position in the community, and is constantly before the public, the popular idea of him and his personality is entirely erroneous. Mr. Croker's beginning was at the foot of the ladder. He arose literally from the ashes, having been in his early youth an engineer on the New York Central Railroad.

Instead of being a loud blatherskite and a man who dresses flashily, he is precisely the opposite. He is quiet and reserved, and wears the plainest and severest black clothes. He is a strong lover of home and, except when a political campaign is in progress, can always be found there. He is short and stout, wears a thick stubby black beard, and has between his teeth at all times a cigar. Under the most trying circumstances he is calm. Croker used to be city chamberlain, but he resigned this place — the most lucrative in the borough — and went to Europe on account of ill health. Young Crain was appointed to his place, but the general belief is that Croker has yet an interest in the salary.

There is no doubt that he could obtain any position he desires, but he has since his retirement from public office devoted himself to the management of the political organization of which he is the acknowledged chief. Being the supreme authority, quite naturally Croker is the head of the Finance Committee, and to him come all the contributions levied upon office-holders. For his management of the organization it is a matter of common talk that he receives \$15,000 a year.

Yet while Tammany is managed by this one man, Richard Croker, the machinery he uses is complicated and interesting. First there is the General Committee. This is composed of the active workers in every voting district in New York City. It has about four thousand members. Next in size and importance is the committee in each election district, which is called the Committee on Organization. This committee is composed of only

the *leading* or *most active* men of the General Committee of each district.

The General Committee of each district elect a district leader, and these leaders, with the addition of Richard Croker, Bourke Cockran, and Thomas F. Gilroy, compose the Executive Committee. The routine is that Croker and his chief lieutenants, Cockran, Gilroy, Grant, and James F. Martin decide on what to do. Croker tells the Executive Committee, and straightway it is done, and woe to the man who objects.

In other political organizations one hears of unexpected outbreaks at meetings, but not so in Tammany. A leader like Croker, Gilroy, or Martin can easily tell in the afternoon what a Tammany meeting will do at night, or how a Tammany Assembly man will vote next month. The chairman of a Tammany committee becomes "deaf, dumb, and blind," if a man unknown to him arises to offer a resolution.

Mr. Donegan, an official who draws a \$1,200 salary, collects money for the Tammany organization. Mr. Donegan has no trouble. The office-holders understand, and the schedules are fixed. The amounts to be contributed are about as follows:—

\$1,200 salaries	. . . . .	\$25.00
1,500     "	. . . . .	30.00
1,800     "	. . . . .	35.00
2,000     "	. . . . .	40.00
2,500     "	. . . . .	50.00

The collector does not bother with small fry who get under \$1,200, nor does he collect from the big fellows, the heads of departments, etc. The little fellows pay to the district leaders, and the big ones pay direct. Judge Pryor, for instance, drew his check for \$10,000 to the Tammany chief last fall. The bankers and business men who are in sympathy with the organization are attended to by Edward Kearney, and the gamblers and other "sports" by John J. Scannel and Al Adams. The contractors contribute direct and handsomely, actuated either by hope of reward or fear of punishment. The General Committee men pay \$5 a year, which alone is \$20,000. The organization men pay \$15 a year, which is another \$12,000. Donegan collects fully

\$50,000 a year, and the old historic opponent of Tammany only knows what Scannel, Kearney, and the others turn in.

The following is an outline of the plan of organization on which Tammany Hall's power has been built up. The unit of organization in Tammany Hall is the General Committee. This is made up on a basis of one member for each fifty Democratic votes cast at the preceding national or State election within the city and county of New York. The representation upon this committee for 1892 by assembly districts was as follows:—

DISTRICTS.		DISTRICTS.	
1 . . . . .	86	14 . . . . .	88
2 . . . . .	98	15 . . . . .	122
3 . . . . .	88	16 . . . . .	110
4 . . . . .	120	17 . . . . .	150
5 . . . . .	84	18 . . . . .	124
6 . . . . .	102	19 . . . . .	264
7 . . . . .	82	20 . . . . .	120
8 . . . . .	98	21 . . . . .	90
9 . . . . .	102	22 . . . . .	252
10 . . . . .	110	23 . . . . .	292
11 . . . . .	62	24 . . . . .	168
12 . . . . .	94		
13 . . . . .	94	Total . . . . .	3,000

This, however, does not mean that the General Committee shall not exceed three thousand men. On the contrary the committee for the present year has over eight thousand members. The district leader may put as many men on his district delegation as he sees fit, but, no matter how large the delegation may be, at all meetings of the committee it can only cast the number of votes given above. One absolute rule of the General Committee is that it must have at least one member from each election district in the city, but it may have as many more as the district leader sees fit.

Next in order comes the Committee on Organization. This is a sub-committee of the General Committee, and consists of thirty-two men from each assembly district, total 768. Last year the representation on this committee was twenty-seven from each assembly district, but for this year the number has been increased as above.

As will be observed, the assembly district representation upon this committee is not, like the general committee, based upon the Democratic vote. Every assembly district is treated alike, the one idea being to bring into this committee the best workers, the pick and choice of the organization. The result is that the Committee on Organization is made up largely, though not wholly, of the election district captains, the men who have charge of the election districts and are responsible for the organization thereof.

The Executive Committee, or Committee of Twenty-four, as it is sometimes called, though the name is a misnomer, consists of the twenty-four assembly district leaders, the leader or head of the organization, Mr. Croker, Thomas F. Gilroy, Chairman of the Organization Committee, and Bourke Cockran who is not a district leader, but holds a prominent position in the organization as the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions and Correspondence.

Each of these committees has its officers, of course, and its standing committees. The standing committees of the General Committee are Committees on Finance, Correspondence, Naturalization, and Printing, each consisting of seven members. The Naturalization Committee is the only one of the four concerning which any explanation is necessary. The duties of this committee are to look after aliens, who having lived long enough in the country to comply with the law in that regard are desirous of being naturalized and thus becoming voters.

The work of the committee is confined mainly to the month or six weeks just before election. It then opens an office or bureau convenient to the courts to which are sent, by the district leader and his lieutenants, all persons wishing to be naturalized. The district leader, before sending such persons to the Naturalization Committee, is supposed to know that they will "be all right on election day," that is, that they will vote the ticket of the organization after being made citizens. When such an alien, properly certified to, arrives at the bureau, he is taken in charge by a clerk, who conducts him before a judge of the proper court, and sees him through the case without cost to him, all the expenses and court fees being paid by the Tammany organization.

The sub-committees of the Committee on Organization in addition to the Executive Committee already mentioned, are committees on expenditures, resolutions, and legislation, of six members each.

The Committee on Organization is charged with the consideration of all matters relating to the organization of the Democratic party, the call of primary elections, and the conducting of primary, general, special, and charter elections; and, in their discretion, have power of revision and substitution of all nominations made by conventions called by the General Committee, or any District or Ward Committee of the organization. The committee authorizes all necessary disbursements and appropriations. This committee possesses very extensive power over the General Committee, but at the same time it is in its turn subject to the control of the Executive Committee, and that committee again is supposed to be subject to Mr. Croker.

Assembly district organizations are little machines in themselves. At the head of each assembly district is a district leader, who ordinarily has absolute charge of the district, and is accountable for it to the organization. If his district makes a bad showing in any election he is called to account, and at a meeting of the Executive Committee must explain the trouble. If his explanation is unsatisfactory, that is, if there is evidence of lack of organization and proper work in the district, or a suspicion of "trading" on his part, his head rolls in the basket, and his organization is invited to select a new leader, and, it may be added, is also instructed whom to select.

To be a district leader a man must have years of experience, must be able to lead and control men, and his fealty to the organization must be above suspicion. He must also be willing to spend money and to give up a large part of his time to the duties of his position.

To assist him in handling his district the district leader has a district committee, which is entirely separate and distinct from the district delegation to the General Committee. The District Committee is made up of at least five voters, and as many more as may be from each election district in the assembly district. Over the men in each election district is placed a captain, who is

responsible for the conduct of the election therein. To him on election eve, or early on election morning, the assembly district leader delivers the ballots and pasters, and "boodle" for that election district, and if he fails to prove worthy of the confidence placed in him, his political days are numbered.

But election results are not all that are required of him, although that, of course, is the main thing. If he is not in harmony with his fellow members in his election district, he must retire and make room for somebody who can compel harmony.

The captain must see to it that the vote of Tammany Hall is increased. If it is decreased he is called to account, and if his explanation is not satisfactory he is suspended. At the meeting of the assembly district organization once in each month, the captains report the condition of their several election districts and, if there is a break or weakening in any, the district leader immediately sets to work to repair the fence. In this way the organization is kept up, and the district leader has his finger constantly on the political pulse of his district.

This intimate knowledge of his district is necessary to the leader, as he must in his turn make a report of the general condition of the district at each of the monthly meetings of the Committee on Organization, and must also report, whenever called on, by the Executive Committee or by the leader.

It is in this way that Mr. Croker is kept in constant knowledge of the condition of affairs in every part of the city, almost in every house. It might be added that just before an election these reports are made much more frequently, and it would not be well for any district leader to make rose-tinted reports which the after-election results failed to justify. They do not chase rainbows or "talk through their hats" at such times in Tammany Hall.

How is this strict discipline maintained? Mainly through the knowledge possessed by all that without it no political organization can hope to succeed. Hence, the short, sharp shock that waits those who in any way prove untrue to the organization.



## Woman in Government.

THE French Revolution was the sad mother of many noble and beautiful dreams some of which are slowly ripening into realities. Then, for the first time, was the demand fairly and squarely made in a national way for equal citizenship. Each man's highest title was "*Citoyen*," Citizen; each woman was called "*Citoyenne*," citizeness.

Yet partial citizenship — the right to cast votes, though probably not to hold office — was recognized before that glorious dawn of better things, that Revolution, so misunderstood in its day by the average English and American mind.

Women in New Jersey voted for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which it is claimed does not allow women to vote, though it once did. Under it women voted twice for President Washington, once for John Adams, and twice for Thomas Jefferson, and exercised this right for more than thirty years, from 1776 to 1807, when they were unjustly deprived of the right, because the dominant party in New Jersey did not like the way that many women voted. Women submitted to the unjust legislation, as they are obliged to do now, but in no true sense or proper use of language, did they "*concur*" in being deprived of their rights.



The first formal demands in this country for perfect equality — for woman's natural right to a fair share in the practical every-day story of government — were made at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, and at Worcester, Mass., in 1850.

These conventions accomplished little, but showed what was in the air, — the first blowing of a breeze that will some day be the very breath of the nostrils of good government.

Twenty years later, 1870, the effect of this persistent breeze began to be shown in New England, for the Massachusetts Republican Convention admitted Lucy Stone and Mary A. Livermore as accredited delegates, and later they were admitted to the second one held when Garfield lay dead.

A year before this, 1869, in Wyoming, full political rights were given to women, and for a long time they exercised the right of suffrage in Utah, thus making a curious graft of the extremest modern democracy on an old religious and patriarchal form of government.

Wyoming was raised to the rank of a State in 1889, and this act marked the maturity of the first real political democracy of large area in modern times because Wyoming came into the Union with a constitution conferring equal political rights on citizens regardless of sex.

Next to Wyoming in American civilization stands Kansas, where women have municipal suffrage throughout the State, and in some towns women mayors have shown themselves able to administer affairs as wisely as they did their own households.

On this royal road to reform, England, it must be grievously admitted, has moved faster than our own country, which no longer with grace can boast of progressiveness, as compared with Europe. For England and Wales, in 1869, and Scotland, in 1881, yielded to women the right of municipal suffrage; limiting it, however, to unmarried women and widows, and this right prevails in nearly all the American and Australian provinces.

The little kingdom called the Isle of Man, in 1881, went a step further, following the lead of Wyoming, and making all women with certain property qualifications the political equals of men. Iceland, likewise, has done the same. In England a curious spectacle has recently been attracting attention and compelling

A HEAD DANCE BY SQUAWS IN ARIZONA.



consideration, namely, the Conservative or Tory party officially endorsing the proposal that parliamentary suffrage should be conferred on women. The so-called Liberal party must eventually come up to this and go beyond it. Indeed, an American who has carefully studied the situation there says that, had it not been for the personal opposition of Gladstone, this reform would have been an established fact long ago.

To descend from generals to particulars, some of which are highly curious and worthy of note, we can say in summary that twenty-eight States and Territories\* have conceded the right of suffrage to women in some form. As an example of the interest intelligent women take in the exercise of a right long denied, we may cite the fact that at Binghamton, in New York, three thousand women voted in 1890, and in Kansas, where women have equal suffrage with men at all municipal elections, fifty thousand women cast ballots in 1890. These and a host of similar facts give the lie to the foolish statement that intelligent women do not care to vote and prefer to leave all politics to men.

In Washington, when it was a territory, women voted generally for five years, and one year as many as fourteen thousand. Then they were excluded by a decision of the Territorial Supreme Court on a mere technicality. They were mostly debarred from voting on the State Constitution, and as a result the Constitutional provision guaranteeing suffrage to women was voted down by the men.

It is said on authority that seems ungainsayable that, when these equal rights were taken away in Washington, the saloons were thrown open for a day of free drinking in celebration of Washington's relapse towards barbarism. If this be true, the inference will be that the saloon element in American life and politics regards woman as its most dangerous enemy.

The question how women have voted and how they are likely to vote is, of course, of immense interest, but no wizard, since

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\*Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin grant women various degrees of school suffrage. In Arkansas and Missouri women can, by petition, vote on liquor licenses in many cases. Several municipalities in Delaware have yielded municipal suffrage to women. Montana declares them capable of voting on questions of local taxation. Women vote in New York at school elections and on local improvements such as gas and electric street lighting, paving, sewerage, and municipal bonds. In Pennsylvania women vote, by signing or refusing to sign petitions, on paving and other local improvements.

Virgil, would hazard a positive answer to this conundrum of the modern Sphinx. Suffice it to say that we are justified in believing that in the future day of freedom, now dimly dawning for them, they will soon learn to exercise their late-gained rights with as much and possibly more wisdom than the majority of men. In the Western States where women have had wider degrees of liberty cheerfully conceded by sensible men in practical matters, such as voting, they have generally voted the Republican ticket, since that party was mainly instrumental in enfranchising them.

Gratitude is one of the strongest virtues of good women, but, as women study more deeply into politics, they will see that voters owe never so much a debt to the past, as they do a duty to the future. And probably the good and intelligent women voters of this country will cast their ballots before many years for that party which does not inscribe on its banners any stale economic platitudes about free trade and protection, but which fearlessly strikes at the root of all the material and many of the mental evils in our American life, namely, the present industrial system, that means a constantly increasing centralization of capital and a constantly more and more enslaving exploitation of the patient many by a greedy and conceited few.

For the sake of an instructive contrast with the political condition of women in free republican America, let us glance at her political status all over the world. Every province in Australia has municipal woman suffrage. So has Cape Colony, an area of a million square miles. Australia, it should be remembered, is territorially about as large as the American Union — not including Alaska; and Australia, besides being at present the land of promise for women, has been called the paradise of the workingman, because there by law a day's labor is limited to eight hours, and capital is prevented in various ways from developing to full extent its inherent tendency to enslave and oppress mankind.

Asia, too, is ahead of the United States in this matter of real progress. All the Russian colonies in Siberia have woman municipal suffrage for heads of households, and women taxpayers in British Burmah and in the Madras and Bombay presidencies have the same political rank.

Europe shows a similar superiority to "the land of the free and

the home of the brave." In Sweden women vote for all elective officers except representatives, and they vote indirectly for members of the Swedish House of Lords. In Norway they have the school suffrage. In downtrodden Ireland they vote for harbor-boards, poor-law guardians, and in the city of Belfast for municipal officers. In Russia women vote for all elective officers and on all local matters. In Finland, for all elective officers. In Austria-Hungary they vote, by proxy, for all elective officers. In Croatia and Dalmatia they do so at local elections in person. Italy has gone a step further in the right direction, for there widows are entitled to vote for Members of Parliament.

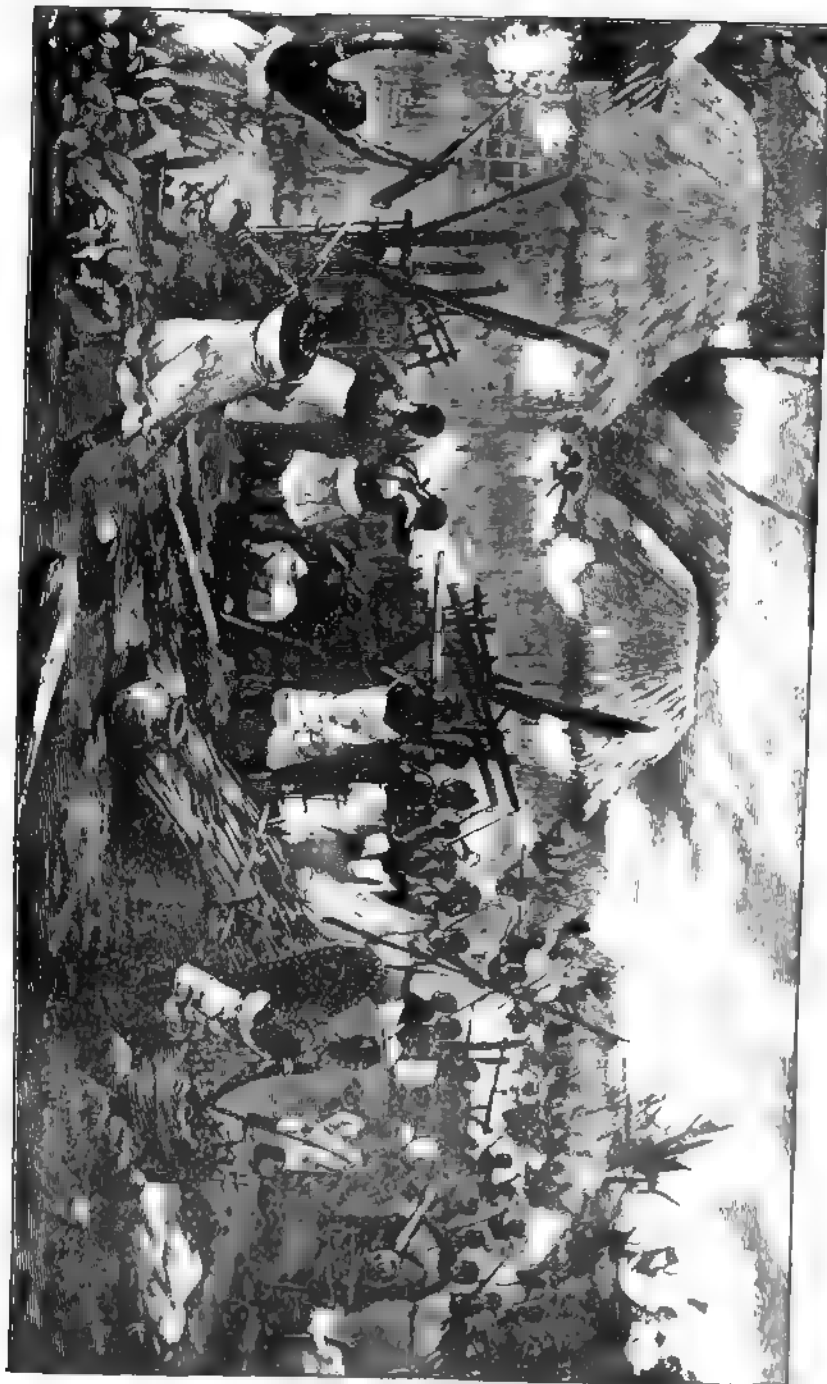
Iceland, the Isle of Man and Pitcairn Island have full woman suffrage, and nearly two thousand islands have it in some degree. The area of countries where woman has a suffrage of some kind is more than 18,000,000 square miles, or larger than Asia, and containing a population of about 350,000,000, or nearly that of Europe.

Summarizing the situation, then, we may say that four political divisions of the world — Iceland, the Isle of Man, Pitcairn Island, and the State of Wyoming — furnish illustrations of the only real complete democracies of modern times, that is, complete political democracies. The next step above that will be — unless human nature retrogrades, unless common sense evaporates, unless evolution on its practical side is a scientific lie — an industrial democracy where no "loafing" and living on others on the part of monopolists will be permitted, and where all able-bodied men and women will do their share of the world's necessary work and have plenty of time left for healthy individual development.

Such, briefly put, is the present condition of woman's direct participation in human government. That she has, when at or near her best, a greater share in that divine government that subtends human affairs, a fact apparently symbolized or signalized by the position of Mary in the Catholic Church, can hardly be gainsaid by any observer who is really unbiased and anxious to be all-roundly scientific.

If, in truth, as Richelieu says, in Bulwer-Lytton's noble drama,

" Through loss and gain,  
Through glory and disgrace the holy stream  
Of human happiness glides on,"



THE FEMALE SOLDIERS OF DAHOMEY FIGHTING THE FRENCH.

and if that stream ever widens as it flows, we must thank not merely some great men, but women also who have left a legacy of beauty more real and royal than what they wore when robed in breathing flesh.

Nor is it alone to the confessedly great women of history that this glad debt of thanks should be paid. The general stream of human happiness has been increased more, perhaps, by women of simple and obscure lives, who have helped to make beautiful homes, and have ruled with a sceptre of softness over the hearts of their husbands and children. Happiness, true happiness that is, has a persistent, a creative, an eternal quality about it. Evil is destructive in nature, so destructive that it must finally, like the present industrial tyranny, destroy itself.

The superficial historian who considers chiefly the lives of such mischievous women as Cleopatra, or the corrupt court dames who played with power in France, would deny the statement that, as a rule in the past, the women who have really wielded the most power and produced the most lasting impression for the development of the world, have been those who have bloomed in quiet rather than those who have dazzled the imaginations of poets and novelists, and amazed the average thinker by the ravage they have wrought in the affairs of their time. Yet such a statement will stand all the more firmly for assaults on its soundness.

Still it must be admitted that the story of woman in government, up to the present century, is rather a painful perplexity, a tangle of vanities more cruel, perhaps, than the deeds of empty-headed, masculine rulers.

Yet we must remember that women have been chiefly in the past, not as God made them, but as men unmade them; that they have rarely had a fair, free chance, and that, when they obtained pre-eminence by the accident of beauty or of cleverness, it would be also an accident if, with the sudden acquisition of power, an accession of knowledge how best to use such a force came likewise.

Indeed, considering this point, may it not be taken as an axiom that the sudden possession of excessive power by either man or woman is likely to produce those excesses of power by which man,









ANCIENT ATHENS.





Γ ATHENS.



the unit, as well as man the mass, has suffered miseries but faintly pictured by historian, or novelist, or poet?

As one of the world's most brilliant women says: "Woman has had very little *direct* participation in government. She has been a political non-existent, almost always, even when the wife or mistress of a king. She has worked in secret by indirection. Women have had power in the past, as women always will, but it has been irresponsible power, which is very dangerous in the hands of an unrepresented class. It seems to me that women were not so much the *cause* of the corruption of the Middle Ages, as the *result* of it and, as I have read history, they were, in the main, better than men."

This question of the way in which women of the past have used or abused governmental power is one of extreme interest to which an entire large book might well be devoted, instead of merely a brief chapter. We shall touch upon it later, and shall now proceed to consider historically the fundamental question of sex equality.

Historically, then, we find that woman's right to share with man the councils of government as well as those of home is not a new doctrine or a new practice, by any means. Sex-equality has prevailed among primitive races, and probably to a larger extent than science has yet proved. Among the American Indians, notably the Seneca-Iroquois, women of ripe years had a voice, though not a vote; and that certain New England tribes had feminine chiefs, or queens, is in evidence; while, stronger than isolated instances of feminine leadership, in proof of sex-equality among the New England Indians at the time their country was seized by the English in the name of the God who said, "Thou shalt not steal, and thou shalt not kill," was the general showing of respect towards women, and of tender consideration on the part of the ancient inhabitants of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

This fact, established by the records of their bitterest enemies, the predatory English, or Anglo-Americans of those days appears to be one whose historical value is not yet fully understood. Probably the same, or possibly in some cases a greater degree of sex-equality prevailed among a majority of the American Indian

tribes, and at the councils of the sachems, not merely as deputies, but as voting equals, the squaws were heard with that profound attention which the Indian race always accords to speakers.

To-day, when an unfit, or perhaps one should say as regards them, a misfit civilization, combined with rum, has produced such a chaos in Indian habits and customs that it is difficult to decide what is purely aboriginal and what is modified by contact with the white man's commercial ways, the direct participation of Indian women in the tribal government is at a minimum.

Still, it is clear that Indian women to-day are not merely beasts of burden or passive instruments in the hands of men. Our picture of the head-dance among squaws after the battle, horrible and repulsive as it is, nevertheless indicates the influence of the squaws in stimulating among the men that wild, ferocious valor necessary for their preservation in the struggle for existence. Yet, repulsive and horrible as this photographic picture unquestionably seems, is it so truly cruel as the way in which modern feminine society stamps on the heads of those weaker sisters who have fallen victims to the savagery or selfishness of men?

Even in Africa, where women are more harshly treated as a rule than anywhere else, accidents of birth among certain tribes may give women the leadership, and in the kingdom of Dahomey, as we noted in our fourth chapter, the army is entirely composed of women, who, as the special guardians of the king, may be thus considered to be directly concerned in the administration of government.

Our illustration is taken from a photograph made in their recent war with the French, who found in these dusky Amazons such desperate fighters that French gallantry was for a long time non-plussed. Some have suggested that it was French gallantry of another kind which made the European invaders loath to fight against and kill women.

Whatever may have been the case, it is beyond question that the French soldiers did not relish their campaign against Behanzin, the King of Dahomey, and his ferociously valorous army. Some recent writers estimate that this curious collection of pugnacious women numbers as many as fourteen thousand, but we believe these figures inaccurate, and think the old statistics, which put the number at four thousand, are probably nearer right.



THE PRESENT EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.



That there have been women warriors in all ages, not merely single examples like Joan d'Arc, but regular cohorts of fighting girls, is it possible to doubt, when we have such instances as Dahomey still extant? The Amazons referred to by Homer may, indeed, have been but a figment of the poet's flashing fancy; but they are as likely to have been creatures actually seen by the poet in his rambles before blindness overtook him, as any of the historic facts that shine like solemn stars in his two vast palaces of human picture set in song, "The Iliad and the Odyssey."

Even more strongly than in Africa and in Polynesia does sex-equality assert itself in certain parts of Asia. Among the polyandrous races on the eastern coast of Hindostan property and rank are derived through the mother only, for the simple reason that custom renders paternity uncertain.

Indeed, it is a fact that in this corner of the world the term, husband, carries an idea of inferiority. Victoria, Empress of India, is regarded by her loyal polyandrous subjects as the daughter of the Old East India Company, and is popularly supposed to reside in London with a multitude of husbands, as becomes her exalted station.

An odd incident indicative of the working of the Eastern polyandrous mind was the announcement made by the Sultan of the Laccadive Islands to his subjects, in 1887. Up to that date this potentate had been the vassal of the Bibi of Cannanor, but through the negotiations of the Governor of Ceylon he became a direct tributary to the English crown; whereupon his oriental majesty announced this political change to his subjects in the way it appeared to him — namely, that he had been divorced from the Bibi of Cannanor and had become one of the husbands of Queen Victoria.

Minicoy, in these very same waters, presents a perfect picture of primitive feminine rule. The men are absent most of the year on fishing expeditions, and the women manage everything, the fishers, on their return, taking life on land as easily as possible to make up for their long sojourn on the deep.

Looking back through the records of early ages we find a certain crude equality between the sexes, that is, in the upper ranks of life. The Iliad, celebrating a war caused by the beauty of a

woman, shows this in many places. The Phæacian Queen, for instance, is depicted as having a share of public responsibility and sitting on high in the seat of judgment.

The *Odyssey* depicts a later age, when Grecian women had fallen from their primal high estate and were rather subject to men, even when queens by right of birth or wifehood. Penelope, for instance, the sweet example of the chaste and constant heart, waiting for her lord's return so many weary years, not only has to endure the brawling of the many suitors for her hand and land, but is patronized and put in the background by her own son, Telemachus.

As the Homeric age faded into fable, the power of woman in Grecian government paled gradually into insignificance, that is to say, the power of the good women, the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of those marvellous men who in art, philosophy, history, poetry, and eloquence made Greece the gem and glory of the world.

Except in Sparta all the states of Greece adopted and put in practice the oriental notion that a life of seclusion was the chief business of modest women, and that education, save in household matters, was a tree of knowledge fruitful of ill rather than good.

The mother of Socrates probably could not read, and it is doubtful whether the wife of Sophocles, the Shakespeare of his age, could comprehend much more than a jot of that solemn and splendid dramatic poetry by means of which her husband still inhabits the bosoms of men.

Sparta alone escaped the general decline. There the women showed an intense interest in and a profoundly patriotic sympathy with the affairs of the state. To lose the shield in battle — equivalent to throwing it away so as to run faster from the foe — was esteemed among Greeks, as among Romans, a mark of cowardice and accounted a disgrace. "Come back with your shield or on it!" was the cry of the Spartan woman to husband, lover, or son, as they went forth to battle; and when the dying Spartan was asked by his wife what his epitaph should be, he replied: "Sparta hath many a nobler son than he," and the woman's pride in her country and interest in its government compelled her to fulfil his dying behest.

Singular, in truth, must have been the daily drama of Athenian civilization, when the chaste women were excluded from political affairs, and even secluded from very much social intercourse with well-bred men. It is one of the strangest and saddest assertions of history, that in those days only the women of loose morals were educated and were capable of acquiring and exercising wealth and power. The fact faces us that, when Alexander the Great laid low the walls of a city, it was Lais or Thais, a courtesan, who offered her purse to rebuild them.

These women were called *Hetairæ*, and our illustration affords a fair representation of their idle, luxurious life as they rest on a balcony of Parian marble overhanging the play of the summer waves of the amethystine *Ægean*. That they were originally adventuresses from Asiatic Greece, and that their ranks were recruited from the numerous Mediterranean islands rather than native Greek women of the mainland, seems likely.

Yet how unlikely it would seem that Plato, the most august of philosophers, must have studied feminine human nature chiefly through such a medium! When, however, we reflect that Aspasia, the Queen of these *Hetairæ*, was accounted the equal and was the sought companion of such men as Pericles, Socrates, and Phidias, we are constrained to admit that such was probably the case.

This Aspasia actually lectured<sup>1</sup> on rhetoric and philosophy to social gatherings of loose-robed courtesans, and her hold on the affections of the statesman, Pericles, lasted to his last hour. Thus the government of Athens at one period may be said to have been administered from a house of bought smiles and coarse caresses.

Let not this frightful statement over-startle the student! Cities like New York, and even that modern Athens, which lies dreaming of olden freedom under the shadow of Bunker Hill, have been run by aldermen under the influence of "ladies" on whom Aspasia would have thought her lectures wasted.

Her lectures were doubtless luminous with wit and humor, or

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<sup>1</sup> "This very fact," says Mary A. Livermore, "shows there was more to those 'loose-robed courtesans' than is generally supposed, and as for Aspasia, she was charged with 'walking the streets unveiled, sitting at table with men, disbelieving in the Greek gods, and believing only in one sole Creator, and with entertaining original ideas concerning the motions of the sun and moon.' She was in advance of her time, and the age could not understand her."

perhaps were somewhat like our modern sensational sermons; yet such sermons must have seemed to the practical Athenian "sober-sides" but a poor exchange for the frightful losses of the two wars



ISABELLA RECEIVING COLUMBUS.

which Aspasia's personal quarrels and jealousies were supposed to have caused.

Mobbed in the streets of Athens, the violet-crowned city by the sea, this full-blown flower of feminine beauty and intellectual power was dragged before the Areopagus for judgment, to be

saved, however, from the righteous wrath of a roused people by the soothing eloquence of her staunch lover, Pericles.

After his death, it is said, she continued her course of lectures under the auspices, not of a man of genius like her former associates, but of a wealthy flour merchant. Such was the influence of woman in government in the palmy days of Grecian civilization. *Sic transiit gloria Græciæ!*

When Roman roughness and robustness triumphed over Greek grace and cunning, Rome was really at the height of its moral power in the world, and such women as Lucretia and Cornelia, chaste wives and wise mothers, were plentiful among the Romans, and had a voice, though not a vote, in shaping the laws and customs, and moulding the public mind to that high stamp of intellectuality which made the Roman for ages the lawgiver of nations. But just as Greece had been Orientalized and the rank of her women lowered, so Rome in turn, though the material mistress of the world, became the intellectual slave of the Grecian culture that she had conquered.

It was in vain that Horace, her wisest and most popular poet, sang, "Take away these Oriental aids to luxury — I hate them, boy." The insidious East prevailed, and Roman manners underwent a gradual refining and Roman morals a rapid undermining, until in the words of the same poet, though not quite as he implied, "Rome fell by its own weight" — the burden of a gross immorality, caused by the presence of a bad indirect, and the absence of a good feminine direct, influence in the government.

During this period of about three centuries at and following the Christian era there arose two women, both Orientals, and representing the two antagonistic types of woman in government, perhaps, more perfectly than any of the antique world.

The first was Cleopatra, that "serpent of Old Nile," and what she may have planned must remain a mystery, fascinating and elusive as the primal mystery of life. As we understand her through the cloudy conceptions of her time, she aspired, for mere personal glorification, to bend the empire of the world into the crook of her finger, now toying with the majesty of the first Cæsar, now inflaming the passions of the rough Antony with her infinite wit and grace, now attempting, but failing, to beguile the

proud Augustus, just as victory nested amid his banners and his dim dream of an august Cæsarean empire rose rapidly into the fair outlines of a firm, definite plan.

Cleopatra to us appears simply a perfect type of all that is distinctly bad in feminine government, or in feminine influence as applied to government, yet she may have been at heart a patriotic Egyptian princess, trying to save her people from alien domination by playing off one Roman ruffian against another. Whatever she was, she remains a most picturesque failure.

Two hundred and fifty years later another Eastern queen, Zenobia, ruling with wondrous wisdom, endeavored at Palmyra, to lay the foundations of an Oriental empire, but her patriotic dream of a united East was rudely dispelled by the Roman Emperor Aurelian, who, scenting her purpose, deposed her before she was strong enough to defy Rome.

Had the purple been hereditary in the Roman Empire, doubtless some great feminine rulers would have appeared equal to England's Elizabeth, or Spain's Isabella, in mental vigor; but imperial titles in that Greco-Roman civilization rested simply on the whims of the soldiers, and women had no chance to become heads of the state.

The low condition of woman generally, which naturally resulted in a military empire, was somewhat changed when the Germans began to overrun Italy. Attila, the Hun, had styled himself "the Scourge of God," and the Germans generally considered themselves divine scourges, especially made for the chastisement of the corrupt and effeminate Romans. Lamæ Gaiseric bade his pilot steer, when setting out on a Roman foray, "for the ports of those with whom God is angry."

The German was far ruder than the Roman even in the remotest period of Roman history. To drink mead from an enemy's skull, for example, was a pleasant social accomplishment among these barbarians.

But the notion of allegiance to the state instead of to a single person, as representative of the law, imported by the Germans into Rome, was an idea that was bound to operate ultimately for the elevation of woman and the extension of her powers in government. Because, since women could receive and convey title to

land, they thus might acquire service and allegiance, and thus occasionally could rise to political as well as social equality with men. Thus in feudalism, lurking at the bottom of that otherwise oppressive system, lay a few seeds of possible feminine power.

Then, too, the Catholic Church by its conception of a divine maternity, its exaltation of a human girl to the rank of the Mother of God, began to emphasize the idea in good men's minds of a certain sacredness attaching to woman, and also the idea of a certain feminine right to rule by virtue of that sacredness.

Yet at the same time that the Church, in its broad general doctrines, raised and widened the sphere of woman as never before, nevertheless it narrowed, in those early centuries and through the Middle Ages, the powers of individual women almost as much as the law did.

Hence women of active ambition, denied full direct expression by Church and Law, began to seek a vent for their energies in the exercise of indirect power, by a subtle pandering to the ruder passions of men. And so powerful did these feminine politicians become that in the first half of the tenth century even the papacy itself appears to have been swayed by unscrupulous women.

The development of feudalism during the eleventh century and through the crusades, contributed to the legal, social and moral elevation of woman, or, to state the case very moderately, to the emancipation of women of a certain class. To be sure, the Salic law of France forbade the succession of women to the throne of France, but in the tributaries to that throne this law did not strictly apply. Eleanor of Aquitaine, at the age of thirteen, was ruler of all the country between the Loire and the Pyrenees.

The age of chivalry, the flower and fruit of feudalism on the sentimental side, which went out like a candle at the laughing breath of Cervantes, went out because it had outlived its usefulness as well as its beauty, and had become an absurdity; but it is a mistake to suppose that chivalry exalted woman merely as an object of passionate attention.

The courtesy shown to women in the days of chivalry was more than a refined voluptuousness; it rose quite often into a genuine worship that made the masculine worshipper worthy of an equal adoration in return. That age, lacking many of the material

WOMEN WATCHING THE OUTBREAK OF VESUVIUS.





comforts which mark this age of manifold mechanisms, this century of gas, and brass, and electric monopolies, and over-crowded cities, was, nevertheless, in some ways, perhaps, as well supplied in the essentials of spiritual happiness.

The fifteenth century in Europe brought to the front of politics two remarkable women, one, an inspired — or some say, crazy — peasant girl, Joan D'Arc, the other, Agnes Sorel, for thirteen years the companion, confidante and counsellor of the King of France.

Joan of Arc, with her passionate desire to see the Dauphin crowned at Rheims, despite the English foe, and with her Amazonian love of being in battle like a man, or of leading men, is the more picturesque figure, and the enthusiasm which the chaste peasant maid evoked is still vibrant in the world to-day.

So much so is this the case that we have the singularly suggestive spectacle of Sarah Bernhardt, the leading French actress, playing the part of Joan in a play especially written for the popular taste rather than for the popular actress.

Yet a much grander dream than Joan's, to drive the English encroachers *entirely* out of her beloved France, was the steady purpose of Agnes Sorel, the first, and probably the best, of the long line of French frailties who ruled unlucky France through the affections of the king. Hers was no easy task — to turn a butterfly prince into a steady and sensible monarch, to make almost a statesman out of royal material so exceedingly raw.

But Agnes Sorel loved her country even more than she loved her king, though she probably loved him very deeply, too, for we are apt to love the things that we create, be they our children, or our works, or the characters that we help our loved ones to build up.

The next three centuries of French history were the halcyon times of woman's supremacy in government, but it was nearly always the supremacy of the wanton, ruling a king through his passions, and ruled herself by a priest through her superstitions.

This might not have been so disastrous to the people at large had the priests been as a rule like such churchmen as Manning, and Gibbons, and many others, or even had they been men of the



WILHELMINE, THE CHILD QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS.

high ambitions and broad abilities of a Richelieu, but mostly they appear to the unbiased eyes of after ages mere court politicians, fond of playing the wind-god in the causing or calming of teacup tempests.

The depravity of that long national night not only outraged morals but good taste, which, after all, is in itself a kind of rudimentary moral sense. Citation of the whole list of horrors would sicken the reader. Let one suffice. Diane de Poitiers, who ruled France through Henry II., began her career as the mistress of his father.

The vileness of the House of Valois has passed into a proverb. Compared with the princes of that stock, Henry VIII. of England shines forth as rather a gentleman, somewhat uncertain as to the state of his affections, no doubt, and with a peculiarly adjusted conscience, but still with a faint possibility of human nature lurking somewhere amid his catalogue of enormities.

When he committed a crime, he tried to convert it into a virtue by some regal or legal alchemy. Thus he paid at least a certain inverted homage to an ideal of right dimly recognized by him in others' natures, if not in his own.

None of the French princes would have troubled themselves to have invented a new church, as did Henry VIII. of England, for the sake of securing a divorce from a mere wife of state whom they had ceased to care for. They would simply have seized the other woman whom they happened to desire and bent her or broken her to their bestial will.

About this time a great woman ruled in Spain jointly with her husband, Ferdinand, consolidating the two houses of Arragon and Castile. Isabella, it must be admitted, had probably some of the bad qualities of her race, who have been styled by one rather partisan historian the most tigerish family of monarchs that ever ruled in Castile.

That Isabella permitted the dreadful Inquisition must probably remain a stain on her fame, but that she treated brutally her daughter is rather hard to believe when collated with the fact that she was indignant at the cruelties practised on the newly discovered Indians by her subjects in the New World.

The attempt has been made by some English writers to take

from Isabella the credit of having pawned her jewels to defray the expenses of Columbus in his expedition to discover America. But Mary A. Livermore, whose public and private utterances, whether of opinion or of fact, are marked by accuracy and modesty, says on this point: —

“ If there is one historic statement more clearly proved than that Isabella pledged her jewels for the funds for Columbus’ first expedition, I have yet to learn it. To be sure, Luis Santangel furnished the funds from the finances of the ecclesiastical treasury of Arragon of which he was treasurer, but the jewels of Isabella were the collateral security pledged for the payment.

“ Harriet Hosmer is now in Rome making an heroic statue of Isabella to commemorate that event. She spent months in studying every detail of Isabella’s history, in Spain and in Rome. She is convinced of the truth of the story, and is making her statue for the World’s Fair, representing Isabella offering her jewels to Columbus.”

Feminine domination in Europe reached its climax in the time from 1550 to 1600. The Marys in England and Scotland, and the infamous Catherine de Medici in France, from 1559 to 1589, earned the title of being the crowned curses of kingdoms.

To corrupt the morals of her own sons, and to influence one of them to commit the monstrous crime and blunder of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, shows the bad eminence of Catherine’s character. How the cause of the Catholic Church has suffered by such champions as Mary Stuart and Catherine de Medici it is easy to see.

But in England the star of woman’s political influence began to shine with a light less lurid, less blood-red and flame-red than the fires of Smithfield that had provoked stout John Knox, lurking in safe obscurity at Dieppe, to blow forth to the public his “ First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,” which opened in clear, unmistakable tones: —

“ To promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire above any realme, nation or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinance, and finallie it is the subversion of good order, of all equitie and justice.”

Later, on the ascension of England's throne by Elizabeth, who became a staunch prop of the Protestant cause more from policy, possibly, than real belief, John Knox, compromising a little with his conscience, perhaps, tried to soften somewhat the roughness of that "First Blast." But it still rings true as expressive of what a tolerably good man must have felt at the spectacle then presented by the crowned women of the world.

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That she was also capable of easy lying and that strong oaths came naturally to her quick lips full of Plantagenet temper seems beyond a reasonable doubt. Yet we must remember in our judging that lying in courts and in the management of politics is not called lying but diplomacy, and Elizabeth, very likely, was early taught this poor trick as the A B C of statesmanship.

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Mary A. Livermore, who has made especial study of this English queen, and who was assisted in her lecture on Elizabeth by books and manuscripts in the British Museum, which no one is allowed to remove, and who, before rewriting her lecture amid these venerable archives, had already written it four times,—such is the patience and fidelity of those who aim at accuracy—puts her valuable opinion of this great woman in government in these vivid words : —

The English people adore Elizabeth. She founded the English nation. It was a heterogeneous collection of agriculturists when she

ascended the throne. She was two hundred years ahead of her time and would have given entire and perfect religious freedom, had it been safe. She held England firmly in her hand for thirty years and would not allow it to go to war, knowing that the development of a nation must come from *within* if it is to grow.

Elizabeth had no extravagant court-follies, no costly sensualities, no wasting wars which disheartened the people, cut the sinews of national strength, and sowed the seeds of future revolution.

All her expenses for palaces, processions, journeys, carriages, servants' dresses, everything averaged only \$325,000 a year, while Louis XIV., Le Grand Monarque, spent £40,000,000 on one palace alone. Her flirtations and coquetries were a part of her state policy, and her determination never to marry was the outcome of her great ambition to make England a nation.

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Therefore the fiat went forth that piety and rigidity of conduct were to be the fashion at court; but while this madame was mistress of affairs, 300,000 exiles of the best heart and brain of France also went forth to other lands rather than risk the persecutions which a superstitious woman, anxious to compound for her own sins by punishing those of others, might take a fancy to inflict.

Throughout this reign a semblance of decency was kept up by the aristocrats, who, to their credit be it said, chafed under the hypocrisy of their daily lives and longed for the day when Madame de Maintenon's power should be over.

When that day came and Louis lay in state, harmless at last, the French nobility commenced that crazy whirl of cruel lust through the patient eighteenth century which was to end only with the guillotine, and the awakening of the common people.

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When some of those who saw (or thought they saw, like men to-day, who see similar signs) below the smooth surface of the times, and heard the rumbling thunder in the heart of the mountain, told this Queen of Caprice and Paris what troubles were at hand, she laughed their solemn words away and said, "*Après nous le déluge!*" "After us let the deluge come then!"

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It came, and the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, who was the first thoroughly good woman in nearly two hundred years to have a hand in directing the statecraft of womanized France, was drowned in la Pompadour's deluge. The vengeance of a people long oppressed, like the rain of God, fell from that cloudy heaven on the just and unjust. The glorious Revolution swept away impartially chaste queen and royal courtesan. The reign of the common people had begun.

During that eighteenth century the power of woman in France and her grasp on government were matched by similar conditions among other nations. The first Bourbon King of Spain, grandson of Louis XIV. of France, for nearly fifty years was ruled by his wife, Elizabeth Farnese and her Jesuit Confessor, which pair, with the best of intentions, contrived to complete the ruin of Spain.

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brazen horrors. Her placid beauty is a shadow of the kind and placid soul which animates her slightest actions.

In our brief survey of the part woman has played in government, we arrive now at the nineteenth century, which was the first to witness on any large scale the dawn of democracy in the modern world, and in this, our century, we find few women very conspicuously or actively engaged in managing the affairs of nations.

Perhaps the most striking figure is the Dowager Empress of China, who for twenty-five years has influenced the daily destinies of 450,000,000 of people, and in curious contrast with this mysterious old lady in Asia is the Baby Queen of the Netherlands, whose innocent face is like so many girl faces in many a humble home.

One who has read Hollandish history cannot help feeling as if the queenhood of this little Wilhelmine were casting backward a forgiving beam of gentleness over the crimes and follies of the House of Orange, and at the same time throwing forward a gleam of promise for the future.

In England the long and well-balanced life of Victoria has wiped away the memories of the disgraceful days of the last George, and by easy stages of popular expansion has paved the way for a republican government in the days soon to come. But the crowned wives of this century, while they escape censure in comparison with the past, are not the best real specimens of women in government.

The real queens of this epoch, springing from the ranks of the people, and demanding merely that homage which moral grace, subserved by intellectual power, must finally obtain, are to be found in many a quiet home, in many a land, helping their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons, to make this world just a little better and younger every day.

## Semi-Military Constitutional Monarchy.

**A**S one wanders through the galleries of Versailles, drinking in the beauty of the surroundings, now looking at the paintings where the history of France is represented by battle scenes from the earliest struggles of the Gaul down to recent campaigns in the Crimea and Italy, and then gazing on the wonderful fountains of Apollo, with the Trianon seen through the leaves, full of memories of Marie Antoinette, what visions of history more vivid and exciting than any romance rise in the mind — what memories of great sovereigns, who, raising France to the highest pitch of glory and influence, were, by the very means they employed for such ends, the cause of her subsequent fall and humiliation!

First Louis XIV., *le Grand Monarque*, whose extravagance in building this palace impoverished France and helped to bring his descendant to the guillotine, filled its walls with pictures commemorating the victories won by Prince Condé and Marshal Turenne, then saw his hopes of further conquests end at Blenheim. Then came the Corsican Bonaparte, who with his marshals at first found Europe too small for their conquering armies. But after Austerlitz and Jena came Waterloo, and the first empire and its glories faded out on that fatal field.

Finally Napoleon III. plays his brief part, and after Magenta, Solferino, and the Malakoff comes Sedan, and his empire vanishes

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Finally Napoleon III. played his last game at Solferino, and the Malakoff.

into history; for a third time, after a short period of martial intoxication, France begs for mercy at the hands of the victorious German.

Of all the striking historical events these palace walls have witnessed, that one of January 18, 1871, was the most dramatic in its completion of a people's desire, its consummation of the hopes of patriots and statesmen for many centuries: the unification of Germany under one strong power. On that day, already celebrated in the annals of Prussia as the one on which, in 1701, its first king, Frederic I., was crowned at Königsberg, King William, passing between lines of German soldiery representing the various nations of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the smaller principalities, entered the famous *Galerie des Glaces*, and standing under a picture of Louis XIV. faced as proud and triumphant an assembly of men as ever gathered about a leader.

Behind him were ranged six hundred battle flags from his regiments. At his right hand stood the Crown Prince, then the picture of health and the promise of long life. Ranged beside him right and left were the kings, princes, and reigning powers of Germany, statesmen, delegates from the North German Confederative parliament, such as the speaker, Herr Simson, who came in the name of that parliament to offer the imperial crown, and who in 1848 made the same proffer to the brother of the present king, and representatives from the free towns, and the leading officers of his victorious armies.

As the old king, whose military career began with fighting against the first Napoleon, saw himself supported by such a statesman as Bismarck, soldiers like Von Moltke and Von Roon, his soldier son and heir, Fritz, and his brilliant nephew, Frederick Charles, the "*Red Prince*," he must have felt that his kingdom was founded on a rock, even if the proclamation making him Emperor seemed like a dream. After the acceptance by the king of the imperial dignity, Bismarck, whose clear brain and iron will had made this scene possible, read the following document in a strong, clear voice vibrant with personal, as well as national, triumph: —

We, William, by God's grace King of Prussia, hereby announce that the German princes and free towns having addressed to us a unanimous call to renew and undertake with the re-establishment of the German

Empire the dignity of Emperor, which now for sixty years has been in abeyance, and the requisite provisions having been inserted in the Constitution of the German Confederation, we regard it as a duty we owe to the entire Fatherland to comply with this call of the united German princes and free towns, and to accept the dignity of Emperor.

Accordingly, we and our successors to the crown of Prussia henceforth shall use the imperial title in all the relations and affairs of the German Empire, and we hope to God that it may be vouchsafed to the German nation to lead the Fatherland on to a blessed future, under the auspices of its ancient splendor.

May God grant to us and to our successors to the imperial crown that we may be the defenders of the German Empire at all times, not in martial conquests, but in works of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom, and civilization.

When the reading was over the Grand Duke of Baden stepped forward and cried:—"Long live the German Emperor William!" This cry was taken up by the assembly, who then advanced and did homage to the new Kaiser, while the soldiers outside carried on the cry, and the cannon of Mount Valérien, ever firing, grumbled in the distance, as if the Gaul muttered curses on what he could not prevent. So to the popular mind of Germany the old legend came true that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who with his knights lay bound in enchanted sleep in the mountains of Bavaria, would come to life again and restore the German Empire.

The Constitution of this empire, formed by blood and iron, bears date April 16, 1871. By its terms all the states of Germany (twenty-five in number) "form an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people." The legislative functions of the empire are vested in the Emperor, the Bundesrath, and the Reichstag. The supreme direction of military and political affairs of the empire is vested in the King of Prussia, who bears the name of *Deutscher Kaiser*, or German Emperor. The imperial dignity is hereditary in the line of Hohenzollern, and follows the law of primogeniture.

The executive power is in the Emperor's hands. He represents the empire internationally, can declare war if defensive, make peace as well as enter into treaties with other nations; he

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also appoints and receives ambassadors, but for declaring offensive war the consent of the Bundesrath is necessary. The separate states have the privilege of sending ambassadors to the other courts, but all consuls abroad are officials of the empire, and are named by the Emperor.

This upper house of the legislative body, styled the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, represents the individual states of Germany like the Senate of the United States. It comprises fifty-eight members, who are appointed by the governments of the individual states for each session. The apportionment is not equal for each state, following the analogy of the United States Senate, but is according to population. All the members of the Bundesrath, whose presiding officer is the Chancellor of the Empire, have the right to be present at the deliberations of the Reichstag.

Acting under the direction of the chancellor, the Bundesrath has a supreme and consultative board, and as such has twelve standing committees : —

Army and fortifications; naval; tariff, trade and taxes; trade and commerce; railways, posts, and telegraphs; civil and criminal law; financial accounts; foreign affairs; Alsace and Lorraine; constitution; standing orders; railway tariffs.

Each committee consists of representatives of at least four states of the empire; but the foreign affairs committee includes only the representatives of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, and two other representatives to be elected every year.

The other body called the Reichstag, corresponding to the United States House of Representatives, is comprised of 397 members (about one to every 118,000 inhabitants) who are elected by universal suffrage for five years. Both the Bundesrath and Reichstag meet in annual session convoked by the Emperor. The Emperor has the right, after a vote by the Bundesrath, to prorogue and dissolve the Reichstag.

Without the consent of the Reichstag, the prorogation may not exceed thirty days, while in case of dissolution new elections must take place within sixty days — and a new session must open within ninety days. The Reichstag is presided over by an officer elected by its own members. All laws of the empire must receive



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comforts which mark this age of manifold mechanisms, this century of gas, and brass, and electric monopolies, and over-crowded cities, was, nevertheless, in some ways, perhaps, as well supplied in the essentials of spiritual happiness.

The fifteenth century in Europe brought to the front of politics two remarkable women, one, an inspired — or some say, crazy — peasant girl, Joan D'Arc, the other, Agnes Sorel, for thirteen years the companion, confidante and counsellor of the King of France.

Joan of Arc, with her passionate desire to see the Dauphin crowned at Rheims, despite the English foe, and with her Amazonian love of being in battle like a man, or of leading men, is the more picturesque figure, and the enthusiasm which the chaste peasant maid evoked is still vibrant in the world to-day.

So much so is this the case that we have the singularly suggestive spectacle of Sarah Bernhardt, the leading French actress, playing the part of Joan in a play especially written for the popular taste rather than for the popular actress.

Yet a much grander dream than Joan's, to drive the English encroachers *entirely* out of her beloved France, was the steady purpose of Agnes Sorel, the first, and probably the best, of the long line of French frailties who ruled unlucky France through the affections of the king. Hers was no easy task — to turn a butterfly prince into a steady and sensible monarch, to make almost a statesman out of royal material so exceedingly raw.

But Agnes Sorel loved her country even more than she loved her king, though she probably loved him very deeply, too, for we are apt to love the things that we create, be they our children, or our works, or the characters that we help our loved ones to build up.

The next three centuries of French history were the halcyon times of woman's supremacy in government, but it was nearly always the supremacy of the wanton, ruling a king through his passions, and ruled herself by a priest through her superstitions.

This might not have been so disastrous to the people at large had the priests been as a rule like such churchmen as Manning, and Gibbons, and many others, or even had they been men of the



WILHELMINE, THE CHILD QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS.



high ambitions and broad abilities of a Richelieu, but mostly they appear to the unbiased eyes of after ages mere court politicians, fond of playing the wind-god in the causing or calming of teacup tempests.

The depravity of that long national night not only outraged morals but good taste, which, after all, is in itself a kind of rudimentary moral sense. Citation of the whole list of horrors would sicken the reader. Let one suffice. Diane de Poitiers, who ruled France through Henry II., began her career as the mistress of his father.

The vileness of the House of Valois has passed into a proverb. Compared with the princes of that stock, Henry VIII. of England shines forth as rather a gentleman, somewhat uncertain as to the state of his affections, no doubt, and with a peculiarly adjusted conscience, but still with a faint possibility of human nature lurking somewhere amid his catalogue of enormities.

When he committed a crime, he tried to convert it into a virtue by some regal or legal alchemy. Thus he paid at least a certain inverted homage to an ideal of right dimly recognized by him in others' natures, if not in his own.

None of the French princes would have troubled themselves to have invented a new church, as did Henry VIII. of England, for the sake of securing a divorce from a mere wife of state whom they had ceased to care for. They would simply have seized the other woman whom they happened to desire and bent her or broken her to their bestial will.

About this time a great woman ruled in Spain jointly with her husband, Ferdinand, consolidating the two houses of Arragon and Castile. Isabella, it must be admitted, had probably some of the bad qualities of her race, who have been styled by one rather partisan historian the most tigerish family of monarchs that ever ruled in Castile.

That Isabella permitted the dreadful Inquisition must probably remain a stain on her fame, but that she treated brutally her daughter is rather hard to believe when collated with the fact that she was indignant at the cruelties practised on the newly discovered Indians by her subjects in the New World.

The attempt has been made by some English writers to take

from Isabella the credit of having pawned her jewels to defray the expenses of Columbus in his expedition to discover America. But Mary A. Livermore, whose public and private utterances, whether of opinion or of fact, are marked by accuracy and modesty, says on this point: —

“If there is one historic statement more clearly proved than that Isabella pledged her jewels for the funds for Columbus' first expedition, I have yet to learn it. To be sure, Luis Santangel furnished the funds from the finances of the ecclesiastical treasury of Arragon of which he was treasurer, but the jewels of Isabella were the collateral security pledged for the payment.

“Harriet Hosmer is now in Rome making an heroic statue of Isabella to commemorate that event. She spent months in studying every detail of Isabella's history, in Spain and in Rome. She is convinced of the truth of the story, and is making her statue for the World's Fair, representing Isabella offering her jewels to Columbus.”

Feminine domination in Europe reached its climax in the time from 1550 to 1600. The Marys in England and Scotland, and the infamous Catherine de Medici in France, from 1559 to 1589, earned the title of being the crowned curses of kingdoms.

To corrupt the morals of her own sons, and to influence one of them to commit the monstrous crime and blunder of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, shows the bad eminence of Catherine's character. How the cause of the Catholic Church has suffered by such champions as Mary Stuart and Catherine de Medici it is easy to see.

But in England the star of woman's political influence began to shine with a light less lurid, less blood-red and flame-red than the fires of Smithfield that had provoked stout John Knox, lurking in safe obscurity at Dieppe, to blow forth to the public his “First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,” which opened in clear, unmistakable tones: —

“To promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire above any realme, nation or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equitie and justice.”

Later, on the ascension of England's throne by Elizabeth, who became a stanch prop of the Protestant cause more from policy, possibly, than real belief, John Knox, compromising a little with his conscience, perhaps, tried to soften somewhat the roughness of that "First Blast." But it still rings true as expressive of what a tolerably good man must have felt at the spectacle then presented by the crowned women of the world.

Elizabeth, the greatest of England's queens, had all the national failings and some of the national vices emphasized in her personal character. The vanity of the average Englishman which the average American has inherited in part if not in whole, that makes him believe his race and nation the finest under the sun, was a conspicuous characteristic of good Queen Bess.

That she was also capable of easy lying and that strong oaths came naturally to her quick lips full of Plantagenet temper seems beyond a reasonable doubt. Yet we must remember in our judging that lying in courts and in the management of politics is not called lying but diplomacy, and Elizabeth, very likely, was early taught this poor trick as the A B C of statesmanship.

The inherited intensity of the woman's nature was thwarted by her determination, for the sake of her people, to live unmarried, and thus natural forces turned inward soured her and emphasized her eccentricities. The closeness of her grandfather, the miser king, re-appeared in many of her monetary dealings, but it is hardly believable that her niggardliness caused her, as has been charged, to give rotten bread to the gallant seamen who drove off the Spanish Armada.

Mary A. Livermore, who has made especial study of this English queen, and who was assisted in her lecture on Elizabeth by books and manuscripts in the British Museum, which no one is allowed to remove, and who, before rewriting her lecture amid these venerable archives, had already written it four times,—such is the patience and fidelity of those who aim at accuracy—puts her valuable opinion of this great woman in government in these vivid words:—

The English people adore Elizabeth. She founded the English nation. It was a heterogeneous collection of agriculturists when she

ascended the throne. She was two hundred years ahead of her time and would have given entire and perfect religious freedom, had it been safe. She held England firmly in her hand for thirty years and would not allow it to go to war, knowing that the development of a nation must come from *within* if it is to grow.

Elizabeth had no extravagant court-follies, no costly sensualities, no wasting wars which disheartened the people, cut the sinews of national strength, and sowed the seeds of future revolution.

All her expenses for palaces, processions, journeys, carriages, servants dresses, everything averaged only \$325,000 a year, while Louis XIV., Le Grand Monarque, spent £40,000,000 on one palace alone. Her flirtations and coquetries were a part of her state policy, and her determination never to marry was the outcome of her great ambition to make England a nation.

The rule of Louis XIV. in France was remarkable for a change in appearances, though not in realities at the French Court. The lady who managed this monarch, Madame de Maintenon, believed herself to be devout in spite of the peculiar position forced upon her by a more or less grim destiny.

Therefore the fiat went forth that piety and rigidity of conduct were to be the fashion at court; but while this madame was mistress of affairs, 300,000 exiles of the best heart and brain of France also went forth to other lands rather than risk the persecutions which a superstitious woman, anxious to compound for her own sins by punishing those of others, might take a fancy to inflict.

Throughout this reign a semblance of decency was kept up by the aristocrats, who, to their credit be it said, chafed under the hypocrisy of their daily lives and longed for the day when Madame de Maintenon's power should be over.

When that day came and Louis lay in state, harmless at last, the French nobility commenced that crazy whirl of cruel lust through the patient eighteenth century which was to end only with the guillotine, and the awakening of the common people.

The reign of that pious sinner, de Maintenon, gave way to that of de Parabère who controlled the policy of the Regent. The next Louis was only a symbol of a man, a sort of vivified marionette whose strings were pulled at merest whim by Madame la

Marquise de Pompadour, whose style of wearing the hair is even yet not entirely gone out of fashion.

She it was who made Louis sign the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, because she could not trust him alone with the army. Not long after, against the counsel of his ministers, she forced the foolish Louis into the Seven Years' War to punish Frederick the Great for some coarse jokes he had made about her.

Like Aspasia, she affected literature and sought the friendship of Voltaire, that incarnate sneer. But of the doctrines of the social philosophers, who belonged to the magic circle of which Voltaire was the central point, she was supremely ignorant.

When some of those who saw (or thought they saw, like men to-day, who see similar signs) below the smooth surface of the times, and heard the rumbling thunder in the heart of the mountain, told this Queen of Caprice and Paris what troubles were at hand, she laughed their solemn words away and said, "*Après nous le déluge!*" "After us let the deluge come then!"

It came like the lava-flood on that laughter-loving city of the South — like that outbreak of Vesuvius which is hinted at in our illustration of fugitive women watching, in a pause of their flight, the fiery cloud breathed out by the angry mountain.

It came, and the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, who was the first thoroughly good woman in nearly two hundred years to have a hand in directing the statecraft of womanized France, was drowned in la Pompadour's deluge. The vengeance of a people long oppressed, like the rain of God, fell from that cloudy heaven on the just and unjust. The glorious Revolution swept away impartially chaste queen and royal courtesan. The reign of the common people had begun.

During that eighteenth century the power of woman in France and her grasp on government were matched by similar conditions among other nations. The first Bourbon King of Spain, grandson of Louis XIV. of France, for nearly fifty years was ruled by his wife, Elizabeth Farnese and her Jesuit Confessor, which pair, with the best of intentions, contrived to complete the ruin of Spain.

In England Queen Anne, a rather stupid woman, managed to steer the ship of state with tolerable success by selecting clever

ministers. After her, Caroline, wife of George II., shared with Walpole the government of England, her husband believing to the day of his death that he was not a woman-ruled monarch like his



MARY A. LIVERMORE.

neighbors of France and Spain. In Austria, Maria Theresa made a gallant attempt at maintaining her rights and enlisted the sympathy of the Hungarian Diet.

"Holy" Russia, too, for sixty-seven years of the eighteenth century suffered from a set of crowned courtesans to whom far worse words than John Knox put forth in his "Blast" could be justly applied. Catharine I., Anne, Elizabeth, and Catharine II. hardly seem to be modern women, but rather hideous nightmares of some historian's dream. The present Empress of Russia, whose picture adorns these pages, must not be confounded with those

brazen horrors. Her placid beauty is a shadow of the kind and placid soul which animates her slightest actions.

In our brief survey of the part woman has played in government, we arrive now at the nineteenth century, which was the first to witness on any large scale the dawn of democracy in the modern world, and in this, our century, we find few women very conspicuously or actively engaged in managing the affairs of nations.

Perhaps the most striking figure is the Dowager Empress of China, who for twenty-five years has influenced the daily destinies of 450,000,000 of people, and in curious contrast with this mysterious old lady in Asia is the Baby Queen of the Netherlands, whose innocent face is like so many girl faces in many a humble home.

One who has read Hollandish history cannot help feeling as if the queenhood of this little Wilhelmine were casting backward a forgiving beam of gentleness over the crimes and follies of the House of Orange, and at the same time throwing forward a gleam of promise for the future.

In England the long and well-balanced life of Victoria has wiped away the memories of the disgraceful days of the last George, and by easy stages of popular expansion has paved the way for a republican government in the days soon to come. But the crowned wives of this century, while they escape censure in comparison with the past, are not the best real specimens of women in government.

The real queens of this epoch, springing from the ranks of the people, and demanding merely that homage which moral grace, subserved by intellectual power, must finally obtain, are to be found in many a quiet home, in many a land, helping their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons, to make this world just a little better and younger every day.

## Semi-Military Constitutional Monarchy.

**A**S one wanders through the galleries of Versailles, drinking in the beauty of the surroundings, now looking at the paintings where the history of France is represented by battle scenes from the earliest struggles of the Gaul down to recent campaigns in the Crimea and Italy, and then gazing on the wonderful fountains of Apollo, with the Trianon seen through the leaves, full of memories of Marie Antoinette, what visions of history more vivid and exciting than any romance rise in the mind — what memories of great sovereigns, who, raising France to the highest pitch of glory and influence, were, by the very means they employed for such ends, the cause of her subsequent fall and humiliation!

First Louis XIV., *le Grand Monarque*, whose extravagance in building this palace impoverished France and helped to bring his descendant to the guillotine, filled its walls with pictures commemorating the victories won by Prince Condé and Marshal Turenne, then saw his hopes of further conquests end at Blenheim. Then came the Corsican Bonaparte, who with his marshals at first found Europe too small for their conquering armies. But after Austerlitz and Jena came Waterloo, and the first empire and its glories faded out on that fatal field.

Finally Napoleon III. plays his brief part, and after Magenta, Solferino, and the Malakoff comes Sedan, and his empire vanishes



into history; for a third time, after a short period of martial intoxication, France begs for mercy at the hands of the victorious German.

Of all the striking historical events these palace walls have witnessed, that one of January 18, 1871, was the most dramatic in its completion of a people's desire, its consummation of the hopes of patriots and statesmen for many centuries: the unification of Germany under one strong power. On that day, already celebrated in the annals of Prussia as the one on which, in 1701, its first king, Frederic I., was crowned at Königsberg, King William, passing between lines of German soldiery representing the various nations of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the smaller principalities, entered the famous *Gallerie des Glaces*, and standing under a picture of Louis XIV. faced as proud and triumphant an assembly of men as ever gathered about a leader.

Behind him were ranged six hundred battle flags from his regiments. At his right hand stood the Crown Prince, then the picture of health and the promise of long life. Ranged beside him right and left were the kings, princes, and reigning powers of Germany, statesmen, delegates from the North German Confederative parliament, such as the speaker, Herr Simson, who came in the name of that parliament to offer the imperial crown, and who in 1848 made the same proffer to the brother of the present king, and representatives from the free towns, and the leading officers of his victorious armies.

As the old king, whose military career began with fighting against the first Napoleon, saw himself supported by such a statesman as Bismarck, soldiers like Von Moltke and Von Roon, his soldier son and heir, Fritz, and his brilliant nephew, Frederick Charles, the "*Red Prince*," he must have felt that his kingdom was founded on a rock, even if the proclamation making him Emperor seemed like a dream. After the acceptance by the king of the imperial dignity, Bismarck, whose clear brain and iron will had made this scene possible, read the following document in a strong, clear voice vibrant with personal, as well as national, triumph: —

We, William, by God's grace King of Prussia, hereby announce that the German princes and free towns having addressed to us a unanimous call to renew and undertake with the re-establishment of the German

Empire the dignity of Emperor, which now for sixty years has been in abeyance, and the requisite provisions having been inserted in the Constitution of the German Confederation, we regard it as a duty we owe to the entire Fatherland to comply with this call of the united German princes and free towns, and to accept the dignity of Emperor.

Accordingly, we and our successors to the crown of Prussia henceforth shall use the imperial title in all the relations and affairs of the German Empire, and we hope to God that it may be vouchsafed to the German nation to lead the Fatherland on to a blessed future, under the auspices of its ancient splendor.

May God grant to us and to our successors to the imperial crown that we may be the defenders of the German Empire at all times, not in martial conquests, but in works of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom, and civilization.

When the reading was over the Grand Duke of Baden stepped forward and cried:—"Long live the German Emperor William!" This cry was taken up by the assembly, who then advanced and did homage to the new Kaiser, while the soldiers outside carried on the cry, and the cannon of Mount Valérien, ever firing, grumbled in the distance, as if the Gaul muttered curses on what he could not prevent. So to the popular mind of Germany the old legend came true that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who with his knights lay bound in enchanted sleep in the mountains of Bavaria, would come to life again and restore the German Empire.

The Constitution of this empire, formed by blood and iron, bears date April 16, 1871. By its terms all the states of Germany (twenty-five in number) "form an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people." The legislative functions of the empire are vested in the Emperor, the Bundesrath, and the Reichstag. The supreme direction of military and political affairs of the empire is vested in the King of Prussia, who bears the name of *Deutscher Kaiser*, or German Emperor. The imperial dignity is hereditary in the line of Hohenzollern, and follows the law of primogeniture.

The executive power is in the Emperor's hands. He represents the empire internationally, can declare war *if defensive*, make peace as well as enter into treaties with other nations; he

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The executive power is in the Emperor's hands. He represents the empire internationally, can declare war *if defensive*, make peace as well as enter into treaties with other nations; he

also appoints and receives ambassadors, but for declaring offensive war the consent of the Bundesrath is necessary. The separate states have the privilege of sending ambassadors to the other courts, but all consuls abroad are officials of the empire, and are named by the Emperor.

This upper house of the legislative body, styled the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, represents the individual states of Germany like the Senate of the United States. It comprises fifty-eight members, who are appointed by the governments of the individual states for each session. The apportionment is not equal for each state, following the analogy of the United States Senate, but is according to population. All the members of the Bundesrath, whose presiding officer is the Chancellor of the Empire, have the right to be present at the deliberations of the Reichstag.

Acting under the direction of the chancellor, the Bundesrath has a supreme and consultative board, and as such has twelve standing committees : —

Army and fortifications; naval; tariff, trade and taxes; trade and commerce; railways, posts, and telegraphs; civil and criminal law; financial accounts; foreign affairs; Alsace and Lorraine; constitution; standing orders; railway tariffs.

Each committee consists of representatives of at least four states of the empire; but the foreign affairs committee includes only the representatives of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, and two other representatives to be elected every year.

The other body called the Reichstag, corresponding to the United States House of Representatives, is comprised of 397 members (about one to every 118,000 inhabitants) who are elected by universal suffrage for five years. Both the Bundesrath and Reichstag meet in annual session convoked by the Emperor. The Emperor has the right, after a vote by the Bundesrath, to prorogue and dissolve the Reichstag.

Without the consent of the Reichstag, the prorogation may not exceed thirty days, while in case of dissolution new elections must take place within sixty days — and a new session must open in ninety days. The Reichstag is presided over by an officer elected by its own members. All laws of the empire must receive







COLOSSAL STATUES OF THE GENII OF WAR AND PEACE AT MUNICH.





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the votes of an absolute majority of the Bundesrath and Reichstag, and to take effect must receive the assent of the Emperor, and be countersigned when promulgated by the chancellor of the empire.

As regards its legislative functions the empire has supreme and independent control in matters relating to military affairs and the navy, to the imperial finances, German commerce, to posts and telegraphs, and also to railways, as far as these affect the common defence of the country. Bavaria and Würtemberg, however, have preserved their own postal and telegraphic administration.

The legislative power of the empire takes precedence of that of the separate states in the regulation of matters affecting freedom of migration, domicile, settlement, and the rights of German subjects generally, also everything relating to banking, patents, copyrights, navigation of rivers and canals, civil and criminal legislation, judicial procedure, sanitary police, and control of the press and of associations.

These officers of state, or imperial secretaries, do not form a ministry or cabinet as in Great Britain where the members come into office or leave it with the prime minister, but act independently of each other, and are under the general supervision of the chancellor. They are classified thus:

1. Chancellor of the empire.
2. Ministry for foreign affairs.
3. Imperial home office.
4. Imperial admiralty.
5. Imperial ministry of justice.
6. Imperial treasury.

Also presidents of imperial bureaux:

1. Post-office.
2. Railways.
3. Exchequer.
4. Invalid Fund.
5. Bank.
6. Debt Commission.

The various states of Germany are represented as follows in the Bundesrath and Reichstag: —

STATES OF THE EMPIRE		Number of Members in Bundesrath.	Number of Deputies in Reichstag.
1	Kingdom of Prussia.....	17	236
2	„ „ Bavaria .....	6	48
3	„ „ Würtemberg .....	4	17
4	„ „ Saxony .....	4	23
5	Grand Duchy of Baden.....	3	14
6	„ „ „ Mecklenburg-Schwerin.....	2	6
7	„ „ „ Hesse.....	3	9
8	„ „ „ Oldenburg.....	1	3
9	„ „ „ Saxe-Weimar.....	1	3
10	„ „ „ Mecklenburg-Strelitz.....	1	1
11	Duchy of Brunswick .....	2	3
12	„ „ Saxe-Meiningen .....	1	2
13	„ „ Anhalt .....	1	2
14	„ „ Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.....	1	2
15	„ „ Saxe-Altenburg.....	1	1
16	Principality of Waldeck.....	1	1
17	„ „ Lippe.....	1	1
18	„ „ Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.....	1	1
19	„ „ Schwarzburg-Sondershausen..	1	1
20	„ „ Reuss-Schleiz .....	1	1
21	„ „ Schaumburg-Lippe.....	1	1
22	„ „ Reuss-Greiz.....	1	1
23	Free Town of Hamburg.....	1	3
24	„ „ „ Lübeck.....	1	1
25	„ „ „ Bremen.....	1	1
..	Reichsland of Alsace and Lorraine.....	....	15
		58	397

Alsace and Lorraine are represented in the Bundesrath by four commissioners without votes.

This Constitution bears the impress of the master hand of Bismarck, and after the one formed by the fathers of the American Republic is the greatest piece of statecraft of the age and is like the latter in many respects, although the means given for the people to express themselves are few. It was hardly to be expected that the full measure of freedom in this particular would come at once, for the chief aim was to vest in the Emperor as much executive power for war as possible.

To realize the different threads which were woven together to make this new German Empire, one needs to read the proclamation carefully. In it the empire is spoken of as *restored* after being in abeyance sixty years, therefore, historically, the German Kaiser is the successor of Charlemagne, Otho the Great, Frederick Barbarossa, Charles V., and Francis II. who abdicated in 1806 in obedience to Napoleon.

In this new empire Austria has no longer a position, and for the first time the reigning house is Protestant in religion and is no longer elective. These facts represent the culmination of years of war and diplomacy and the wasting of thousands of lives on the battlefield. The free cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, although incorporated in this empire, preserve their local rights or republics, the same as the little republic of San Marino does in the kingdom of Italy, and the rights of the petty princes and dukes are carefully guarded so that relics of feudalism still survive.

So we see the feudal rights of the petty princes, the kingly offices of Saxony, Würtemberg, and Bavaria granted them by Napoleon I., and the democratic privileges of the free cities all preserved and welded together as if by the hammer of Thor. The empire firmly established, reforms were quickly inaugurated. The post-office, railways, and telegraphs were nationalized, although Bavaria and Würtemberg retain control over their own systems.

A uniform system of currency was adopted on a gold standard, based upon the *mark*, approximate value of which in United States currency is twenty-five cents.

100 Pfennige = mark	} silver.	5 marks = Halbe-Krone	} gold.
3 marks = Thaler		10 " = Krone	
		20 " = Doppel-Krone	

A uniform code of commercial and criminal law was adopted, but not of civil. The appointment of judges is also a state and not an imperial function. The Constitution provides for entire liberty of conscience and for complete equality among all religious confessions. The order of Jesuits, however, is interdicted in all parts of the empire, also all convents and religious orders, except those for nursing the sick. Education is general and compulsory, and every German is liable to service in the army with no substitution allowed.

The approval of the Kaiser must be obtained to all appointments, and nothing affecting the superior direction of the troops of any state can be done without his consent. With the exception of Bavaria, all German troops must swear the oath of fealty to the Emperor, and that is imposed upon the Bavarians in time of

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into history; for a third time, after a short period of martial intoxication, France begs for mercy at the hands of the victorious German.

Of all the striking historical events these palace walls have witnessed, that one of January 18, 1871, was the most dramatic in its completion of a people's desire, its consummation of the hopes of patriots and statesmen for many centuries: the unification of Germany under one strong power. On that day, already celebrated in the annals of Prussia as the one on which, in 1701, its first king, Frederic I., was crowned at Königsberg, King William, passing between lines of German soldiery representing the various nations of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the smaller principalities, entered the famous *Galerie des Glaces*, and standing under a picture of Louis XIV. faced as proud and triumphant an assembly of men as ever gathered about a leader.

Behind him were ranged six hundred battle flags from his regiments. At his right hand stood the Crown Prince, then the picture of health and the promise of long life. Ranged beside him right and left were the kings, princes, and reigning powers of Germany, statesmen, delegates from the North German Confederative parliament, such as the speaker, Herr Simson, who came in the name of that parliament to offer the imperial crown, and who in 1848 made the same proffer to the brother of the present king, and representatives from the free towns, and the leading officers of his victorious armies.

As the old king, whose military career began with fighting against the first Napoleon, saw himself supported by such a statesman as Bismarck, soldiers like Von Moltke and Von Roon, his soldier son and heir, Fritz, and his brilliant nephew, Frederick Charles, the "*Red Prince*," he must have felt that his kingdom was founded on a rock, even if the proclamation making him Emperor seemed like a dream. After the acceptance by the king of the imperial dignity, Bismarck, whose clear brain and iron will had made this scene possible, read the following document in a strong, clear voice vibrant with personal, as well as national, triumph: —

We, William, by God's grace King of Prussia, hereby announce that the German princes and free towns having addressed to us a unanimous call to renew and undertake with the re-establishment of the German

Empire the dignity of Emperor, which now for sixty years has been in abeyance, and the requisite provisions having been inserted in the Constitution of the German Confederation, we regard it as a duty we owe to the entire Fatherland to comply with this call of the united German princes and free towns, and to accept the dignity of Emperor.

Accordingly, we and our successors to the crown of Prussia henceforth shall use the imperial title in all the relations and affairs of the German Empire, and we hope to God that it may be vouchsafed to the German nation to lead the Fatherland on to a blessed future, under the auspices of its ancient splendor.

May God grant to us and to our successors to the imperial crown that we may be the defenders of the German Empire at all times, not in martial conquests, but in works of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom, and civilization.

When the reading was over the Grand Duke of Baden stepped forward and cried: —“Long live the German Emperor William!” This cry was taken up by the assembly, who then advanced and did homage to the new Kaiser, while the soldiers outside carried on the cry, and the cannon of Mount Valérien, ever firing, grumbled in the distance, as if the Gaul muttered curses on what he could not prevent. So to the popular mind of Germany the old legend came true that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who with his knights lay bound in enchanted sleep in the mountains of Bavaria, would come to life again and restore the German Empire.

The Constitution of this empire, formed by blood and iron, bears date April 16, 1871. By its terms all the states of Germany (twenty-five in number) “form an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people.” The legislative functions of the empire are vested in the Emperor, the Bundesrath, and the Reichstag. The supreme direction of military and political affairs of the empire is vested in the King of Prussia, who bears the name of *Deutscher Kaiser*, or German Emperor. The imperial dignity is hereditary in the line of Hohenzollern, and follows the law of primogeniture.

The executive power is in the Emperor's hands. He represents the empire internationally, can declare war *if defensive*, make peace as well as enter into treaties with other nations; he



also appoints and receives ambassadors, but for declaring offensive war the consent of the Bundesrath is necessary. The separate states have the privilege of sending ambassadors to the other courts, but all consuls abroad are officials of the empire, and are named by the Emperor.

This upper house of the legislative body, styled the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, represents the individual states of Germany like the Senate of the United States. It comprises fifty-eight members, who are appointed by the governments of the individual states for each session. The apportionment is not equal for each state, following the analogy of the United States Senate, but is according to population. All the members of the Bundesrath, whose presiding officer is the Chancellor of the Empire, have the right to be present at the deliberations of the Reichstag.

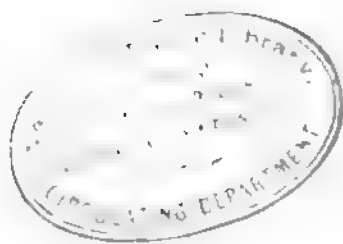
Acting under the direction of the chancellor, the Bundesrath has a supreme and consultative board, and as such has twelve standing committees : —

Army and fortifications; naval; tariff, trade and taxes; trade and commerce; railways, posts, and telegraphs; civil and criminal law; financial accounts; foreign affairs; Alsace and Lorraine; constitution; standing orders; railway tariffs.

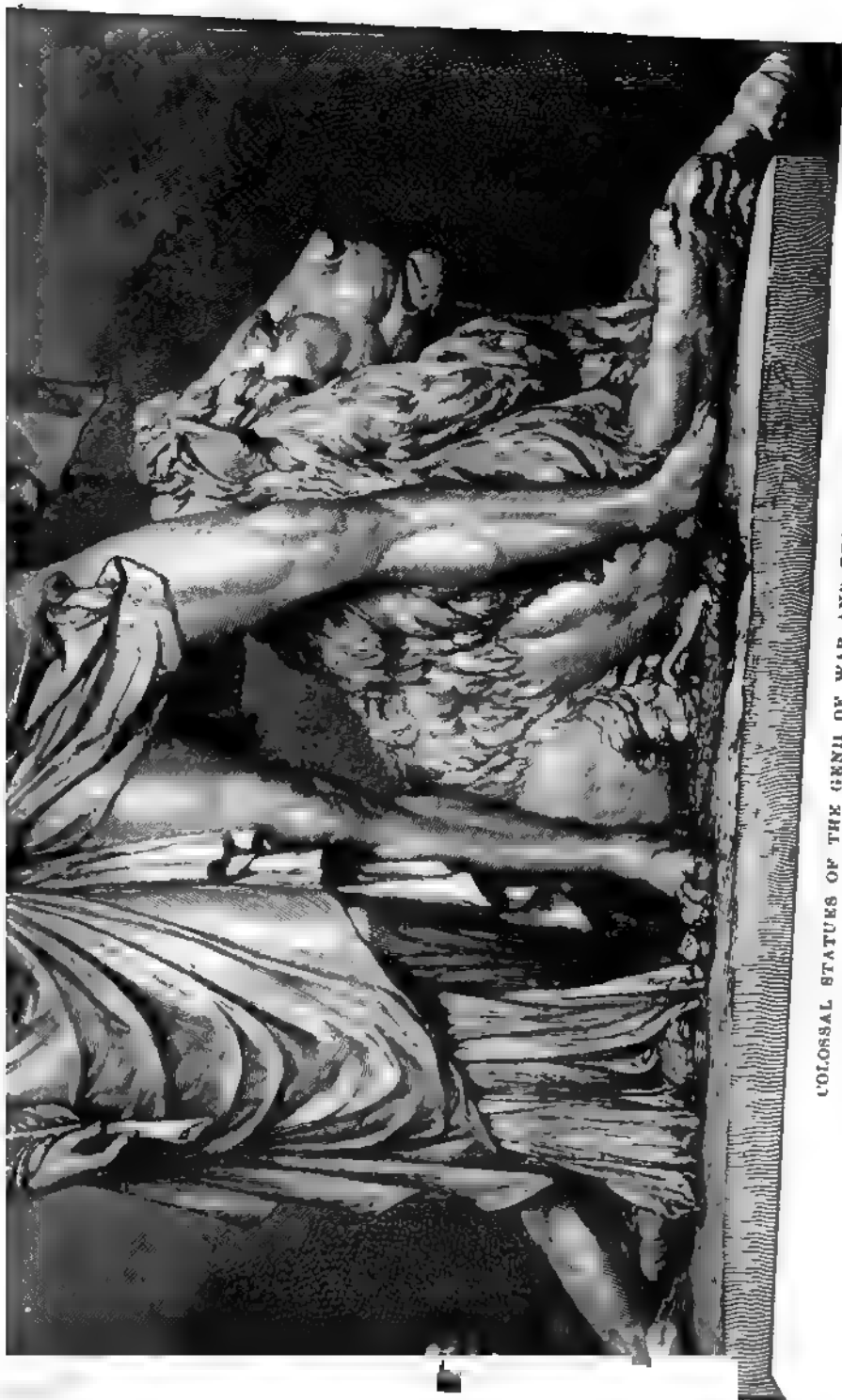
Each committee consists of representatives of at least four states of the empire; but the foreign affairs committee includes only the representatives of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, and two other representatives to be elected every year.

The other body called the Reichstag, corresponding to the United States House of Representatives, is comprised of 397 members (about one to every 118,000 inhabitants) who are elected by universal suffrage for five years. Both the Bundesrath and Reichstag meet in annual session convoked by the Emperor. The Emperor has the right, after a vote by the Bundesrath, to prorogue and dissolve the Reichstag.

Without the consent of the Reichstag, the prorogation may not exceed thirty days, while in case of dissolution new elections must take place within sixty days — and a new session must open within ninety days. The Reichstag is presided over by an officer elected by its own members. All laws of the empire must receive







COLOSSAL STATUES OF THE GENII OF WAR AND PEACE AT MUNICH.



the votes of an absolute majority of the Bundesrath and Reichstag, and to take effect must receive the assent of the Emperor, and be countersigned when promulgated by the chancellor of the empire.

As regards its legislative functions the empire has supreme and independent control in matters relating to military affairs and the navy, to the imperial finances, German commerce, to posts and telegraphs, and also to railways, as far as these affect the common defence of the country. Bavaria and Württemberg, however, have preserved their own postal and telegraphic administration.

The legislative power of the empire takes precedence of that of the separate states in the regulation of matters affecting freedom of migration, domicile, settlement, and the rights of German subjects generally, also everything relating to banking, patents, copyrights, navigation of rivers and canals, civil and criminal legislation, judicial procedure, sanitary police, and control of the press and of associations.

These officers of state, or imperial secretaries, do not form a ministry or cabinet as in Great Britain where the members come into office or leave it with the prime minister, but act independently of each other, and are under the general supervision of the chancellor. They are classified thus:

1. Chancellor of the empire.
2. Ministry for foreign affairs
3. Imperial home office.
4. Imperial admiralty.
5. Imperial ministry of justice.
6. Imperial treasury.

Also presidents of imperial bureaus:

1. Post-office.
2. Railways.
3. Exchequer.
4. Invalid Fund.
5. Bank.
6. Debt Commission.

The various states of Germany are represented as follows in the Bundesrath and Reichstag: —

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war. Every German capable of bearing arms must be in the standing army (or navy) seven years, three years in the active, and four in the reserve.

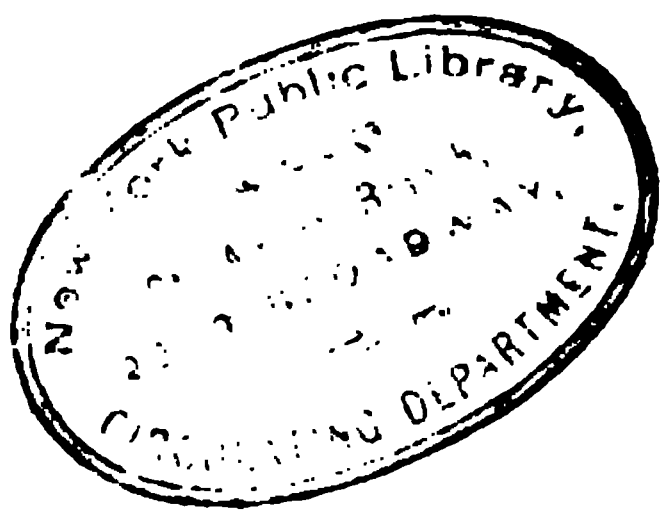
All able-bodied men between the age of seventeen and forty-five, who are neither in the standing nor reserve army, must belong to the Landsturm, which is only called out in event of invasion of Germany. The peace footing of the imperial army is: officers, 20,440; men, 491,217; horses, 93,908. War footing: —

	FIELD ARMY.			Garrison Army.	Grand Total.
	Active.	Reserve Landwehr.	Total.		
Officers.....	22,377	9,536	31,913	16,209	48,122
Surgeons.....	4,247	1,300	5,547	2,053	7,602
Other Officials.....	7,928	1,933	9,861	3,096	12,957
Rank and File.....	942,408	354,915	1,297,323	868,627	2,165,950
Horses.....	280,472	72,963	353,435	86,324	439,759
Field Guns.....	2,028	648	2,676	882	3,558
Other Carriages.....	40,081	9,872	49,953	8,763	58,716

To this must be added the railway staff and Landsturm, so at the last extremity Germany would have a war strength of not less than 3,000,000 trained men. As for naval strength, Germany has 28 ironclad ships, of which 16 are for coast defence. She has other war ships, bringing her total to 77 ships, 511 guns, 18,051 men, and 132 torpedo boats.

With two exceptions, the German states have constitutional forms of government, most of these wrung from their rulers since the time of the First Napoleon. Carefully as the rights of the individual states are preserved, the steady growth of a national spirit will inevitably fuse these various German states into one compact nation like England or France. In a few years Bavaria, Saxony, or Hanover probably will no more think of any separation of interests than do the provinces of Brittany, Burgundy, or Normandy, in France to-day.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The empire is bounded by the North Sea (293 miles), Denmark (47 miles), and the Baltic (927 miles). On the east by Russia (with Poland) (843 miles). South by Austria (1,403 miles) and Switzerland (256 miles). On the west by France (242 miles), Luxemburg (111 miles), Belgium (70 miles), and Holland (377 miles). Its area is 208,738 square miles, and population (census 1890) 49,416,476. Of this, 3,223,500 belong to other nationalities than German, such as Wends, Slavs, Poles, Danes, and French.







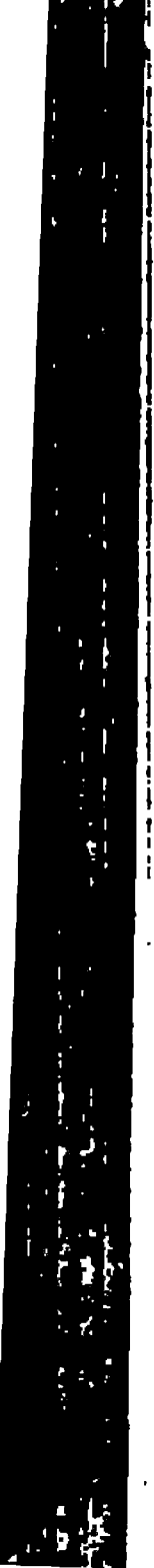
BRUNHILD RECOGNIZING HER RIVAL, GUTHRUN, AT THE SIDE OF SIEGFRIED.





THE WOMAN REMINISCING HER RIVA, GENOVA, AT THE MUSE OF ST. MARK'S.





To understand the historical growth of this Empire we must go back before the Christian era. The Germanic tribes are branches of the great Teutonic race, who are supposed to have followed the Kelts in their movement westward, both starting from the common Aryan origin in Asia. Teutons, spreading westward and as far north as Norway and Sweden, were checked by the Gaulish Kelts near the Rhine, and settled in Central Europe, about the rivers flowing north, such as the Spree, Elbe, and Oder. Of this epoch the history clouds into fable and through the mists of this border-land of fact heroic figures loom — figures which the genius of German poets and especially of the mighty poet-musician, Wagner, have made luminous with solemn, haunting beauty. One of these early regal tragedies of love and jealousy is delineated in our picture of Brunhild recognizing Guthrun at the side of Siegfried.

The earliest authentic reference to these Teutons is that of Pythias, the Greek sailor, who found himself laughed at on his return, 300 B. C., from the coast of the Baltic Sea, for speaking of the amber he found there, the rise and fall of the tides, and the barbarians about the Vistula River clad scantily in skins and armed with clubs. Later, in the year 113 B. C., the dwellers in northern Italy were surprised to see an army of men, accompanied by their women and children, swarming southward through the passes of the Alps. This swarm was made up of two races, the Cimbri and Teutons, and numbered several hundred thousand. They came from the country about the North Sea, and were either driven out by other tribes or yielded to that migratory instinct always strong in the Teutonic races. They were a large-sized,



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STATES OF THE EMPIRE.		Number of Members in Bundesrath.	Number of Deputies in Reichstag.
1	Kingdom of Prussia.....	17	236
2	„ „ Bavaria .....	6	48
3	„ „ Württemberg .....	4	17
4	„ „ Saxony .....	4	23
5	Grand Duchy of Baden.....	3	14
6	„ „ „ Mecklenburg-Schwerin.....	2	6
7	„ „ „ Hesse.....	3	9
8	„ „ „ Oldenburg.....	1	3
9	„ „ „ Saxe-Weimar.....	1	3
10	„ „ „ Mecklenburg-Strelitz.....	1	1
11	Duchy of Brunswick .....	2	3
12	„ „ Saxe-Meiningen .....	1	2
13	„ „ Anhalt .....	1	2
14	„ „ Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.....	1	2
15	„ „ Saxe-Altenburg.....	1	1
16	Principality of Waldeck.....	1	1
17	„ „ Lippe.....	1	1
18	„ „ Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.....	1	1
19	„ „ Schwarzburg-Sondershausen..	1	1
20	„ „ Reuss-Schleiz .....	1	1
21	„ „ Schaumburg-Lippe.....	1	1
22	„ „ Reuss-Greiz .....	1	1
23	Free Town of Hamburg.....	1	3
24	„ „ „ Lübeck.....	1	1
25	„ „ „ Bremen.....	1	1
..	Reichsland of Alsace and Lorraine.....	....	15
		58	397

Alsace and Lorraine are represented in the Bundesrath by four commissioners without votes.

This Constitution bears the impress of the master hand of Bismarck, and after the one formed by the fathers of the American Republic is the greatest piece of statecraft of the age and is like the latter in many respects, although the means given for the people to express themselves are few. It was hardly to be expected that the full measure of freedom in this particular would come at once, for the chief aim was to vest in the Emperor as much executive power for war as possible.

To realize the different threads which were woven together to make this new German Empire, one needs to read the proclamation carefully. In it the empire is spoken of as *restored* after being in abeyance sixty years, therefore, historically, the German Kaiser is the successor of Charlemagne, Otho the Great, Frederick Barbarossa, Charles V., and Francis II. who abdicated in 1806 in obedience to Napoleon.

In this new empire Austria has no longer a position, and for the first time the reigning house is Protestant in religion and is no longer elective. These facts represent the culmination of years of war and diplomacy and the wasting of thousands of lives on the battlefield. The free cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, although incorporated in this empire, preserve their local rights or republics, the same as the little republic of San Marino does in the kingdom of Italy, and the rights of the petty princes and dukes are carefully guarded so that relics of feudalism still survive.

So we see the feudal rights of the petty princes, the kingly offices of Saxony, Würtemberg, and Bavaria granted them by Napoleon I., and the democratic privileges of the free cities all preserved and welded together as if by the hammer of Thor. The empire firmly established, reforms were quickly inaugurated. The post-office, railways, and telegraphs were nationalized, although Bavaria and Würtemberg retain control over their own systems.

A uniform system of currency was adopted on a gold standard, based upon the *mark*, approximate value of which in United States currency is twenty-five cents.

100 Pfennige = mark	} silver.	5 marks = Halbe-Krone	} gold.
3 marks = Thaler		10 " = Krone	
		20 " = Doppel-Krone	

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war. Every German capable of bearing arms must be in the standing army (or navy) seven years, three years in the active, and four in the reserve.

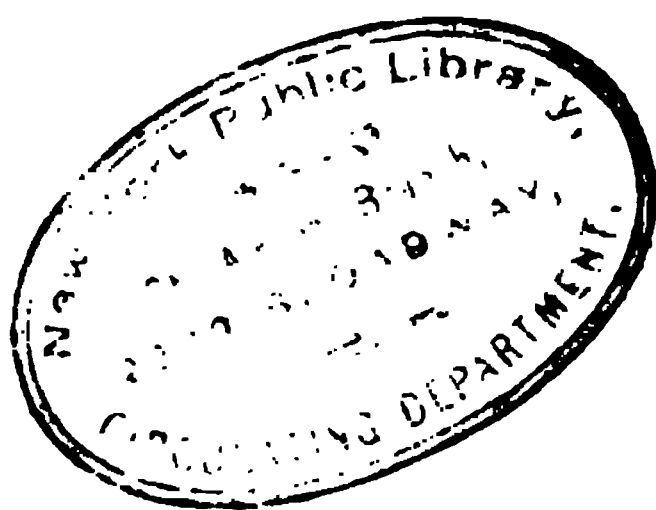
All able-bodied men between the age of seventeen and forty-five, who are neither in the standing nor reserve army, must belong to the Landsturm, which is only called out in event of invasion of Germany. The peace footing of the imperial army is: officers, 20,440; men, 491,217; horses, 93,908. War footing: —

	FIELD ARMY.			Garrison Army.	Grand Total.
	Active.	Reserve Landwehr.	Total.		
Officers.....	22,377	9,536	31,913	16,209	48,122
Surgeons.....	4,247	1,300	5,547	2,053	7,602
Other Officials.....	7,928	1,933	9,861	3,096	12,957
Rank and File.....	942,408	354,915	1,297,323	868,627	2,165,950
Horses.....	280,472	72,963	353,435	86,324	439,759
Field Guns.....	2,028	648	2,676	882	3,558
Other Carriages.....	40,081	9,872	49,953	8,763	58,716

To this must be added the railway staff and Landsturm, so at the last extremity Germany would have a war strength of not less than 3,000,000 trained men: As for naval strength, Germany has 28 ironclad ships, of which 16 are for coast defence. She has other war ships, bringing her total to 77 ships, 511 guns, 18,051 men, and 132 torpedo boats.

With two exceptions, the German states have constitutional forms of government, most of these wrung from their rulers since the time of the First Napoleon. Carefully as the rights of the individual states are preserved, the steady growth of a national spirit will inevitably fuse these various German states into one compact nation like England or France. In a few years Bavaria, Saxony, or Hanover probably will no more think of any separation of interests than do the provinces of Brittany, Burgundy, or Normandy, in France to-day.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The empire is bounded by the North Sea (293 miles). Denmark (47 miles), and the Baltic (927 miles). On the east by Russia (with Poland) (843 miles). South by Austria (1,403 miles) and Switzerland (256 miles). On the west by France (242 miles), Luxemburg (111 miles), Belgium (70 miles), and Holland (377 miles). Its area is 208,738 square miles, and population (census 1890) 49,416,476. Of this, 3,223,500 belong to other nationalities than German, such as Wends, Slavs, Poles, Danes, and French.







BRUNHILD RECOGNIZING HER RIVAL, GUTHRUN, AT THE SIDE OF SIEGFRIED.



To understand the historical growth of this Empire we must go back before the Christian era. The Germanic tribes are branches of the great Teutonic race, who are supposed to have followed the Kelts in their movement westward, both starting from the common Aryan origin in Asia. Teutons, spreading westward and as far north as Norway and Sweden, were checked by the Gaulish Kelts near the Rhine, and settled in Central Europe, about the rivers flowing north, such as the Spree, Elbe, and Oder. Of this epoch the history clouds into fable and through the mists of this border-land of fact heroic figures loom — figures which the genius of German poets and especially of the mighty poet-musician, Wagner, have made luminous with solemn, haunting beauty. One of these early regal tragedies of love and jealousy is delineated in our picture of Brunhild recognizing Guthrun at the side of Siegfried.



AN EARLY GERMAN WARRIOR.

The earliest authentic reference to these Teutons is that of Pythias, the Greek sailor, who found himself laughed at on his return, 300 B. C., from the coast of the Baltic Sea, for speaking of the amber he found there, the rise and fall of the tides, and the barbarians about the Vistula River clad scantily in skins and armed with clubs. Later, in the year 113 B. C., the dwellers in northern Italy were surprised to see an army of men, accompanied by their women and children, swarming southward through the passes of the Alps. This swarm was made up of two races, the Cimbri and Teutons, and numbered several hundred thousand. They came from the country about the North Sea, and were either driven out by other tribes or yielded to that migratory instinct always strong in the Teutonic races. They were a large-sized,

blue-eyed, red or yellow-haired race of fighters, who in a few years overthrew several Roman armies sent against them. It seemed as if Rome was to suffer a fate similar to what she endured at the hands of the Gauls under Brennus, nearly three hundred years earlier.

One characteristic of this earliest recorded Teutonic invasion was the taking of their women and children, who shared the dangers and endured the hardships with the men. This same thing occurs later in the invasion of Britain by Anglo-Saxon tribes in the fifth century; and still again in the settlement of the new world by their modern descendants, Englishmen, and the subsequent migrations westward in the United States by the same race. Marius, the Roman consul, 102 B. C., after several severe battles, defeated the Teutons in Gaul, whither they had wandered; then, hastening back to Italy where the Cimbri had remained, annihilated them. The captives made slaves by these wars afterwards revolted in Rome under the lead of Spartacus.

We next hear of the Teutons or Germans from Cæsar, 50 B. C., who, having conquered Gaul, encountered them there under their chief Ariovistus. The name German given by the Gauls to a Teutonic tribe who had crossed the Rhine, became the title of all the Teutonic tribes of a later date. Cæsar, seeing the warlike as well as migratory instinct of this race, thought Rome would best be guarded by invading their territory as he had that of the Gauls, and reducing them to submission. He drove Ariovistus and his tribe of *Suevi* over the Rhine, and soon after, by building bridges across that river at Coblenz and Bonn, invaded German territory.

In spite of the headlong valor of the tribesman, the steady discipline of the Roman legionary won the day after many a hard-fought battle. The compact formation of the legion, with the short thrust of the Roman sword, was too much for the loose array of the Germans fighting with a longer weapon. Although Cæsar annihilated some tribes he made but slight headway, and seemed little inclined to follow them into the recesses of their dark forests. He soon made peace and incorporated some of the Germans in his army, especially as cavalry, and they did great service for him later at Pharsalia, where he defeated Pompey and over-

threw the Roman republic. From this time Germans began to enlist in the Roman armies until finally they outnumbered the Romans in the legions. Cæsar, by his far-reaching vision, is credited with keeping off the invasion of Rome by these Teutonic tribes nearly four hundred years. From him and the historian Tacitus we learn where the most important of these tribes were situated, and what were their manners and customs.

Although all these tribes had a common Teutonic origin, they differed in many respects from each other; the Suevi especially having peculiar characteristics. These held no private ownership in lands, but each year changed about, holding it in common, so that no one could become so attached to a locality that he would be unwilling to go on distant forays.

The North, or Low German — for the conformation of the land divided these tribes into High and Low — owned his land to a certain extent, and cultivated it apart from the rest. The land about their primitive villages was held in common, so were the fertile pastures and the forests; but the tendency of the North German was to live apart. Several of their thatched cottages they called a village; and a number of these villages was called a *hundred*, while several *hundreds* made a *gau*, or district.

Every *hundred* had its own chief, called a prince, who was elected by the freemen of the tribe, who alone had the right to vote as well as bear arms. The chiefs of the tribes were also elected and these were called kings; while several tribes on going to war would elect one of their number, called a Hertzog, to lead them. The mass of tribesmen were freemen, and they recognized a class of nobility among them from their ancient descent, while below them were the slaves, either captured in war or freemen unable to pay their debts. The similarity between debt and slavery still exists.

Between the freemen and the slaves were another class called *Liti*, or *Leuti* (German for people) who held no land except in service of some freeman, an idea afterwards developing into the feudal system, and who bore no arms. The assemblies of the freemen took place either in March or May, as do the town meetings in New England to-day, the political offspring of these primitive *folk moot*, or *meetings*. These assemblies were held in



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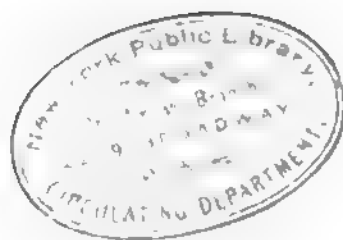
the open air in some grove during the crescent moon, where were offered sacrifices of oxen, which were eaten and washed down with huge draughts of beer and mead, while the freemen gave their opinions with perfect freedom.

In the morning those who were sober formed themselves into a circle and deliberated over the counsels of the night. The laws of hospitality were rigidly observed, and a stranger was perfectly safe in the humblest cot, even if he were charged with a crime. But he was not expected to stop longer than three days, as the saying was:— “A three days’ guest is everywhere curst.”

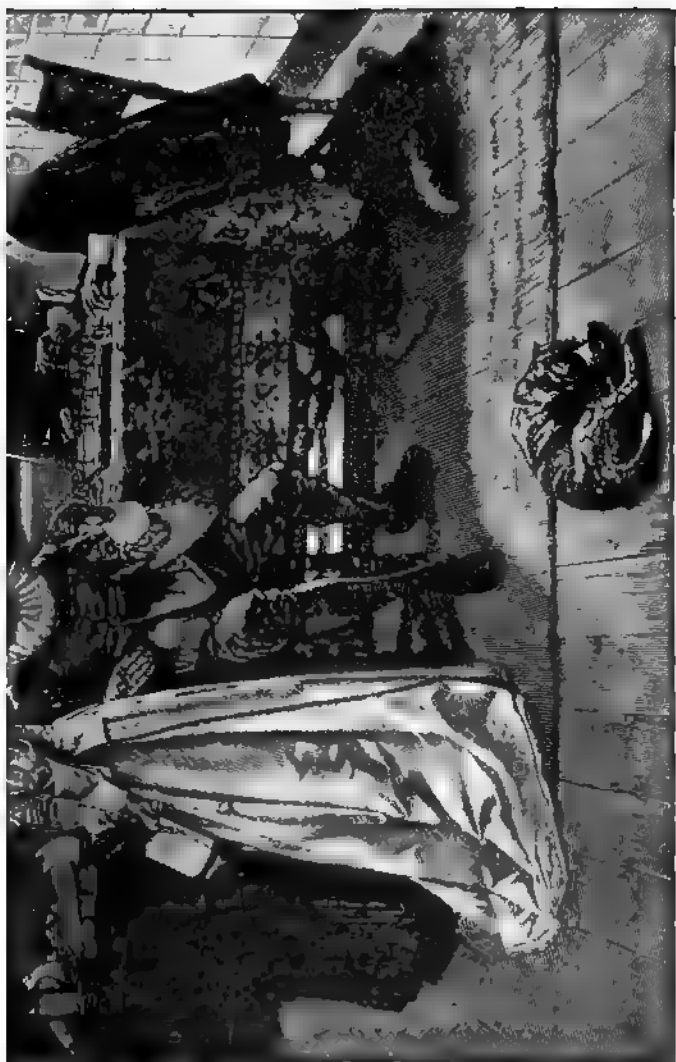
Every foreign wayfarer might pluck *three* fruits from a tree, *three* shares from a field, and *three* fish from a pond, whence came the proverb, “*Three are free.*” Their idea of Heaven, or Valhalla, where the souls of the dead fought each other all day and caroused all night, gives some indication of their general characteristics. When the Romans met them they were still a nomadic people to a great extent, and were constantly warring with each other.

Under Drusus and Germanicus the Romans carried their arms furthest into Germany, and the Rhine and the Danube were made the limits of the empire, and these two rivers were connected by a wall to prevent any sudden foray from the tribesmen. Roman traders penetrated into the depths of the forests, and along the Rhine and other rivers Roman cities sprang up, such as Cologne, Mentz, Trèves, and Ratisbon. So imminent seemed the conversion of Germany into a Roman province like Gaul that Herman, or Arminius, as the Romans called him, a chief of the tribe of the Cherusci, formed in the year 5 A. D. a league with other tribes to strike at the legions then in Germany. Varus, their commander, was told that a tribe in the Teutoberger forest had revolted, and he hastened to chastise them.

Marching through the dense woods, encumbered with heavy armor, their feet slipping in the mud caused by the heavy rains, the Romans found themselves attacked on every side by the infuriated Germans. The battle raged for several days, but at last turned against the Romans who could not form in the dense woods, and were in consequence completely annihilated with a loss of over 40,000 men. This decisive victory ensured the free-







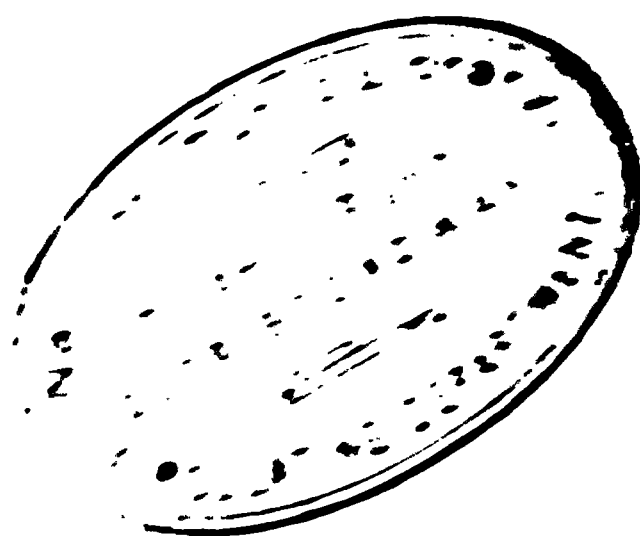
TWO GAMES — A GERMAN SCENE IN THE 17TH CENTURY.





TWO GAMES — A GERMAN SCENE IN THE 17TH CENTURY.





dom of the Germanic tribes, with the purity of their race and language, and placed Herman as one of the great leaders of the race, like Frederick the Great, and Von Moltke of later years. Its effect in Rome was appalling, and Cæsar Augustus went from room to room in his palace crying, "Varus! Varus, give me back my legions."

For two hundred years the Germans were comparatively quiet; then they began to be restless and show signs of yielding to their migratory instinct. The movement was not sudden, but came in waves at different intervals until everything Roman was submerged. The Goths were first to move, and being pressed by the Huns, a Tartar tribe from the east, left their homes along the Vistula River, crossed the Danube and settled in the Roman territory south. Becoming more powerful by fresh accessions, they finally captured Rome itself under their chief, Alaric.

Then the Burgundians, Vandals, and Alani began to move; the former settling about the river Rhone in Gaul, and mixing with the inhabitants formed the kingdom of Burgundy. The history of the Franks in Gaul interests us because in the year 800 Charlemagne, one of the successors of the original Frankish conquerors, was crowned Emperor in Rome by the Pope after his victory over the Lombards, thereby restoring the empire of the West. He was as much Emperor of the Germans as of the Franks because both countries were united under him, and by his conquests in Italy became king of the Lombards.

The Frankish kings had embraced the Trinitarian form of the Christian creed, while most of the other Teutonic tribes had embraced the Arian heresy, as the Church called it. The Saxons were still heathen, and only renounced the religion of their forefathers after over thirty years' struggle with Charlemagne. At last, their chief, Wittikind, finding resistance hopeless, was baptized and received into the Catholic faith, Charlemagne standing as his sponsor.

By the sword of the great Frankish king, and the preaching of Saint Boniface, Christianity was spread throughout Germany. From the time of this Frankish invasion of Gaul to Charlemagne the conditions of life had greatly changed among the people. Originally all were freemen who owned land and who could vote

in the assemblies, but by conquests all this was gradually altered, especially in the conquered country. Lands (in those days the only wealth) which were formerly held as allodial or belonging to one's self alone, now were held in the name of another, and rent, either in service or produce, was given for them.

On the other hand, the one holding the fee or fief was bound to protect the one holding under him, the obligation being reciprocal, and thus arose the feudal system. In those days of almost universal personal warfare protection was necessary to those who lived by farming, and so classes began to form; the lower, or serf class, who were denied the use of arms, and were obliged to cultivate the soil, and the land-holding or territorial class who lived on the former, but bore arms and protected them from others. In Germany this took slower root than elsewhere, although the original class of *Liti* were ruled on something of this plan; but the large class of freemen made the feudal system difficult to be established, and regarding certain laws of inheritance it never was as firmly founded as in other countries.

After the death of Charlemagne, 843 A. D., no one was powerful enough to hold his mighty empire together, and after years of fighting between his sons, and later his grandsons, the latter decided to divide the empire, which was done by the Treaty of Verdun. In this treaty the various chiefs made oath in their respective tongues. Louis the German, who took all the country east of the Rhine, or roughly what is now Germany, spoke in German, while Charles the Bald, who took *Francia Occidentalis* (modern France), spoke in French. Lothair, the third brother, took a long narrow strip along the left bank of the Rhine from the Alps to the sea, which he called Lotharingia (modernly Lorraine), and which was destined to prove an apple of discord forever between the other two nations.

Although this separation marks the political beginning of Germany, the various tribes were still governed by their chiefs or dukes, and spoke different dialects. Charlemagne created the archbishops of Cologne, Trèves, and Maintz, spiritual princes with power equal to the dukes, so the latter would in a measure be curbed. After the separation of Germany the descendants of Charlemagne continued on the throne, but on the cessation of line

WITIKIND, THE SAXON, RECEIVED INTO BAPTISM, WITH CHARLEMAGNE FOR SPONSOR.



in Louis III., the child, the chiefs of the various nations, or dukes, decided to elect one of themselves king.

On the death of Conrad, they chose Henry, Duke of Saxony, as king in 919, called the Fowler, because when told of his election he was found hunting. The country was in a bad state when he came to the throne, especially from the invasion of the eastern frontiers by hordes of Huns and Magyars. The eastern provinces, Bohemia and Moravia, had already been settled by Slavonic races who filled in the vacant territory made by the migration of the tribes. The Huns fought on horseback, and from their quick movements suddenly rushing to a charge, and as quickly wheeling about and returning, it was hard to beat them.

Formerly, in 451, these savage tribes had threatened to conquer Europe under their King Attila, who called himself the Scourge of God, and who devastated Europe until defeated near Chalons in Gaul. This Attila was called by the Germans Etzel, and figures in their legends of the Nibelunglied as the husband of Kriemhild. The Huns, who now fought with Henry, were settled in Hungary and were fully as fierce as the former ones under Attila. To preserve his country while he made ready to defend it Henry paid tribute to these savages until by building walled towns along the frontier in Saxony, and obliging every ninth man to dwell therein, he was in condition to resist the enemy.

The last tribute he sent was a mangy dog which, of course, was meant for an insult, and in the war following Henry was victorious and the power of the Huns broken. This was the beginning of town life among the Germans. Formerly they had hated cities, and as a rule destroyed them, but now a new era was opening. Yet, in spite of the introduction of Christianity, they were as fierce as when in former times they swore "by the deck of the ship, and the rim of the shield, by the withers of the horse, and the point of the sword."

Besides driving away the Huns, Henry invaded the country of the Wends, a Slavonic tribe, and captured their stronghold Branniber, afterwards called Brandenburg, the cradle of the modern kingdom of Prussia. Henry the Fowler's wise and energetic rule did much to consolidate the nation until succeeded by his son Otto the Great, who, after his conquests in Italy, was

crowned Emperor at Rome in 962, and then the country was committed to a policy which in the end proved to be the political ruin of both Germans and Italians.

The papacy from its hereditary dislike of the Lombards, and from fear of some Italian prince becoming too powerful, was only too glad to crown German kings as Emperors and kings of Rome and Lombardy. This alliance of Church and State sovereignties



MODERN GERMAN ARTILLERY MEN.

was destined to bear bitter fruit in the future, but now it worked advantageously to both Pope and Emperor, although the poor people were the sufferers.

The successors of Otto the Great followed in his footsteps, consolidating the conquests in Italy by repeated invasions, and spending the blood and treasure needed for the full development of their own country in this desire to hold the beautiful land of Italy in subjection, which they partially succeeded in doing for many grievous years.

This was the origin of Germany's claim to Italy, which made the latter country a battlefield for centuries whenever any power such as Spain or France wished to quarrel with Germany. This claim was never relinquished until the victory of the Prussians over Austria, at Sadowa, in 1866, forced the latter power to cede Venice to Italy, which had been the former's ally in that famous seven weeks' war.

By 1024 the kingly power passed to the ducal house of Franconia. The cities now began to rise in importance, especially those along the Rhine, which had continued from the time of the Romans with more or less smouldering vitality. The walled towns on the eastern frontier, originally harbors of refuge from the Huns, now became equally places of shelter for the oppressed serfs and peasants, crushed down by the weight of the landholding class. Learning, always in the hands of the clergy, began slowly to revive from the tremendous tidal wave of barbarism, and schools were established at Liege, Gemblowers, Paderburn, and many other places.

In this century arose another of those wavelike movements of the people of Western Europe, bent on conquest, only this time it was a reflex one from west to east, instead as formerly east to west, and they were called crusades. The Greek empire had fallen before the followers of Mahomet, and with Constantinople, passed the Holy Land with Jerusalem into the hands of the Turks and Saracens. That the Holy Sepulchre should be in the hands of unbelievers was not to be endured by the followers of the Church in Europe, and the fiery preaching of Peter the Hermit aroused all the fanatical and warlike elements there. Everything was promised to those who would enlist in the holy cause. Sins were remitted and crimes pardoned, to those who wore the red cross, and serfs became freemen.

The first crusade under Godfrey de Bouillon wrested Jerusalem from the Turks in 1096, and for the next two hundred years the arid lands of Palestine were the battle-grounds of contending hosts of infidels and Christians. In Sir Walter Scott's novel of the Talisman, is an account of the third crusade in which Richard the Lion Hearted, King of England and the crafty Philip Augustus of France, took part. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, of Ger-



COUNT MOLTKE      EMPEROR WILHELM I  
GENERAL V. BOON.      EMPEROR FREDERICK WILHELM  
THE MAKERS OF MODERN GERMANY.      PRINCE BISMARCK.



many, was the head of this invading host, but he was drowned while trying to cross one of the rivers in Syria near where Alexander the Great came near suffering the same fate.

So great was the religious fervor created by these wars, that it was one time preached that the Holy Land could only be conquered by children, and such was the madness of the times that the fifth crusade was composed of thousands of boys and girls. They attempted to reach Palestine but were captured by pirates, and few of the original number ever returned. When these devastating wars ceased, it is estimated that 6,000,000 of the fighting class of Europe had perished.

From these wars came a more enlightened knowledge of the East, and an intellectual activity gained by contact with the more highly civilized Moors and Arabs. From them, also, arose the various orders of Knights Templar, Knights Hospitallers, and the Teutonic order, who on return to Europe exercised great influence over affairs there.

When Henry IV. died, the ducal house of Franconia became extinct, and the famous old duchy, the cradle of the empire from whence had migrated the conquering Franks under Clovis, was divided up between the Church and some petty princes, like the Count Palatine of the Rhine (who became elector in the place of the Duke of Franconia), the Landgrave of Hesse, and Count of Nassau. This division of large duchies into small principalities, an account of the law of descent following the one of equal division rather than the feudal one of primogeniture, was another evil, retarding the national growth of Germany. It was the beginning of individualism, or particularism as it was called then in politics, which afterwards was carried to ridiculous extremes.

Under Lothair II. the kingly power was in the House of Saxony for a short time, 1125 to 1137, and then passed to the House of Hohen Staufen by the election of Conrad III. in 1138. The Hohenstaufens, a Suabian ducal family, were the most brilliant of any in Germany during mediæval times; the Suabians had always been noted for their intellectual brilliancy, and this family was typical of the country.

Soon after Conrad's election began the famous quarrel of Guelf and Ghibeline, destined to divide Germany and Italy into hostile

parties centuries after the original meaning of the words was forgotten. Count Welf, of Bavaria, went to war with the Hohen-

BOBER KNIGHTS STEALING ON A HAWLET.



staufens, whose castle in Suabia was called Weibling, and from the difficulty the Italians had in pronouncing the W, this letter was changed to G. The Ghibelines were the supporters of the

Emperor, and the Guelfs were those opposed, and later on were the adherents of the popes in their long struggle with the Emperors.

Under Frederick Barbarossa, the greatest of these Emperors, the boundaries of the empire were the widest since Charlemagne, embracing Italy, Burgundy, Poland, and Denmark. Having been crowned King of the Lombards, he became involved in war with the cities in Northern Italy, which ended in his levelling the principal one, Milan, to the ground. And by his victories over the rebellious Henry the Lion Duke of Saxony he ground that duchy into fragments, and as an old chronicler says, "All the animals came in for a share; the lion kept the heart for his share; the lynx (Bavaria) had a leg; the dog (Hesse) a shoe; the pig (Holstein) the lungs; Cologne and Bremen each a hind leg, while Mentz got the tail."

Thuringia and Westphalia, portions of this proud duchy, became separate and were ruled by their respective courts, while the duchy of Bavaria Barbarossa gave to Otto of Wittelsbach, in whose descendants' hands it remains to this day.

The people had nothing to say about these changes, when they passed from king to duke or duke to count, or whether they passed from the mailed hand of the feudatory lord to the *mortmain* of the Church. Their condition was alike pitiable and hopeless, for what the feudal lord or the Church did not take from them, the robber knights seized if they could.

With the death of Frederick Barbarossa in the Holy Land, the empire fell to Frederick II., the most brilliant and accomplished, as well as ill-fated prince of the Middle Ages. This emperor by marriage acquired the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, which, added to his Lombard kingdom in the north of Italy made him all but supreme master of that country. To this the Pope naturally objected, and the quarrel began. One side thundered forth with anathemas and bulls of excommunication, while the other retaliated by physical force, frequently driving the Supreme Pontiff from Rome by arms.

The effect on Germany of this struggle between Kaiser and Pope was to loosen all bonds of authority, as the latter in excommunicating the former would absolve all his subjects from their allegiance; and the turbulent nobles and tributary princes were

not slow to avail themselves of the situation. On the other hand the Emperor, to raise men and money for his Italian wars, was forced to sell to the cities important franchises and civil liberties which enabled them to become almost so many little republics. The Emperors were likewise forced to grant equally important rights to the princes who supported him, and these rights made



THE CROWNING OF A POPE WITH LAUREL.

them independent, so all over Germany arose a horde of petty irresponsible tyrants.

Instead of the people becoming a homogeneous compact nation, like the French and English, they were hopelessly subdivided amongst themselves. In the long struggle between the popes and the emperors, the popes won, and the power of the emperors who opposed them was completely shattered. One of the latter, Henry VI., was forced to stand, with scant covering, three days in a snow storm, at Canossa, to obtain pardon of the Pope. Frederick II., the last of the Hohenstaufens to reign, was, from

his personal beauty, attractiveness, and wide knowledge of languages, speaking as he did French, German, Italian, Greek, Latin, and even Arabic, the "wonder of the age." In him the arts found a liberal patron, and poetry a suitor, for he wrote the first Italian sonnet in that language. To his court came all the brilliant minds of the day, lawyers like Peter de Vincis to draw up a code for a kingdom, or poets to receive at the fair hands of his queen the wreath of laurel more to be coveted than crowns.

With the extinction of the house of Hohenstaufen as dukes of Suabia as well as emperors of Germany, their famous patrimony of Suabia was divided up among their heirs, as formerly were Franconia and Saxony. For years after they ceased to reign Germany passed through the darkest hour of her existence, and that period was called Interregnum (1256-1273), when rival candidates struggled to get possession of the imperial title. All authority was set at defiance, and each one settled his own troubles with the sword. There arose throughout the land, especially along the banks of the rivers, like the Rhine, innumerable robber castles, built and inhabited by a class of nobles who disdained to get a living by other means than force.

These castles were built along some lonely road, or where several met, and all travellers, especially merchants, had to pay toll, or be attacked and have their goods seized. Prelates of the Church even were not above adding to their revenue by these means. One of them, a bishop, on being asked why he built his castle in an out of the way place where no one could get a living by farming, replied that "four roads crossed in front of his domain." The cities, finding their merchants constantly plucked by these aristocratic robbers, leagued together and made war upon them. Many of the robber knights were hanged and their castles burned, and their picturesque ruins to-day lend a charm to the scenery along the Rhine.

The cities now began to be an important factor in the nation's development, and were at this period the only places of refuge for liberty of conduct or of conscience. After the wave of migrating tribes had passed, most of the Roman cities were in ruins, but Saint Boniface, who first converted the Germans, restored some of



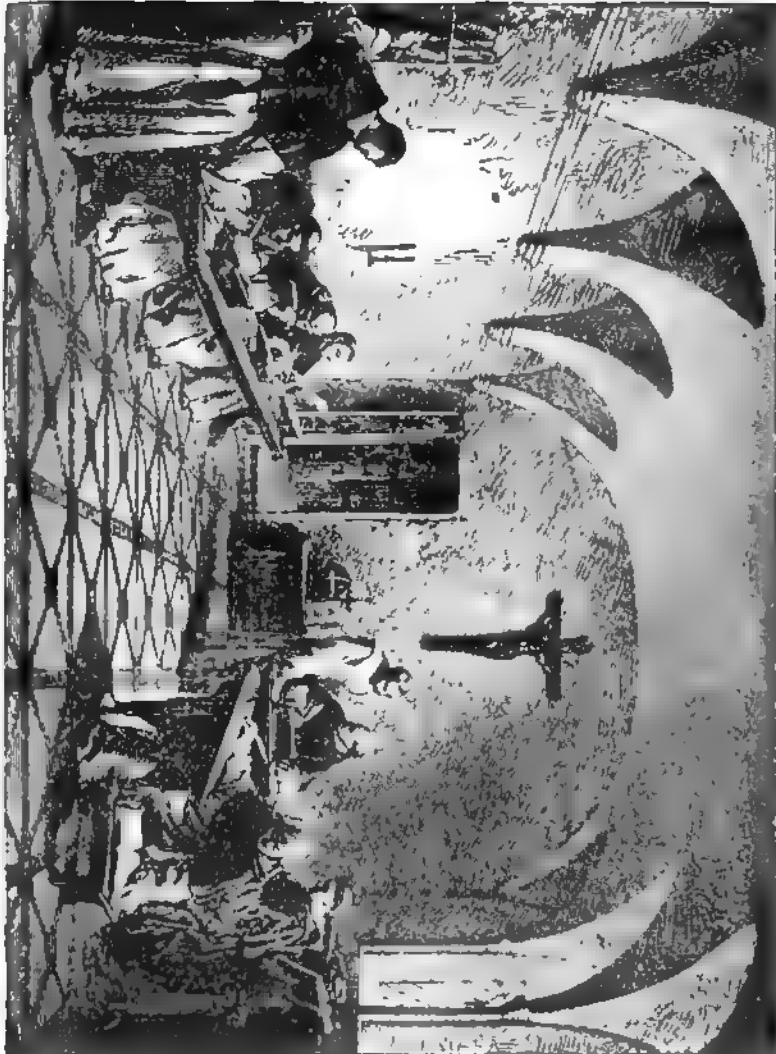
GERMAN MONKS COPYING MANUSCRIPTS BEFORE THE INVENTION OF TYPE.

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them and made them bishoprics, under the control of some bishop or abbot. In these cities the pious monks began the building of those beautiful cathedrals of Gothic architecture which will be the admiration of the world as long as civilized man can appreciate the beautiful.

The building of these masterpieces was a cause of the growth of these cathedral towns. Successive armies of workmen were employed, as they were frequently hundreds of years in finishing these wonderful structures, and following them came the pilgrims to worship at the shrine, and after them came the trader, eager for profit; so gradually about the Church there grew up a community sufficient unto itself, as regards their own governing, and whose laws were based upon other ideas than killing and plunder.<sup>1</sup>

In the north of Germany arose towns such as Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, Stittin, Dantzic, and Königsberg, along the North and Baltic Seas, who leagued themselves together as the "Hansebund," or Hanseatic League, which extended its influence to towns in the South, such as Augsburg and Nürnberg, and West even into Russia. These towns coined money, issued notes, and bills of credit, built fleets which dominated the seas, and exercised all the rights of sovereign states, and were really so many little republics surrounded by feudalism.

When the anarchy of the Interregnum could no longer be endured, the imperial free cities wished for some ruler who could assist them in their struggles with the princes. So it was decided to hold an election. The choice of the electors was Rudolf of Habsburg, in 1273, so called from his castle in Switzerland (still standing), as one most likely to heal the growing antagonism between the church and the princes of Germany. Rudolf, the founder of this powerful and grasping family, had all the traits which have made that house a stumbling-block to progress and civilization.

The power of this family came from fortunate marriages, and from the extinction of the great ducal families, which left a crowd

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\* In this manner grew up Mayence, Worms, Cologne, and Strasburg, along the Rhine; Ghent, Brussels, and Utrecht, in the Netherlands; Münster, Bremen, and Magdeburg in Saxony, and Würzburg, Prague, and Vienna in other parts of the country.

of petty princes who were only too willing to maintain the succession of Emperor in the House of Habsburg in return for the maintenance of their petty sovereignty. In his old age Rudolf married the beautiful Agnes of Burgundy, then only fourteen years of age. After the ceremony the Bishop of Spire was so enchanted by her beauty, that he rapturously kissed her (the manners were free in this age), whereupon the Emperor told him it was the Agnus Dei (i. e., the Lamb of God), not Agnes the Empress, that he ought to kiss.

One of his successors, Rudolf II., was a true son of this grasping race, and he was immortalized by Dante's curse in his poem of *Purgatoria*:—

“ May on thy race Heaven's just judgment fall;  
And be it signally and plainly shown,  
With terror thy successors to appall,  
Since by thy lust yon distant lands to gain  
Thou and thy sire have suffered wild to run  
What was the garden of a fair domain.

*Canto VIII-101.*

When one thinks of the blood shed by this family in the thirty years' war, the assassination of Don Carlos, the son of Philip II., the beheading of Marie Antoinette in the French Revolution, the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire by Napoleon I. and later on by Napoleon III., where she was found to yield Venice to Italy, the death of Maximilian in Mexico, the crushing defeat by the Prussians at Sadowa, and the recent tragedy of the family, the suicide of the Crown Prince Rudolf, it seems as if the great Italian poet's curse had been fulfilled.

The Electoral College had now fallen into confusion, and the constant appeals from it to force of arms by disappointed candidates kept the Emperors in never-ceasing turmoil. Originally the tribes of Franks, Saxons, Suabians, and Bavarians, and sometimes the Lorrainers from across the Rhine, would encamp along the banks of that river and choose one of their dukes or chiefs of tribes, as king. Gradually the four dukes of these first four tribes took to themselves the sole right of voting; the three archbishops of Cologne, Trèves, and Maintz voting with them. By 1184, the votes of Franconia and Suabia had passed to other

hands, and the King of Bohemia had put in a claim for the vote hitherto held by Bavaria.

To stop this wrangling the Emperor, Charles IV., in 1355, issued the Golden Bull which settled this question, and declared the legal place of election should be Frankfort, and the ceremony of coronation should take place at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the Archbishop of Cologne to crown the king elected. The number of electors was made seven, the original number, and their dignity was declared equal to kings, while conspiracy against them was high treason. In 1338 the electors declared their independence of the Pope's sanction to make their choice of king valid.

The invention of gunpowder rapidly brought a change to the now disappearing Middle Ages. This was discovered by a monk named Schwartz, at Freiburg, in 1354, and the discovery cost him his life by an explosion. The first powder mill was built at Lübeck in 1360, and the first iron cannon balls were used by the Hanse Towns in 1387, as the first balls were made of stone.

With the introduction of gunpowder came a revolution in the art of war, and with it the loss of the prestige of the nobility who always fought on horseback on the battlefield. Before this, clad in a suit of armor, with his horse equally protected, the noble was invincible to the ordinary foot soldier, but now that the meanest man with a gun could kill the bravest, the days of chivalry were over.

With the introduction of gunpowder also came other forces to change the thought of the age, and the most potent of these was the discovery of printing by John of Gutenberg in 1436. Before this, books were copied by hand, and this immense labor was done by monks in the monasteries, and to them and their patient life-long labors is due such preservation as we have of the literary relics of the ancient classic world.

The establishment of universities, together with the diffusion of learning by printing, had an immense influence on the thought of the age. The University of Prague, established in 1348, was already famous for its teachers, such as John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who counted their followers by thousands in Bohemia. The ecclesiastical authorities tried to stop this intellectual awakening by burning Huss and Jerome, but their death was the sig-



THE RETURN OF MEFAN AFTER BEATING THE ROMANS.

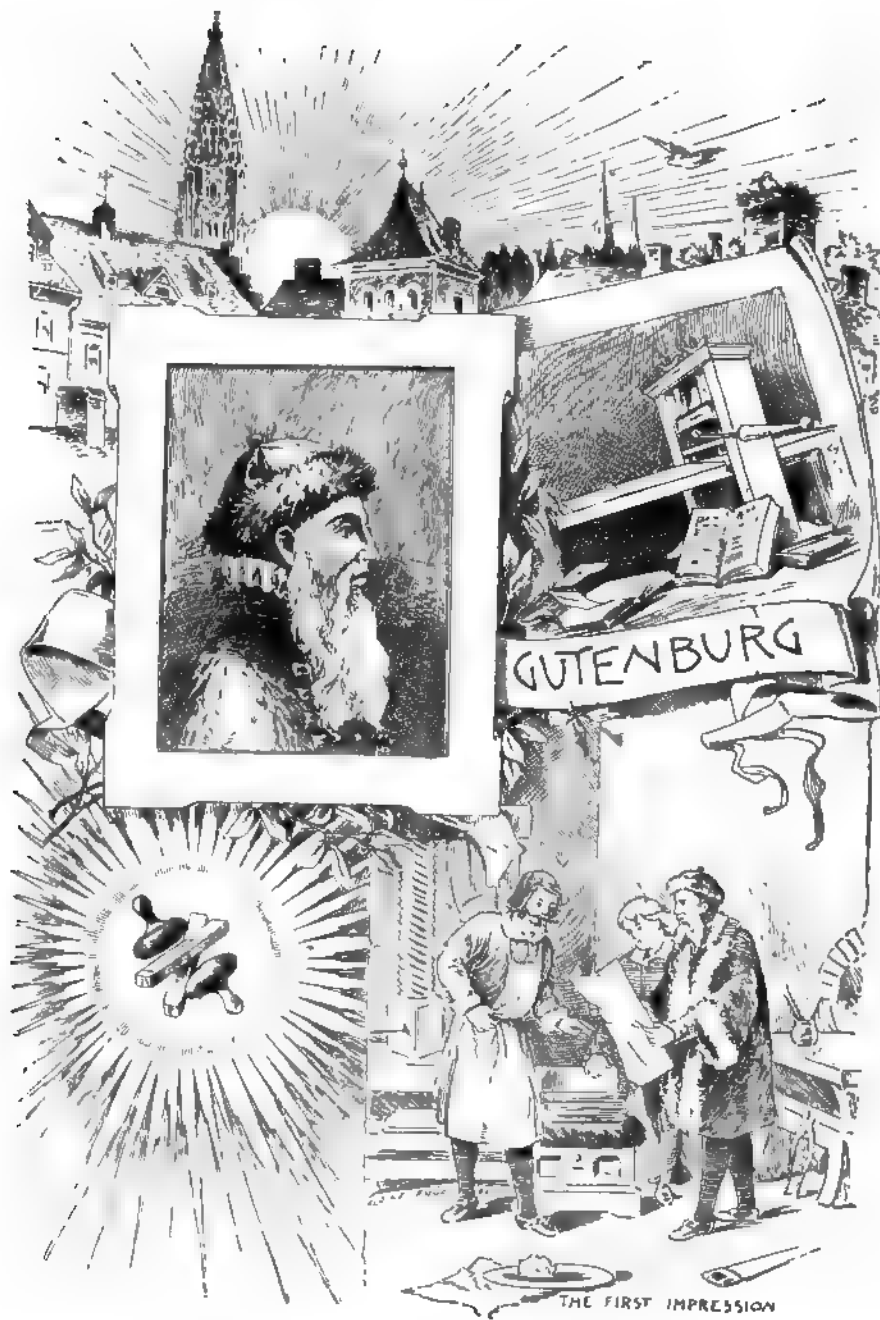
nal for a bloody uprising in Bohemia under the leadership of John Žižka, who, although blind, became one of the great soldiers of his time. So fierce and unrelenting was this man that on his death, in 1424, he desired that his skin should be flayed from his body and made into a drum to be beaten in the presence of the enemy.

When Maximilian I. came to the throne in 1493, it seemed as if the lowest point of anarchy and political dismemberment had been reached, although he in a measure restored the prestige of the nation, and tried to introduce some reforms. At the Diet of Worms, 1495, there was issued an Edict of Perpetual Peace, which was to do away with settling private quarrels by the sword or the *Faustrecht*, *fist law*, as it was called.

Trials by combat or by ordeals, such as walking over hot iron, known as the judgment of God, were still prevalent, for the people yielded to law slowly and with distrust. When a man accused a woman, the conditions of the combat were made equal by burying the man in the ground to his waist, and then armed with a stick, he had to defend himself from the woman who had a stone tied in the end of a veil for a weapon.

The House of Hapsburg was at the culmination of its power when Charles V. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1520, as Emperor of Germany, for he ruled over more provinces than any previous sovereign, as he took in all the new world which Columbus had added to the Spanish throne, since by marriage Spain, Burgundy, and the Netherlands had come into the hands of this family, and his brother Ferdinand took Austria and the Tyrol and afterwards Bohemia and Hungary. His coronation was one of boundless magnificence and display of wealth, as befitted the taste of this young sovereign who so far had shown only an inclination to be dissolute, though later he was to develop into the most powerful ruler of his time.

The first act of the new Emperor's administration was to appoint a Diet of the empire at Worms, in 1521, to consider the proper measures to combat the new ideas that were then spreading from the teachings of Martin Luther. This extraordinary man was born in Thuringia, in 1483, of a peasant family, and became an Augustine friar and professor of theology in the University



of Wittenberg. At first he desired merely to reform certain abuses which were flagrant in the Church, but the current of the times was too strong for him and he finally broke from Rome.

The establishment of the universities, reviving as it did the study of Greek and Hebrew, had spread abroad a spirit of inquiry and criticism, and great scholars like Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Melancthon had prepared men's minds for the partial overthrow of the Roman Church. The peasantry and lower orders thought they had everything to gain from any change whatever, and gladly hailed these new doctrines as a sign of better times for them, while the princes simply saw in them an opportunity to dispossess the Church of some of its enormous wealth.

Luther, summoned to the Diet, walked all the way to the city of Worms, and presented so poor an appearance ~~that~~ the Emperor, Charles V., said he looked like the last man to convert him. Charles V. was too far seeing a man not to realize that these new doctrines would not only disturb the Church, but destroy the empire, so, after sternly admonishing the princes assembled that he would continue the religion of the Roman Church as he had inherited it from his ancestors, he refused to listen longer to the arguments of Luther. After this Luther was concealed for nearly a year in the Castle of Wartburg, where he spent his time translating the Bible into German. He was not above many of the superstitions of his age, and the room is still shown at the castle where he threw an inkstand at the devil.

This translation, one of the greatest intellectual achievements of German scholars, fixed one of the many dialects of High and Low German, as the one to be followed ever after by the scholarly classes, and became also the language of the people. The peasants beholding in these doctrines a chance for their relief, as now they were hopelessly bound to the soil, threw off the yoke of their feudal lords, and raising large but poorly disciplined armies, began burning and devastating the country far and wide in 1525.

Suabia, the Rhineland, and Franconia were in a blaze with burning convents and castles; churches were ruined, monasteries plundered, while cities like Münster, which fell into the hands of a set of fanatics called Anabaptists, were given over to every kind

of excess. It was the first articulate cry of the downtrodden masses, and like the similar rising in France of the *Jacquerie*, and the later explosion of the Reign of Terror, was marked by blind rage and untamable ferocity. Although these poor peasants were the followers of Luther, he had no sympathy with them, and wrote to their rulers "To strangle, to stab them, secretly and openly, as they can, as one would a mad dog."



GERMAN SOLDIERS OF MODERN DAYS.

Charles V., now weary with these religious strifes, called a Diet at Augsburg, in 1555, to see if some agreement suitable to all parties could be arranged. This, in a measure, was done, and rights were given to the Lutherans which were withheld from the followers of Calvin and Zwingli. Peace, to a certain extent, followed this Diet, and a few years after Charles resigned his Spanish and Netherland interests to his son Phillip, and those of Germany to his brother Ferdinand.

Bohemia, now possessed by Austria, had even before the times of Luther been the stronghold of opponents of the Church, who now embraced these new doctrines with enthusiasm. Austria,





determined to stamp these new ideas out, had sent two commissioners to Prague to look over the ground. On the 23d of May, 1618, a day famous as the beginning of the longest, bloodiest, and most senseless war on record, — for the end left both parties (neither convinced) just where they began, — was done the deed which began the "*thirty years' war*."

Count Thurm, at the head of a party of thirty noblemen, rushed into the castle where Martinitz and Slawata, the two commissioners, were consulting. Without any parleying, they threw them out of the window, saying, "Now see if your Virgin will help you!" Their trembling secretary was sent after them, following on the bodies of his masters, to whom he apologized as he struck, saying he could not help it. In spite of the fall of seventy feet the men, beyond being bruised and badly shaken up, were uninjured, for they fortunately fell on a heap of refuse. "By heavens!" exclaimed one of the throwers, "their Virgin has saved them!" as the men were observed crawling off amid a fire of pistol shots.

Both sides quickly found able leaders to command their armies, Count Mansfield for the Protestants, and Tilly and Wallenstein for the Imperialists. At the end of twelve years the Imperialists were everywhere victorious, and the cause of the Protestants seemed hopeless, for the latter were divided among themselves regarding religion, and were jealous of each other's success, while the former had but one form of religion, and were controlled by the central authority of the Emperor. Of all the men whom these troublous times had thrown to the front, Wallenstein was the ablest, at least until his great opponent, Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, appeared on the scene.

Born in Bohemia, and educated by the Jesuits, Wallenstein became interested in the study of astrology, common in those days, and succeeded in surrounding himself with an air of mystery, and attaching himself to the Imperialists. By the force of his energy and ability to command, he soon rose to the head of their armies, not, however, without arousing envy and hatred. He was the living embodiment of the spirit of the times, stern, dark, and merciless to those who opposed him.

So confident were the Imperialists of success that they issued



LUDWIG V. BEETHOVEN.

an Edict of Restitution, which was that all Church property then in the hands of Protestants should be returned to its owners. This the latter refused to do, and prepared to renew the unequal conflict, when a new element appeared on the scene in the person of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.

This young king, the ablest tactician of his time, had introduced a new order of things in the old formation for battle, by making his lines fewer so not to present as deep a front to artillery fire. His troops were armed with a lighter and more easily loaded musket than their opponents, while their tactical formation for battle was more modern and in keeping with the growing use of artillery.

Landing on the coast of Pomerania with a small but highly disciplined army of fifteen thousand men, Gustavus quickly regained most of Northern Germany from the Imperialists. He was too late to raise the siege of Magdeburg, for that city was soon after captured by assault by the soldiers of Tilly, who razed its buildings, and put twenty thousand of its inhabitants to the sword with every species of imaginable cruelty. Gustavus came up with Tilly soon after at Leipsic, and after a stubborn contest, in which the superiority of the new tactics of the Swedes was apparent, won the day, and the Imperialists were driven further South.

Tilly having died from wounds received at Leipsic, there was nothing else to do but recall Wallenstein and place him at the head of the Imperialists. Once again the banditti of Europe flocked to his standard, and, as if by magic, Wallenstein was at the head of a large army, and by his generalship forced Gustavus to give him battle at Lützen. The field was closely contested, as two of the ablest generals of the day headed the armies, but victory at last remained with the Swedes, although they left their brilliant King Gustavus dead at the moment of victory. The war had nearly burned itself out when a new hand made its appearance to assist the Protestants, the hand, strange to say, of a Cardinal of the Church — Armand de Richelieu.

This statesman saw in the troubles of Germany an opportunity to humble Austria, and to gain a step nearer the Rhine for France. By entering into a treaty with Oxenstein, the Minister

of Sweden, and advancing men and money to the Protestant princes of Germany, Richelieu fanned the war flames into fury again. After several years more of strife both parties, wearied out, came to an understanding at the Peace of Westphalia.



GERMAN CHILDREN OF TO-DAY.

The Peace of Westphalia was fatal to Germany politically, by reason of its dismemberment by France and Sweden. She was too weak to refuse the demands of her allies, so she saw France take Metz and parts of Lorraine and Alsace from the House of Austria, while Sweden got Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and the Netherlands, in gaining their freedom, came under the influence

of France. The latter also, by insisting on the complete separation of the Swiss Confederation from the Imperial Empire, had two open doors to invade Germany. Through the absorption of Burgundy by France, and the wringing of Alsace and Lorraine from Austria, the two nations of France and Germany were brought face to face on the Rhine — and that vexed question of the Rhine provinces was made a permanent issue.

It is estimated that two thirds of the people of Germany perished either by the sword or famine during this dreadful period. Whole provinces were laid waste, cities were sacked, castles battered down, monasteries burned, and large numbers of people lapsed into barbarism. The war had been conducted by both parties with diabolical ferocity and fiendish ingenuity in torturing each other's prisoners. There was nothing that the devilish wit of man, or the fanatic rage of religion, could not devise to maim, burn, or torture, not only men but helpless women and children. The following account by an eye-witness will give some idea of the way the common people were persuaded to give up their money: —

Both hands of one were tied fast behind him, and a horse hair was drawn through his tongue by means of an awl. Then, whenever he would move it only a little up and down, it gave the wretched man such torture that he often cried out for death. But at every cry he had four lashes with the thong on his calves — I believe the fellow would gladly have killed himself to get rid of the pain if he could have used his hands. Another's head was bound tightly with a cord containing many knots, and twisted behind above the neck with a wooden stick, drawing it tighter and tighter till the bright blood streamed out of his forehead, mouth, and nose, and even his eyes, and the poor man looked like one possessed. I was frightened at these cruel plagues and this pitiless tyranny, and begged Battraurtz to think of God and his own conscience, and spare the few harmless folk a little in his tortures. But he spoke in anger, "If you have much pity, you can't be my friend long. He that has pity belongs to the devil."

The whole character of the German seemed changed by these wars, and he became dull, heavy, and full of gloomy ideas: nor was he susceptible of the least feeling of mercy, and every judicial was stained by the blood of the tortured. The House

of Hapsburg was still powerful enough to get its successors elected from father to son, and by virtue of being Dukes of Austria and Kings of Bohemia and Hungary, they were strong enough to stamp out all remains of heresy in those dominions. Although Imperialists in name, they did nothing to federate the empire, and simply sought to aggrandize their family.

The other principal courts now were those of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and, with the exception of the growing power of Prussia, the rest of Germany was given over to the miserable tyranny of a horde of petty rulers spiritual and temporal. The Turks still threatened Germany through Hungary, until defeated by John Sobiesky, under the walls of Vienna, and the French under Louis XIV. began their restless movements towards the Rhine.

England, Holland, and Austria ranged themselves against France and Bavaria, and once again poor Germany was made the battleground of nations. Under the Duke of Marlborough, the ablest general since Gustavus, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had already won fame in the war with the Turks, the allied army gave battle to the French at Blenheim, Oct. 12, 1704, under Marshal Tallard. The result was a decisive victory for the allies, the French losing twenty thousand men killed and wounded, and the same number were made prisoners, among whom was the Marshal himself.

The war, however, did not cease with this decisive victory, but raged from the Netherlands along the Rhine frontier, which was ravaged so by the French that it became almost a desert, and across the Alps into Italy. The following year Marlborough defeated Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies, a place in sight of the afterwards famous field of Waterloo, and in 1708 won the battle of Oudenarde, and Malplaquet in 1709, while Eugene had been equally successful in Italy.

Louis XIV., of France, humbled by these tremendous defeats, signed the Peace of Utrecht in 1711, when he relinquished most of his territory along the Rhine, together with large possessions in the New World to England. In spite of these wars Germany was gaining ground in wealth, although backward as compared with France, England, or even the Netherlands.

And now another family was rapidly rising into prominence, who by their achievements were ultimately to remodel the German nation. They were from Suabia, and from the start were a thrifty, long-headed race, who could save money as well as fight for it. As far back as 1170 Frederick Barbarossa had made Conrad of Zollern a Burgrave of Nuremberg, which advanced the family to such an extent that one of his descendants, Frederick, was able to loan the Emperor Sigismund four hundred thousand guildern. Unable to pay it back, Sigismund made Frederick Margrave of Brandenburg in 1415.

Prussia was conquered by the Teutonic Order of Knights after the third crusade, and the natives were either exterminated or reduced to serfdom. In both these provinces of Brandenburg and Prussia large numbers of Saxons, Franks, and other North Germans settled and formed large and flourishing cities, and the country was called East and West Prussia, with Königsberg as the capital.

As early as the Elector Albert, the law of primogeniture was established in the Mark of Brandenburg, and from that time the House of Hohenzollern was spared the cutting up into fragments which ruined politically those other nations of Germany who adhered to the Teutonic principle of equal inheritance. In 1608, the Duchy of Prussia, through failure of direct heirs, came to the Hohenzollern branch, who were Electors as well as Margraves of Brandenburg.

This house amounted to little until the time of Frederick William, called the Great Elector, although during the recent wars they had seized all the Church property they could grasp. The Great Elector was the first of a long line of able men who left no stone unturned that they might leave Prussia greater than they found it. He defeated the Poles and made them relinquish all claims to the Duchy of Prussia, and later on thrashed the hitherto invincible Swedes at Fehzbellin, taking from them in consequence a large portion of Pomerania.

He was the first to keep a large standing army in time of peace, by which means Prussia began to exercise a power greater than her natural position warranted. The son of the Great Elector thought himself strong enough to be called a king, so after a reluctant consent from the Emperor he got himself crowned at Königsberg, Jan. 18, 1701.

His son, Frederick William, the half crazy father of Frederick the Great, increased his standing army from thirty-eight thousand to eighty-four thousand, and drilled them to mathematical precision in tactics, the influence of which training seems to have lasted into our time. He also enjoyed the fad of having the



FREDERICK THE GREAT RETURNING FROM THE BATTLE OF PRAGUE.

tallest men in the world as his grenadiers, and when they would not enlist did not hesitate to kidnap and impress them.

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The following year, 1759, found Frederick in such financial straits that he resorted to debasing the coin he paid his soldiers with, and but for the subsidies from England could not have put another army in the field. With forty-eight thousand he attacked the Russians at Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759, who had seventy-eight thousand men, and at first he was brilliantly successful, but, crowding his opponents too hard and thus cutting off their retreat, he was in return attacked by them and driven from the field.

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of France. The latter also, by insisting on the complete separation of the Swiss Confederation from the Imperial Empire, had two open doors to invade Germany. Through the absorption of Burgundy by France, and the wringing of Alsace and Lorraine from Austria, the two nations of France and Germany were brought face to face on the Rhine — and that vexed question of the Rhine provinces was made a permanent issue.

It is estimated that two thirds of the people of Germany perished either by the sword or famine during this dreadful period. Whole provinces were laid waste, cities were sacked, castles battered down, monasteries burned, and large numbers of people lapsed into barbarism. The war had been conducted by both parties with diabolical ferocity and fiendish ingenuity in torturing each other's prisoners. There was nothing that the devilish wit of man, or the fanatic rage of religion, could not devise to maim, burn, or torture, not only men but helpless women and children. The following account by an eye-witness will give some idea of the way the common people were persuaded to give up their money: —

Both hands of one were tied fast behind him, and a horse hair was drawn through his tongue by means of an awl. Then, whenever he would move it only a little up and down, it gave the wretched man such torture that he often cried out for death. But at every cry he had four lashes with the thong on his calves — I believe the fellow would gladly have killed himself to get rid of the pain if he could have used his hands. Another's head was bound tightly with a cord containing many knots, and twisted behind above the neck with a wooden stick, drawing it tighter and tighter till the bright blood streamed out of his forehead, mouth, and nose, and even his eyes, and the poor man looked like one possessed. I was frightened at these cruel plagues and this pitiless tyranny, and begged Battrartz to think of God and his own conscience, and spare the few harmless folk a little in his tortures. But he spoke in anger, "If you have much pity, you can't be my friend long. He that has pity belongs to the devil."

The whole character of the German seemed changed by these wars, and he became dull, heavy, and full of gloomy ideas: nor was he susceptible of the least feeling of mercy, and every judicial trial was stained by the blood of the tortured. The House

of Hapsburg was still powerful enough to get its successors elected from father to son, and by virtue of being Dukes of Austria and Kings of Bohemia and Hungary, they were strong enough to stamp out all remains of heresy in those dominions. Although Imperialists in name, they did nothing to federate the empire, and simply sought to aggrandize their family.

The other principal courts now were those of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and, with the exception of the growing power of Prussia, the rest of Germany was given over to the miserable tyranny of a horde of petty rulers spiritual and temporal. The Turks still threatened Germany through Hungary, until defeated by John Sobiesky, under the walls of Vienna, and the French under Louis XIV. began their restless movements towards the Rhine.

England, Holland, and Austria ranged themselves against France and Bavaria, and once again poor Germany was made the battleground of nations. Under the Duke of Marlborough, the ablest general since Gustavus, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had already won fame in the war with the Turks, the allied army gave battle to the French at Blenheim, Oct. 12, 1704, under Marshal Tallard. The result was a decisive victory for the allies, the French losing twenty thousand men killed and wounded, and the same number were made prisoners, among whom was the Marshal himself.

The war, however, did not cease with this decisive victory, but raged from the Netherlands along the Rhine frontier, which was ravaged so by the French that it became almost a desert, and across the Alps into Italy. The following year Marlborough defeated Marshal Villeroy at Ramillies, a place in sight of the afterwards famous field of Waterloo, and in 1708 won the battle of Oudenarde, and Malplaquet in 1709, while Eugene had been equally successful in Italy.

Louis XIV., of France, humbled by these tremendous defeats, signed the Peace of Utrecht in 1711, when he relinquished most of his territory along the Rhine, together with large possessions in the New World to England. In spite of these wars Germany was gaining ground in wealth, although backward as compared with France, England, or even the Netherlands.

And now another family was rapidly rising into prominence, who by their achievements were ultimately to remodel the German nation. They were from Suabia, and from the start were a thrifty, long-headed race, who could save money as well as fight for it. As far back as 1170 Frederick Barbarossa had made Conrad of Zollern a Burgrave of Nuremberg, which advanced the family to such an extent that one of his descendants, Frederick, was able to loan the Emperor Sigismund four hundred thousand guildern. Unable to pay it back, Sigismund made Frederick Margrave of Brandenburg in 1415.

Prussia was conquered by the Teutonic Order of Knights after the third crusade, and the natives were either exterminated or reduced to serfdom. In both these provinces of Brandenburg and Prussia large numbers of Saxons, Franks, and other North Germans settled and formed large and flourishing cities, and the country was called East and West Prussia, with Königsberg as the capital.

As early as the Elector Albert, the law of primogeniture was established in the Mark of Brandenburg, and from that time the House of Hohenzollern was spared the cutting up into fragments which ruined politically those other nations of Germany who adhered to the Teutonic principle of equal inheritance. In 1608, the Duchy of Prussia, through failure of direct heirs, came to the Hohenzollern branch, who were Electors as well as Margraves of Brandenburg.

This house amounted to little until the time of Frederick William, called the Great Elector, although during the recent wars they had seized all the Church property they could grasp. The Great Elector was the first of a long line of able men who left no stone unturned that they might leave Prussia greater than they found it. He defeated the Poles and made them relinquish all claims to the Duchy of Prussia, and later on thrashed the hitherto invincible Swedes at Fehzbellin, taking from them in consequence a large portion of Pomerania.

He was the first to keep a large standing army in time of peace, by which means Prussia began to exercise a power greater than her natural position warranted. The son of the Great Elector thought himself strong enough to be called a king, so after a reluctant consent from the Emperor he got himself crowned at Königsberg, Jan. 18, 1701.



His son, Frederick William, the half crazy father of Frederick the Great, increased his standing army from thirty-eight thousand to eighty-four thousand, and drilled them to mathematical precision in tactics, the influence of which training seems to have lasted into our time. He also enjoyed the fad of having the



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was owing entirely to himself and his obstinacy in forcing the conflict against the advice of all his generals, and had it been followed up the Prussian monarchy would have ceased to exist. The following year found the indomitable Frederick facing his old enemies, the Austrians, under Daun and Loudon, in the much fought over territory of Silesia. Here Loudon was defeated at Ziegenitz, and soon after Daun at Torgau, which proved to be the last battle either of these constant opponents would ever fight. The energy of all was now used up, so peace was declared, and the bloodiest war of modern times was brought to an end.

Frederick had retained Silesia, but his kingdom was well-nigh ruined. Yet after a few years, such was the wisdom and energy of his government, that Prussia rose again, and became not only the strongest but the best governed of the German States. The House of Hapsburg on the other hand came out of this long struggle with diminished prestige and territory, while in France the misery of the people was such that it was evident a political hurricane would soon overturn everything.

The storm of the French Revolution began to darken the horizon of Europe, and although the people of Germany were apparently quiet, the ruling class were agitated by the fall of the Bastille, in 1789, the beheading of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, the latter a German princess, and daughter of Maria Theresa, and the constant influx of French emigrant nobles who thronged every court and clamored for armed interference in the affairs of France.

In an evil hour Frederick William II., the unworthy successor of the great Frederick and Joseph II., now Emperor of Germany, declared war against the French nation, but suffered a series of defeats such as Valmy and Jemappes from that now infuriated people. Prussia now made peace with France, leaving Austria alone to fight it out. Three French armies struck the latter power, one under Moreau on the Upper Rhine, the second under Jourdan on the Lower, and the young Bonaparte invaded Italy.

While the first two armies were unsuccessful, the latter was brilliantly so, and after a series of unparalleled victories its commander, then only twenty-six years of age, was able to dictate his own terms of peace at Campo Formio, in 1797, whereby France



THE NUN AND THE FLOWERS. From a German painting.

gained the whole of the left bank of the Rhine. But one war was not to settle the passions now aroused throughout Europe, and soon Austria and France were fighting again, with the same result as before. Napoleon thrashed the armies of the former at Marengo, and Moreau gained the equally important victory of Hohenlinden.

Important changes now were made in the internal affairs of Germany on account of so much territory having been surrendered to France. The spiritual electorates of Trèves, Cologne, and Mentz were abolished, although the last was transferred to Ratisbon. By way of compensation the electoral dignity was given to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Würtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. All the free imperial cities were done away with except five, viz: Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, and a vast number of bishoprics and abbacies were abolished.

Napoleon had now, in 1804, assumed the title of Emperor of the French, and later appropriated the iron crown of the Lombards, thus re-establishing on French soil the Empire of Charlemagne. England, now at war with Napoleon, subsidized the other nations of Europe, such as Sweden, Russia, and Austria, to form a coalition against him. This coalition yielded to the rapid blows of Napoleon and Austria was defeated at Ulm, Vienna was captured, and the Austrian army, with the Russian allies, were hopelessly beaten at Austerlitz.

This victory made Napoleon master of Germany, and he proceeded to re-arrange its various states to suit himself by forming the Confederation of the Rhine out of all the small German states on the right bank of that river. He also rewarded his German allies by making the electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg kings, and the smaller dukes, grand dukes, etc., and gave them territory at the expense of Austria.

The House of Hapsburg was now in the dust, and on August 6, 1806, its Emperor, Francis II., formally renounced the title of Emperor of Germany and the Holy Roman Empire. Thus that union of spiritual and secular power ceased to exist, having lasted from the reign of Otto the Great, on German soil, and from Charlemagne in 800.

Prussia, who had hitherto avoided a conflict with the Corsican adventurer, Napoleon, was now led to declare war against him, feeling that, with her army drilled in the tactics of Frederick the Great, she could come off victorious. It was a vain belief, for her army, although well drilled, was not yet acquainted with the modern manœuvres of Napoleon, and it received two crushing defeats at Auerstädt and Jena, leaving the nation at the feet of the French Emperor who treated very rudely the beautiful Louise, Queen of Prussia, when she sued to him for mercy.

He treated her like a conqueror, and divided her territory among his German allies, such as the Elector of Saxony, whom he made a king with Poland as tributary, while he made Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel into the Kingdom of Westphalia, which he gave to his brother Jerome. Constant wars with Napoleon only seemed to rivet the chains of Germany closer, and tear from her fresh territory.

One reason for this was that the *people* of the nation cared very little about the humiliation of their rulers, for the rule of the French broke off the last remnants of the old feudal system.

But the star of the Corsican began to pale, and in 1812, after his disastrous Moscow campaign, the German rulers saw a chance to free themselves from his yoke. By promising the people constitutions, abolishing serfdom, and in other respects placing



LOUISE OF PRUSSIA AND HER TWO SONS,  
AFTERWARDS FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.  
AND KAISER WILLIAM.



themselves in line with the results of the French Revolution, they were enabled to raise armies of such patriotic fervor that Napoleon for the first time had to cope with a thoroughly aroused national feeling.

Prussia in her darkest hour had been sustained by the beautiful Queen Louise, the mother of two sons who were to succeed to the throne of Prussia, and one even to revive the German Empire and repair the disaster of Jena by Gravelotte and Sedan. Napoleon had demanded that Prussia should only have a standing army of forty-two thousand men. Stein, her great statesman, apparently agreed to this, but just as soon as a recruit was properly instructed his place was taken by a new one, so in a few years Prussia had a well-drilled army, several times that amount, within call.

Despite his terrible losses in Russia, Napoleon had a large army under him in Germany in the following year, but after some minor successes saw several of his marshals beaten at various points of the long line he tried to hold, so he concentrated about Leipsic, where he received the attack of the allied army. This great struggle, known as the battle of the nations, because there were Swedes, Austrians, Prussians, and Russians on one side opposed to the French, lasted two days when, after terrible slaughter on both sides, Napoleon gave way and retreated across the Rhine, with a loss of nearly sixty thousand men, while the allies had lost about fifty thousand. In our chapter on Masonry was a picture of this retreat.

The allies now poured into France, and in spite of the marvellous defence made by Napoleon, overcame him, and forced him to abdicate, sending him to the Island of Elba in the Mediterranean. He was not there long before he escaped, and re-seating himself on the throne of France, again was ready for battle. Austria, Prussia, England, and the minor German states, rushed to arms and prepared for a second invasion of France. Napoleon anticipated their movements by invading Belgium and endeavoring to strike the Prussian army under Blucher, and the British army under Wellington, before they could unite. For this purpose he had one hundred and sixteen thousand men, while Blucher had the same number and Wellington one hundred and six thousand.



BISMARCK.

FERRY  
THE SURRENDER OF PARIS.

THIERS

Rapidly concentrating his troops by forced marches at Charleroi, June 15, 1815, he gave battle the next day in two places, one on his extreme left at Quatre Bras, where Marshal Ney encountered Wellington, and the other on his right where he himself fought with Blucher at Ligny, the battlefields being ten miles apart. The close of this day found Ney unable to drive Wellington from the field, while Napoleon with great difficulty had barely managed to do so with Blucher. Wellington and Blucher retreated on converging lines towards Brussels with Napoleon in sharp pursuit who, having left Grouchy to reach the Prussians, attended to the English army.

On the memorable 18th of June, Wellington and Napoleon met at Waterloo, where the fate of Europe was to be decided. It was nearly noon before Napoleon began his attack, and soon after small detachments of Prussians began to appear on his right flank. It was evident that Grouchy had failed to hold the Prussians in check, although it was nearly evening before sufficient numbers of them appeared to decide the fate of the day. The French were some seventy-two thousand strong, while Wellington had sixty-nine thousand men, so it was the policy of the latter to simply hold his ground until Blucher should appear. This he did in spite of the terrific assaults on his line by the French, until at last the British and Prussian armies were joined, and then they swept Napoleon from the field, and from his throne forever.

After this War of Liberation, Germany, like the rest of Europe, had a season of profound peace, so long, that war seemed vanished from the civilized world. Underneath this, however, there was great political unrest, for the rulers of Germany having promised constitutions to their subjects, were slow in making these promises good. Metternich, the Prime Minister of Austria, was the chief obstacle in getting any reforms made, or any change in the disjointed condition of Germany. Austria refused to take up again the imperial crown, and she refused to allow others to seize it. Her idea was to keep the rest of the country in small and divided principalities.

Stein and Scharnhorst, the two statesmen, wished a powerful German nation, with political rights for the people, and an army made up of every man capable of bearing arms, but the reactionary

ideas of Metternich prevailed, and an Act of Confederation was passed by the thirty-nine sovereign states, which now made up Germany, an act that was simply a continuation of the methods of the old inefficient Diets without the central head of the empire. This patching up of the old mediæval political wagon lasted for a while, and then the revolution of 1848, that, starting in Paris, flamed up over Europe shook many a regal numbskull from his throne.

After this, most of the kings granted constitutions to their subjects, but not before blood had been shed, especially in Berlin where the king, Frederick William IV., tried to crush out the rising of the people with grapeshot. After this there were several abortive attempts to create anew the German Empire, and at an assembly of delegates from all parts of Germany at Frankfort in 1848, the imperial crown was offered to the King of Prussia who refused it.

In Italy, likewise, the desire for unification was daily becoming too strong to be resisted. Italy had suffered for centuries, just as Germany had, from a swarm of petty rulers who succeeded in draining the country of its resources, and made every effort to stifle the growing national feeling. The House of Savoy, under its King, Victor Emanuel, was now the hope of the Liberals and Nationalists in Italy; the other rulers being either too despotic or imbecile to do anything but oppose unification.

Similar to Prussia some years later, Italy had now four great men to represent her, and they were her soldier king, Victor Emanuel, his Prime Minister Cavour, the ablest statesman since the days of Richelieu, the orator Mazzini, whose eloquence succeeded in keeping alive the spark of Italian freedom, and her popular hero Garibaldi. Cavour, whose introduction of Sardinian troops in the Crimea to assist France and England had won for him the aid of Napoleon III., now with the assistance of the latter's troops began a war with Austria so as to drive her out of the country. The two great victories of Magenta and Solferino did this effectually, and soon after, when peace was declared, Italy became united with Victor Emanuel as its first king, the papal states and Venice falling to her later.

The constant constitution-tinkering, which had been going on

since the fall of Napoleon, had led to a certain measure of freedom among the states, most of them now, since 1848, having some kind of constitutional government, but nothing had been accomplished towards making Germany a firm, united nation. King William of Prussia had called to his aid as Prime Minister, Otto Von Bismarck, and from this man's appearance on the scene Prussia soon found herself committed to a policy, not second in boldness to those of Napoleon First or Frederick the Great.

A *man* had arrived, and it was the beginning of the end for the petty little princelets who had misgoverned Germany for centuries. Although a reactionist and conservative in affairs at home, where he was constantly embroiled with the Prussian Parliament over the question of army supplies, he soon after coming to power made the first move on the political chessboard which was to close in the formation of the new German Empire.

The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had placed themselves under the rule of the Danish kings some hundreds of years before, although they were German in language, in customs, and were always represented in the German Diets. Latterly there had been constant friction between them and the Danish government over questions of succession and infringements of some of their local rights. They appealed to the German Diet, who resolved to send an army to their assistance.

Here was Bismarck's opportunity, for, not wishing to pull the hot chestnuts out of the fire himself, and knowing that if Prussia alone should undertake this war she would incur the universal reprobation of Europe, he induced Austria to assist and it was soon over with little Denmark, who ceded the two duchies to Prussia and Austria, whereupon the allies quickly began disagreeing with each other as to who should have them.

As this was ultimately to be a question of war, Bismarck kept the question open until he was thoroughly prepared. Ever since the war with Bonaparte, Prussia had adopted the system of universal military service. She had now at this time adopted the needle-gun, the first breech-loading rifle to be used on a large scale, and had constructed a system of railways leading to various strategic points, so her troops could be quickly thrown at an enemy before he could cross the frontier.



MAXIMILIAN  
CAYOUE  
VICTOR EMANUEL  
GARIBOLDI  
"THE MAKERS OF MODERN ITALY."

Not only were the various arms of the service drilled to the highest point of efficiency, but in Berlin was established a war college known as the General Staff, where the brightest of the army officers studied over all possible combinations of attack and defence with every adjoining nation. War was thus made a science. This college became a vast storehouse of information regarding the resources, railways, forts, and troops of other countries, often more accurate and minute than the country knew itself.

Here the business part of war was thoroughly marked out, and the nation kept at the point of immediate preparation. The time soon arrived for action, as the diplomatic part of the struggle came to nothing, and in the summer of 1866 Prussia and Austria were at each others' throats again. In Frederick's time it was a seven years' war; this was finished in seven weeks. Taking the initiative three Prussian armies directed by Von Moltke crossed the frontier into Bohemia before the slow-moving Benedek, the Austrian commander, realized the situation.

After some minor engagements in which the Prussians steadily pushed their opponents before them, one of the Prussian columns under Prince Frederick Charles came up with the Austrians at Sadowa. Here, joined by the third army, the prince, although having only about one hundred and twenty thousand, did not hesitate to attack Benedek with two hundred thousand, the object being to hold his attention so closely that he could not move to ward off the blow of the second army under the Prussian crown prince who was marching on his flank.

The plan worked out like a chess problem, and while Prince Charles could make no impression on the Austrian centre, he held it like a vise; soon the columns of the crown prince came in sight, and, after a desperate resistance on the part of the Austrians, they were driven from the field, thousands falling under the pitiless fire of the needle-guns.

Peace was soon declared, and Austria was pushed out of the Germanic Confederation where she had long ceased to be a worthy representative. Venice was given to Italy who had been Prussia's ally by raising an army, and thus detaining a large one of the Austrians in Italy, and the North German Confederation was

formed with Prussia at its head, while the South German states were left free to make separate treaties with Prussia regarding future events.

Prussia had been almost alone in this struggle with Austria, for nearly all the other German states sided with the latter power, especially Hanover, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Bavaria. Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein and Hanover, and some of the smaller duchies. This sudden revelation of Prussia's power was not relished by the Emperor Napoleon III., of France, who had been accustomed to have his hand in every European disturbance, and whose wishes had not even been consulted by Bismarck in making peace with Austria.

France was impelled by her pride to find some excuse to quarrel with Prussia, and Napoleon, although he well knew that his army was not ready, was forced by the petty pretext of the insult to her ambassador to declare war July 15, 1870. Napoleon evidently hoped that the South Germans would, as heretofore, ally themselves with any power against Prussia, but here he made his mistake, not reckoning on the tremendous force of the new idea of a unified German nation.

It was not a question now of princes making alliances and dragging the people either side they chose, but the rising of an enraged and determined nation who resolved in spite of petty differences of small states to repel the invader, and afterwards settle the question of German unity, which every one felt was now the price of the struggle. Prussia and her allies, Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg were fully prepared, having the Prussian army system applied to them since Sadowa, and were able a few days after the declaration of war to send six hundred thousand men to the front, backed by three hundred thousand reserves.

France could barely muster three hundred and fifty thousand troops of the line, poorly armed and equipped, their artillery muzzle-loading and antiquated, no system for either moving or feeding so large a body of men, and finally an absolute dearth of military talent.

Yet with so small an army, and a good commander, the defensive line of the Vosges Mountains could have been held against the



invading hosts of Germans, but in an evil hour Napoleon moved forward to take the initiative.

His line was too long, and before he could rectify it the Germans had broken it in two places, at Weisembourg and Spicherin, and followed this up with the crushing defeat of Wörth. Though outnumbered and outgeneraled, the French soldiers had still fought bravely, but were now huddled about the fortifications of Metz under Marshal Bazaine, and under Marshal McMahon at the camp of Chalons where the Emperor Napoleon staid.

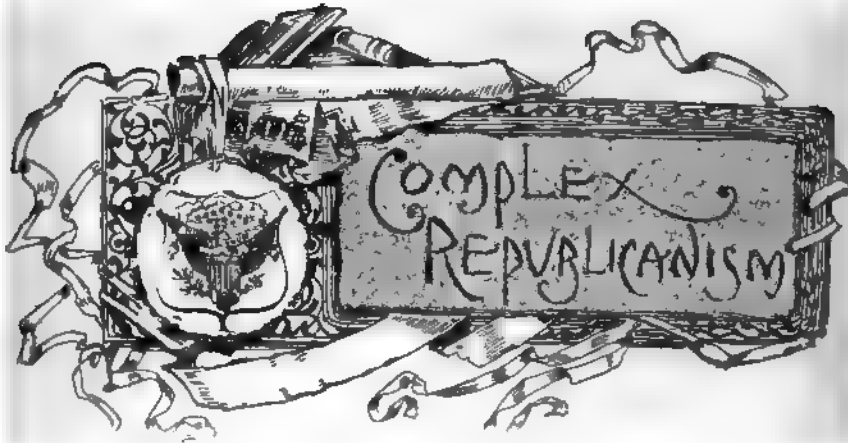
Bazaine, moving too slowly towards Paris, found that the enemy had outmarched him and were heading him by the terrific struggles of Mars-la-Tour and Gravelotte. Beaten back, he retired on Metz, where some months later he ignominiously surrendered the largest army ever known to lay down its arms. McMahon, thinking he could rescue Bazaine, started by a long circuitous road to the northeast, where he was met by the armies of Von Moltke at Sedan, and after some hard fighting, forced to surrender the Emperor and nearly one hundred thousand men.

This should have closed the war, but the French, wounded to the quick by these bitter reverses, resolved to continue the unequal struggle. Paris was besieged by the Germans, but on the outside the indomitable energy of Gambetta raised army after army of recruits, who only became food for powder against the stern discipline and perfectly trained battalions of Germany.

The struggle was long, bitter, and bloody, but the end came when Chanzy and Bourbaki, in command of the relieving armies of Paris, were hopelessly defeated. France then sued for mercy by her representatives, Thiers and Favre, who pled in vain that the indemnity might be paid all in money and not in any loss of territory. Thus William of Prussia came to be crowned in Paris Emperor of a United Germany, a semi-military constitutional monarchy.

The men to whom these last scenes of the drama were due were Bismarck, one of the greatest of modern statesmen, Von Moltke, the greatest European strategist since Napoleon, Von Roon, the organizer of the immense equipment necessary to move so vast an army, and last the old King William, who had the wisdom to let these giants work out the problem without too much imperial interference.

## XVII.



**T**HE chief events in the history of the American Union are so well known that it would be a waste of time to retell them in these pages. The framing of a constitution for self-government or home rule by the pilgrims in the cabin of the Mayflower was an act that struck the keynote to the music of that freedom which, from a dim dream in the mind of the early New Englanders, became in a century and a half an active aspiration that fruited into a vital fact. For the first century, of course, the colonists were occupied largely with attempts to maintain their footing on the soil against the original possessors, and also against the French of Canada and of some portions of the west, who had become allies of the Indians in their resistance to colonial encroachments. But as soon as the colonists found their footing firm, the desire for home rule and their feeling of natural isolation from England, their feeling of geographical and climatic differences, began to operate powerfully on the sentiments of the people in America and to ripen a spirit of nationality, and they would doubtless have found other excuses for revolution

in the course of a few decades even if a wise monarch had been on the throne, and if wise ministers like Chatham had been in power pursuing a conciliatory policy towards the colonies.

It should be understood that, after our independence was established, we still for many years had a very doubtful career before us, and had it not been for France distracting the attention of Europe and especially of England, and had it not been for Napoleon, whose rise helped us to preserve our integrity as a nation, we might have fallen again under the domination of Great Britain.

As a natural historical sequence after the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, which was not to our credit, but was a move for the aggrandizement and extension of empire, we passed through the throes of civil war, and the problem of slavery which had promised to break up this vast nation into a collection of small, jealous, antagonistic states was settled. But, as some of the most careful observers from Madison to Lincoln have remarked, "There are dangers still ahead of us," and it behooves us not to be inflated with national vanity, but to remember that the complex republicanism under which we live and under which we enjoy some undeniable blessings is still in many respects an experiment.

We are menaced at this moment with grave perils from the accumulation of national wealth in a few hands, and the danger is that the masses in our large cities may some day find a leader and may begin a conflict, compared to which the blood shed in the French Revolution will be as a drop of water to Niagara. Already can be heard the subterranean voices which hint a possible earthquake. It is therefore the duty of every American citizen to study our form of government, reflect upon it most carefully, and try to cast his ballot in such a way as to prevent, if possible, the social upheaval to which all the signs of the times most emphatically point.

This chapter, therefore, will not rehearse the striking events of American history, but will show in as plain and simple a manner as possible the form of our government, and the functions of the officers who administer it. The pictures, likewise, with which this chapter is illustrated, will be general rather than special in their relation to the text and not, as in other chapters,

the subjects of more or less extensive comment and anecdotal allusion.

The majority of legislative bodies throughout the civilized world are constituted with two houses, being modelled after either the Congress of the United States or the Parliament of Great Britain. All the republics of South America have congresses of two houses generally known as the Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate in these countries almost invariably represents the quasi-sovereignty of the States or *separate provinces* of the country, while their House of Representatives or Chamber of Deputies, as it is usually called, elected by the voting people on the basis of population, represents the people in their national unity.



THE DISCOVERER OF AMERICA.

Mexico has a Congress with a Senate and House of Representatives. Brazil has a similar assembly. Hayti has a National Assembly of two houses. The Dominican Republic has a legislature consisting of only one house. San Salvador, where the discoverer of America first set his progressive foot, has but one legislative chamber; Gautemala has only one; Honduras has but one which is designated as the Congress of Deputies; Costa Rica has a single house called the Chamber of Deputies. All of these Central and South American countries have adopted our system of having the President and his Cabinet entirely independent of Congress within the lines of executive duty as prescribed by their respective constitutions.

In the eastern hemisphere the countries enjoying constitutional liberty have generally followed the British parliamentary system of having a cabinet depending solely on the continued support of a majority in the popular house of the national assembly. A few have upper houses which are constituted very much like the United States Senate, the members representing the constituent states of the kingdom or empire.

In Germany the Bundesrath, or House of Peers, is the upper house of the German Imperial Assembly, which represents the various states of the empire, while the Reichstag, or House of Representatives, represents the people of the empire as a national entity. In Austria-Hungary two parliaments exist, one for the western part of the empire, or Austria proper, and the other for Hungary. Each of these parliaments consists of two houses, one a chamber of nobles or magnates, and the other of members elected directly by the people. Until about thirty years ago one parliament made laws for the Austrian empire, but the Hungarians demanded a parliament of their own, or Home Rule, as it is called in Ireland, and after a long struggle attended with turmoil, confusion, and bloodshed their demand was conceded. Since then internal peace has prevailed in that empire.

Denmark has a legislature of two houses named the Rigsdag. The upper chamber is the Landsting composed of landlords, and the lower chamber, or Folkthing, is made up of members who are elected by all the people. Iceland has one house of thirty-six members, thirty of whom are elected by the people and six

appointed by the Danish king. The legislature of Sweden is named the Diet. It consists of two houses known as the First and Second Chambers. Norway's legislature is called the Storting or the Great Court, and has two chambers termed the Lagthing and the Odelsting. Sweden and Norway are united politically, the same king being ruler over both countries.

Spain and Portugal have legislatures which are designated as the Cortes. Each Cortes comprises two houses, one named the House of Peers, the other the Chamber of Deputies. France has two houses, a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the members of



THE PILGRIMS' FIRST SUNDAY IN AMERICA.

both being elected. Switzerland and Holland have each two houses, one representing the states, the other the masses.

Finland is the only section of the Russian empire which has an elective legislature, an ancient institution which it has preserved through many vicissitudes, and which the Czar refuses to allow in any other portion of his dominions. In this assembly the nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants are represented. Servia's legislature of two houses, one of Peers, and the other of popular representatives, is called the Skupshtina. Roumania and Italy also have each two chambers. Greece has one chamber which is called the Boulé. San Marino, a little republic many centuries old, containing about seven thousand people, has an assembly of

sixty members who are elected for life from three classes: the nobles, burghers, and peasants. This republic elects a president every six months.

Andorra, another little republic in a valley of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain, with a population of thirteen thousand, has a single chamber of twenty-four members, and the executive duties are exercised by the bishop of the diocese of Udal in Spain. Belgium has a Senate and House of Representatives. Japan, under its constitution recently adopted, has a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. Hawaii has practically a similar system, the Sandwich Islanders calling their chambers the House of Nobles and House of Representatives.

The British Colonial legislatures essentially follow the system of the British Parliament. The South African republics, the Transvaäl and the Orange Free State, have two houses, the members of both being elected. Their legislatures are called the Volksraad. Egypt, under the Khedive as ruler, is governed by a Chamber of Notables who are selected by him. India is governed by a British Governor-General and an Executive Council which he appoints. The Asiatic countries generally are governed in a manner similar to Russia, that is to say, by the will of the monarch, and are utterly destitute of any form of legislative assembly.

There are three coördinate branches or departments in our government of the United States called the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; the first of which makes the laws, the second directs their execution, and the third determines precisely the meaning of those laws.

The legislative branch consisting of two houses, or bodies of representatives, the Senate and House of Representatives, is called the Congress of the United States, whose general powers are set forth in Article I., Section 8, of the Constitution thus:—

SECT. VIII.—The congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:
2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:
3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes:
4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court: to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer period than two years:

12. To provide and maintain a navy:

13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

15. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such parts of them as may be employed in the service of the United States; reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress:

16. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings :— And

17. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

The Constitution provides that Congress must meet at least once a year. The time when it assembles is fixed by law on the first Monday in December of every year. The President, however, is authorized by Article II., Section 3, of the Constitution, to call a special session at any time, whenever "in his opinion there is business requiring immediate attention." Congress enacts all the laws by which the whole people of the United States as a nation are governed. It represents the whole people as well as the States in their *quasi*-sovereignty, and hence is the only competent authority under our republican form of government to



make the laws which we are bound to obey. This first coördinate branch, the legislative, is divided into what is usually called the popular branch — the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Respecting the House of Representatives, Article I., Section 2, of the Constitution provides that it shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications which are requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and have been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Each member of the House of Representatives is elected by a direct vote in the congressional district which he is said to represent. He must be elected by either a majority of the votes cast or by a plurality according to the law of the State in which the election takes place.

The congressional districts are fixed every ten years by the legislatures of the respective States immediately after the national census is taken, because as representation is based on population, when the latter is found to increase or diminish, it is necessary to increase or diminish the number of representatives to which a State is entitled in order to secure as nearly as possible a perfect equality in popular representation among the various States.

Congress determines the required number of population which constitutes a congressional district. In the early days of the republic the number was much smaller than now. The number of members in the House of Representatives and the population which each represented at different decades is shown by the following table : —

Decade.	Members.	Population.
1793 to 1803	105	33,000
1803 to 1813	141	33,000
1813 to 1823	181	35,000
1823 to 1833	212	40,000
1833 to 1843	240	47,700
1843 to 1853	223	70,680
1853 to 1863	234	93,500
1863 to 1873	241	127,941
1873 to 1883	292	130,533
1883 to 1893	325	151,900

A member must be an inhabitant of the State, *but not necessarily of the district in which he is elected*, although few if any members heretofore elected have not been residents of the districts which returned them.

A member of the British House of Commons represents a geographical district which was last fixed by Act of Parliament, in 1884, containing at that time a population of about sixty-five thousand people, although some members represent boroughs which contain a smaller population, but none less than fifteen thousand. A member of the Swiss and National Assembly represents about twenty thousand persons in the canton from which he is returned, and in most countries where representative government obtains a very similar rule is followed.

The members of the House of Representatives are elected biennially. Their election now takes place in all the States of the Union on the first Tuesday in November, though formerly it was not so in a few States. Members of the House are generally called Congressmen, which is quite correct, and it would be equally correct to designate the members of the Senate in the same way since both bodies form the Congress of the United States, but the appellation "Congressman," by general usage has come to be regarded as applying to the members of the House of Representatives alone.

The great power which the House of Representatives exclusively possesses, a power conferred by the Constitution itself, is that all money for any national purpose whatever must be raised by virtue of laws which it must originate. It is a cardinal principle of our government that no authority or body save the immediate representatives of the people alone should first move in the levying of taxes upon the people, or voting away their money for any purpose whatsoever.

During the recent Chilian difficulty, for instance, if the Executive and the Senate had been united in favor of war, the House of Representatives by a vote of a majority of one could have prevented war *by simply refusing to vote the means to carry it on*. Of course the members thus voting would have assumed the responsibility of their action in the face of their constituents who would very soon at the ballot-box have an opportunity of expressing themselves

regarding the conduct of their representatives, should they come forward for re-election.

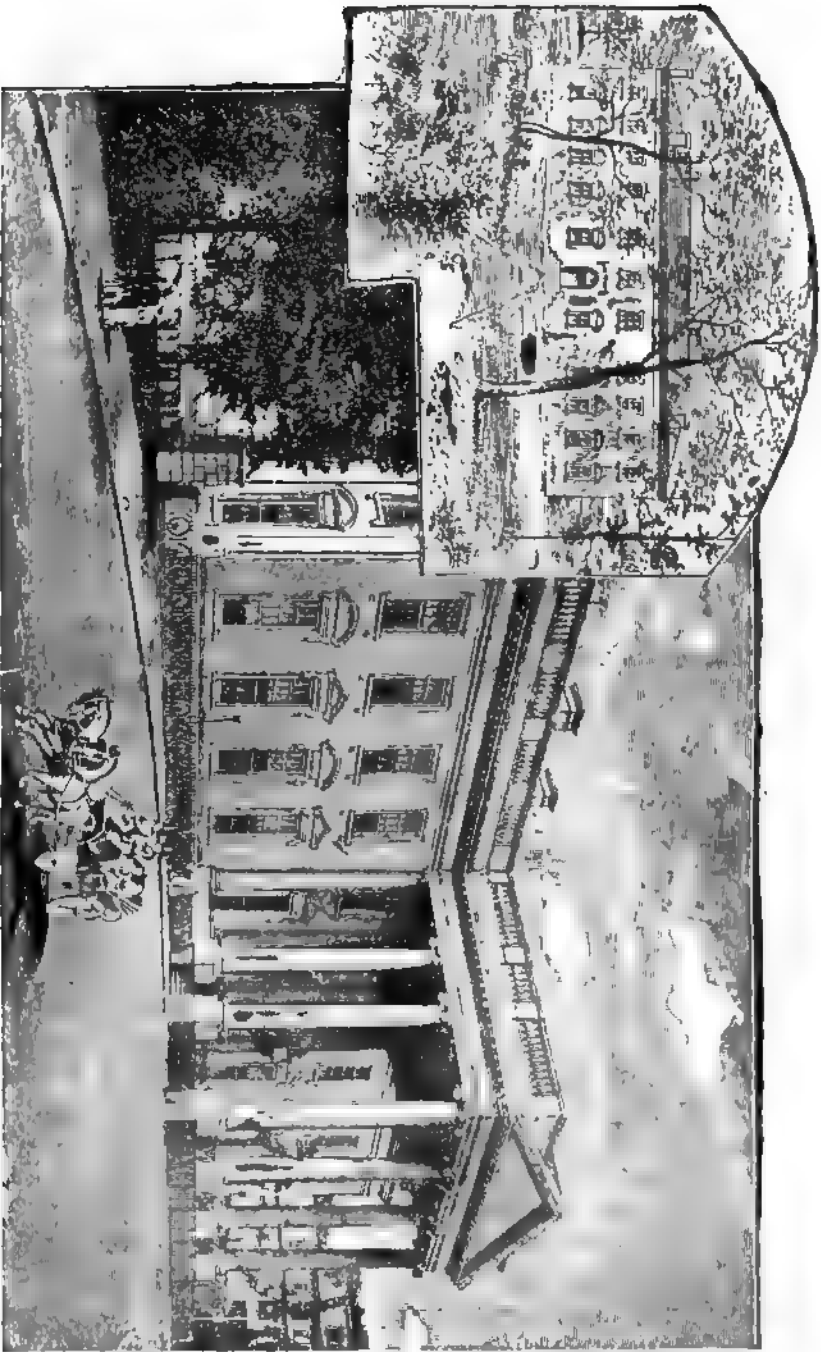
Another power exclusively exercised by the House of Representatives is the impeachment of the President and Vice-President of the United States, and of judges of the United States Courts for crimes and misdemeanors. In cases of this nature, the House proceeds by passing a resolution containing the formal charges against the party impeached, which charges are laid before the Senate sitting as a High Court of Judicature to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused, who is summoned to appear before it and answer to the charges.

The House selects a committee, or managers, as they are termed, to prosecute the case, which they do by procuring the attendance of witnesses, by examination of the same, and cross-examination of the witnesses of the accused, and by such other ways as are allowed in ordinary courts. Happily but few trials of impeachment have been held in this country, the most celebrated being that of President Johnson in 1868.

By far the most important member of the House is the Speaker. After a new House assembles and the roll of membership is called, his election is the first business transacted. *He wields immense power, second only to that of the President of the United States.* He is usually elected by the votes of the dominant political party in the House, and he appoints all the committees whose duties are to consider and report upon every legislative matter which is laid before Congress.

As he invariably selects a majority, sometimes a large majority, of his own party on these committees, the far-reaching power of his position may be perceived. No measure can reach the House until it is first passed on by a committee which he has appointed. It is in the power of the majority of a committee to report such measures as they favor at the most propitious time, and to report such as they are opposed to adversely at the most unfavorable time.

The majority of each committee has practically the shaping of all legislation introduced in the House, as it very seldom happens that any bill favorably reported by a committee is defeated or even materially altered. So important is the office of Speaker regarded



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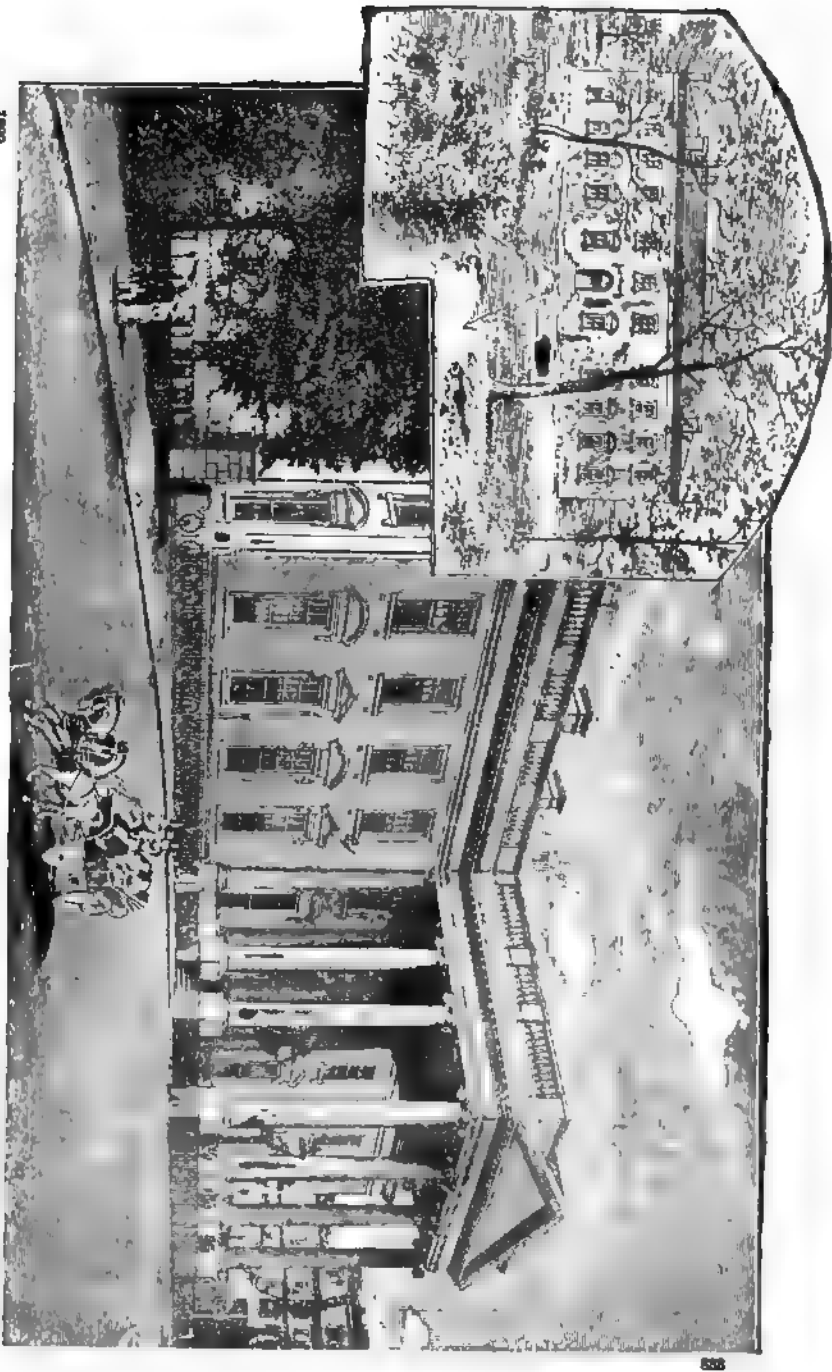
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THE WHITE HOUSE.

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that very exciting contests generally take place over his election. These contests in some instances have been very prolonged, notably in the cases of General Banks in 1856, and Mr. Pennington in 1860, when over two months were spent before an election was made in either case.

The Speaker is entitled to vote on any question but very seldom does except in the case of a tie, when he is obliged to determine the issue by his vote, and he must vote when any question is to be decided by ballot. The Speaker's salary is eight thousand dollars a year, while all the other members of the House are paid five thousand dollars each.

Of the important committees of the House the most important are the Committee on Ways and Means, and the Committee of Appropriations. The first named is the committee which has charge of devising ways and means to raise revenue for the support of the government. This is done chiefly by internal revenue laws, and by tariff acts which lay duties on products imported into the United States. The Committee of Appropriations pass upon all measures which call for money out of the National Treasury for any purpose whatever and hence its great importance. It primarily holds the purse-strings of Uncle Sam's strong box.

Immediately after electing its speaker the House votes for its other officers, which consist of a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, a doorkeeper, a postmaster and a chaplain. None of these officials can be elected from among the members of the House, but any citizen not holding a salaried office under the national government is eligible.

The clerk has a number of assistants whom he appoints and pays for their services. He also pays the regular salaries of persons engaged in the service of the House or of any of its committees. His most important business, however, consists in keeping the docket of legislative business in a proper manner, so that bills come up in their regular order of precedence, thus furnishing the Speaker and any member of the House at any time with a correct chart of the progress of business. He also calls the roll and records the votes when a yea and nay vote is taken.

The sergeant-at-arms is an official who is supposed to represent *in his own person* all the sovereign force of the House when he

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acts in pursuance of its orders or in obedience to the Speaker. He secures order in the House when any serious confusion occurs by advancing among the disorderly members with the ancient emblem of his office — the mace; he has power to arrest and imprison any member for a gross violation of the rules, and keep the offender in close custody until released by order of the Speaker or the House.

His power of arrest, however, is chiefly exercised on occasions when it is found necessary to get a quorum of the House; that is, the required number with which to transact business, when he sets forth, commissioned by the Speaker to arrest every absent member whom he may meet and bring him forthwith before the bar of the House to give a satisfactory excuse for non-attendance, which is a grave breach of the rules. In addition to these very onerous duties he is also the official who pays the congressmen their salaries.

The door-keeper of the House is another important personage who is allowed to appoint a number of assistants to aid him in the performance of his duties. He exercises general supervision over the Hall, or meeting place of the House, the committee rooms adjoining, and the galleries to which the public is admitted. The members' desks, chairs, and all the fittings and equipments pertaining to the House are in his charge. He allows no one to appear



THOMAS JEFFERSON.



on the floor of the House except such persons as have a right to be there.

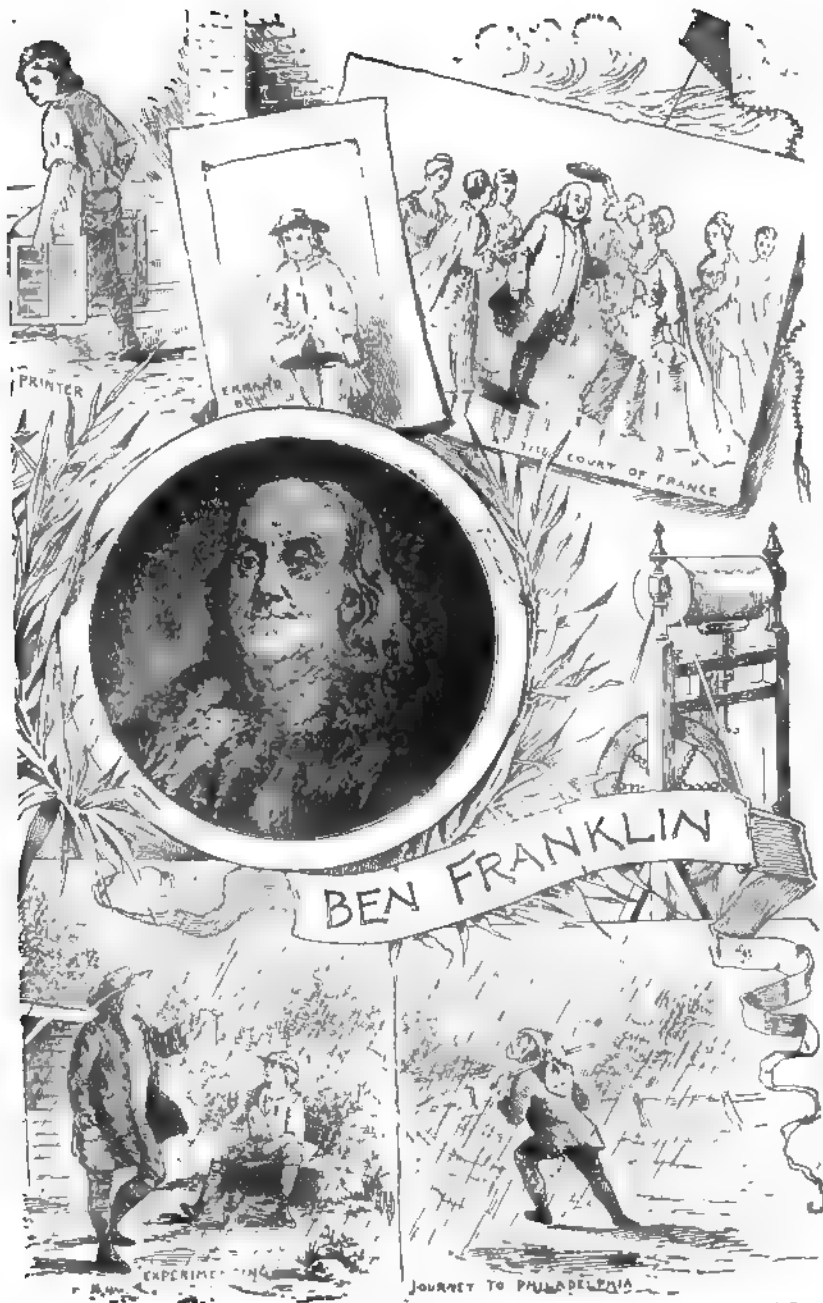
The postmaster receives all letters for the members, which his assistants deliver as soon as possible. His office, that of special postmaster to the House, is created by law and is regarded as a very honorable position.

The chaplain is, of course, a clergyman, who invokes the Deity preliminary to the legislative work of each day's session. In addition to this, his only other official duty is to appear at the funerals of such congressmen as die at the Capitol. At the beginning of the century it was a part of his official business to preach a sermon to Congress on Sundays, but this practice has been discontinued for many years, owing chiefly to the non-attendance of members.

In addition to his salary of five thousand dollars a year, each member of the House is allowed something over one hundred dollars a year for stationery, newspapers, etc., and also a travelling fee, or "mileage," as it is called, which is fixed at a rate of twenty cents a mile for every mile travelled between his residence and the city of Washington.

A member is prohibited from holding any other salaried office under the national government, and he is also legally incapable of holding any salaried office created by the Congress of which he is a member until the term of life of that House of Representatives has expired. No member can legally receive any pay from individuals or corporations for any service which they may have rendered in the House, or in any matter in which the United States is involved, save that in the latter case professional fees as attorneys in the courts are regarded as proper.

They are also prohibited from voting on measures in which their private interests are directly affected, such as railroad, telegraph, and other corporations in which they are shareholders, but it is alleged that breaches of this prohibition have become the rule, and observance of the prohibition the exception, and this allegation is based on some substantial grounds. The power of great corporations affects our national, state and municipal legislators more and more every year and will, till a change in our system takes place and industrial equality as well as political equality shall be firmly established.



The other subdivision of Congress is called the Senate of the United States. According to Article I., Section 3, of the Constitution: The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The equality and limited sovereignty of the respective States of the Union are represented by the Senate, each State small or large being entitled to elect two senators to that body and no more. Thus, the new States of North Dakota and South Dakota, with populations of 182,719 and 328,808 respectively, are represented by the same number of senators as the States of New York and Pennsylvania, the former with a population of 5,997,853, and the latter with a population of 5,258,014.

The Senate corresponds with the Council of States of the Swiss Confederation, referred to elsewhere, which consists of two representatives from each canton, but with this difference; in Switzerland they elect the members of the Council of States for a term of one, two, or three years, as the cantonal legislatures may determine, while the duration of office of our senators and the method of their election is established by constitutional provision.

By constitutional provision also the vice-president of the United States presides over the sessions of the Senate, while the Swiss Council of States elect their presiding officer. The vice-president is not allowed to vote unless in the case of a tie vote in the Senate, when he is obliged to decide. When he is absent for any cause, the Senate elects a president *pro tempore*, who performs the duties of the office until the return of the vice-president.

It is customary at the beginning of every session to elect some senator as temporary chairman who is generally called upon whenever occasion requires to take the chair throughout the entire session in the absence of the vice-president. The vice-president is paid a salary of eight thousand dollars a year; the members of the Senate each receive five thousand dollars a year.



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.  
"The Cradle of Liberty."

The other officers of the Senate are a secretary, sergeant-at-arms, chaplain, postmaster and librarian. The office of Secretary of the Senate corresponds to that of Clerk of the House of Representatives. The secretary keeps the roll of senators and is the custodian of all records, papers, bills, petitions and resolutions which come before the Senate. He pays the senators their salaries, which duty is performed for the members of the House of Representatives by the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House. He has several clerks to assist him, subject to his direction and control.

The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate is the official representative of the power of that body, and his authority and duties correspond in every respect with that of the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House, except that he does not pay the senators' salaries and that he has control of the door-keepers of the Senate and all the subordinate employees as well as general charge of the furniture of the Chamber, its ante-rooms and lobbies.

The chaplain, postmaster, and librarian of the Senate perform duties exactly analogous to the similar officials of the House. The Senate does not permit its presiding officer, the vice-president, to appoint its committees as the Speaker of the House of Representatives does in his Chamber, but they select a special committee for the purpose, which appoints the various committees to consider and report upon all measures laid before them. The senators are privileged from arrest while attending to their duties, as also are the members of the House by constitutional provision.

All the important official appointments made by the President of the United States must be submitted to the Senate for confirmation. If it votes in favor of an appointee, the person is said to be "confirmed," and he can immediately assume the duties of the office; if it votes to reject, the person rejected is debarred from the office, and the President is powerless without the consent of the Senate.

This exclusive power of "consent" which the Senate possesses also extends to the treaties which are made with foreign nations. No treaty negotiated between the President and government of a foreign country can go into force and effect until it is ratified by a two thirds vote of the Senate, according to Article II., Section 2, *of the Constitution*, which says: "The President shall have power,

by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur."

As a general rule the Senate approves all treaties submitted by the President, but a notable exception occurred in 1888 during the administration of President Cleveland. The latter laid before the Senate an extradition treaty which had been negotiated with the British Government, providing for the mutual surrender of certain offenders against the laws of this country and Great Britain; but it was rejected in the Senate by a great majority.

The ground of objection was that some of its sections would enable the British Government to secure the extradition of Irish political offenders—that

is of Irishmen who might violate the Special Coercion Act which applied to Ireland only, and to no other portion of the British empire, and which created many new offences not regarded as crimes in either Great Britain or the United States.

The Senate holds what is termed an executive session whenever it considers the matters of appointments or treaties, which means a secret session at which each senator present, as well as the



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT, AT CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

Erected to commemorate the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.

special clerk who keeps the record, is sworn to preserve secrecy respecting the proceedings. At the beginning of our government all sessions of the Senate were secret for a period of five years, but this obnoxious practice was abandoned and all of its sessions, with the exception mentioned, are now as public as those of the House of Representatives.

The Senate is the high court of the United States for the trial of impeachments of national officials before which the House of Representatives present their accusation and prosecute the defendant until judgment is rendered. Of late years, more especially since the Civil War, the Senate has been chiefly composed of very wealthy men. At the present time it is very often referred to derisively as the billionaire club, for it is alleged that many of its members have been elected, not on account of probity, merit, or statesmanlike qualities, but solely through the influence of their personal wealth, or that of the syndicates or corporations whose special interests they are expected to subserve, as members of the highest branch of our national legislature where the votes of the two senators from Nevada, with a population of 44,327 souls, have the same weight as the vote of all the thirty-four members of the House of Representatives from New York on every question which comes before Congress, save an original appropriation or tax-levy bill.

A movement which is rapidly gathering strength is being agitated in many parts of our country for the election of senators by a direct vote of the people. Many powerful reasons can be urged in favor of this change in the method of their election, and hardly one sound objection can be offered to it. The nearer the representatives are to the whole body of voters, the greater the responsibility they feel and the more strictly they can be held to account. The senators are afar off from the people now, because elected by the legislatures, which have been time and again manipulated to elect senators who would never be elected by the people, had they the privilege of the selection. This change of method it will require a constitutional amendment to bring about, but the gain to the public will be worth all the pains taken.

The second coördinate branch of our government is the *Executive*, or President, who is the supreme officer to see that the laws

enacted by the national legislature are enforced. Article II., Section 1, of the Constitution provides that the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows: Each State shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator, or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

The President of the United States is not elected by a direct vote of the people, but by "electors" who are chosen in such manner as the legislatures of the several States shall determine. A State legislature by a committee may choose the electors to represent it in the Electoral College, or it may direct the governor to appoint them, or have them selected in any other way. But, as a matter of fact, the "electors" in every State are voted for directly by the people on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of every presidential year.

The "electors" chosen in each State are obliged to meet on the first Wednesday of the month of December next ensuing in the capital of their State where they vote for President and vice-president. A majority of the votes of the total Electoral College is required to elect. If no one voted for by the electors receives a clear majority, the election of President is decided by the House of Representatives.

After the electors in the several States have voted for the candidates of their choice they make three lists of the ballot taken, which they enclose and seal with a certificate stating that they are accurate. Two of these lists are addressed to the President of the United States Senate, one of which is forwarded by mail and



the other by a special messenger. The third list is deposited with the judge of the district court, within whose jurisdiction the election has been held.

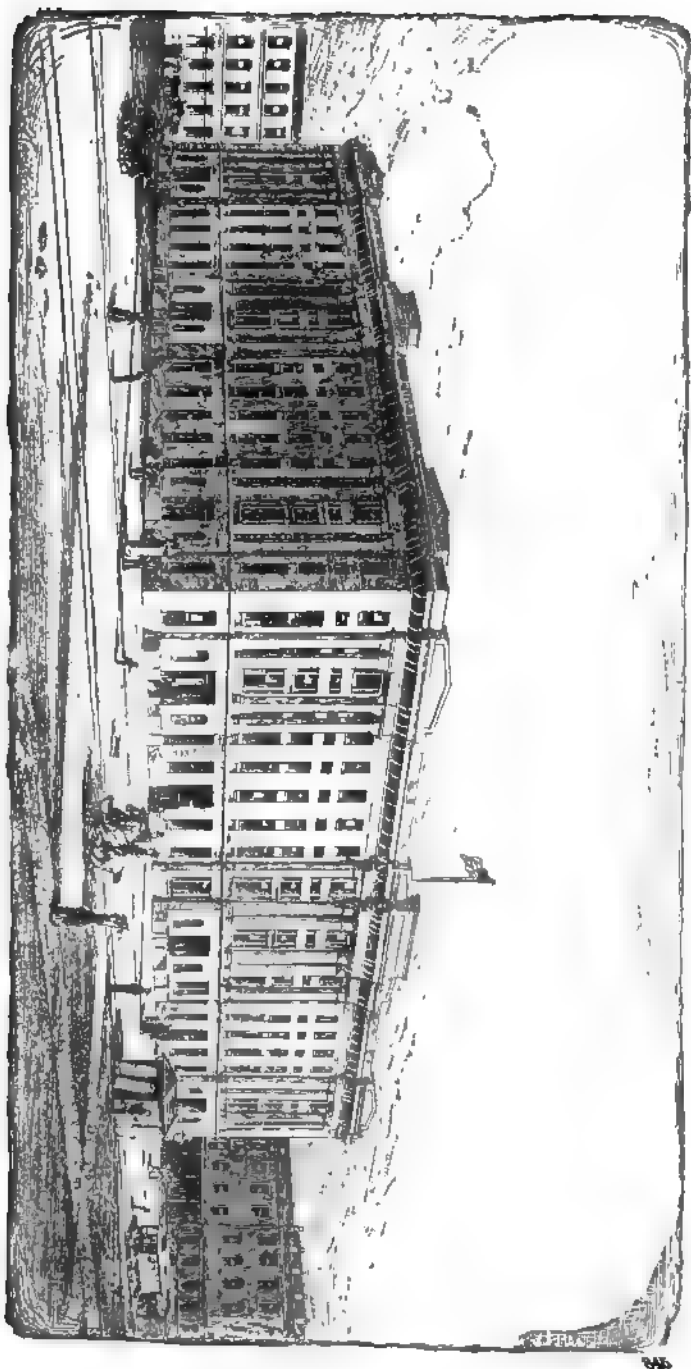
At the expiration of a month after the meeting of the Electoral College in each State, if nothing is heard in Washington by mail or messenger from a State, the President of the United States Senate serves notice on the Secretary of State, who immediately procures the certified list in the custody of the district judge, which is laid before the President of the Senate. Congress then assembles on the second Wednesday of February to count the votes of the Electoral College.

The Senate, with much formality, headed by its president, preceded by the sergeant-at-arms, enters the hall of the House of Representatives where they are received by the members of the latter body standing. The President of the Senate, ascending to the speaker's dais, breaks open the sealed envelopes containing the returns, which he announces to both houses, and he declares who, if any, has a majority of the electoral votes, and is consequently elected President.

In case no person has a majority, the House of Representatives alone proceeds to elect the President, which it does by selecting by ballot, as provided in the Constitution, from among the three candidates who have received the highest number of electoral votes, such candidate as it prefers. This selection, however, is not made by each representative casting one vote for his choice — *it is made by the majority of the representatives from each State agreeing on a certain candidate for whom they cast the vote of their State*, each State having but one vote on such an occasion, the members of the minority, however large, having practically no voice in the matter.

For instance, if the election of President were to be decided in 1893 by the House of Representatives, the State of Massachusetts would record its presidential vote for a Democrat, seven of its representatives being of that political party, while its six Republican representatives would be absolutely powerless to affect the result.

In case no candidate for the vice-presidency has a majority of *the electoral votes, the Senate chooses the vice-president, for the rea-*



CUSTOM-HOUSE, NEW ORLEANS, BEFORE WAR.  
From a Sketch.

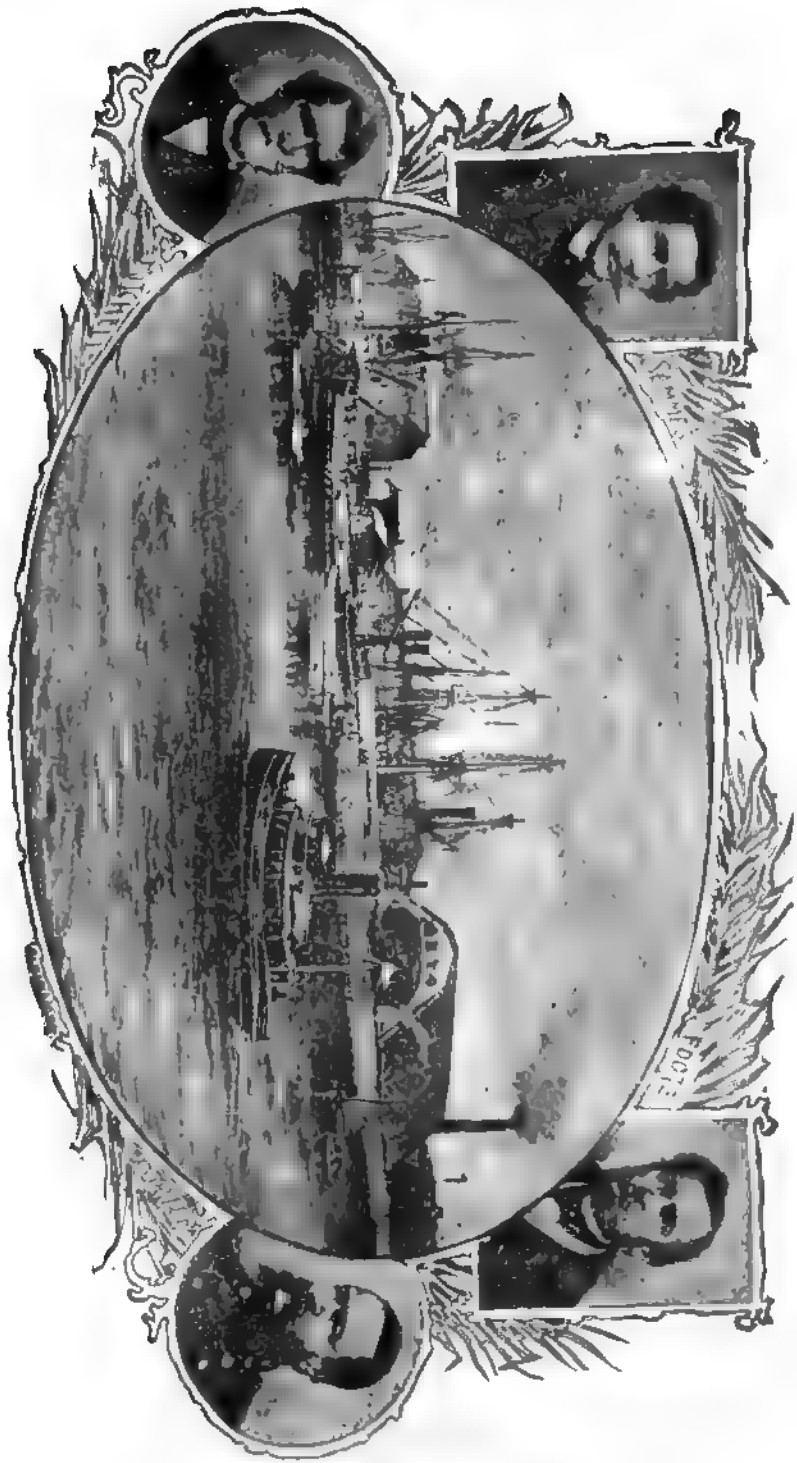
*son that his principal duty is to preside over that body.* But they must choose between the two candidates having the most votes for vice-president, each senator voting, the majority of votes being required to elect. And in case the House of Representatives fails to elect a President, it will be seen that this vice-president elected by the Senate becomes President, none having been chosen otherwise according to the Constitution.

The chief duty of the President is to see that all laws are properly carried out. This includes not only the acts passed by Congress, but the organic law itself, the Constitution as well as all treaties and stipulations entered into between the United States and foreign countries. He is commanded by the Constitution to lay before Congress from time to time information respecting the state of the country, and in cases of emergency he is authorized to call a special session.

He is formally notified by Congress at the opening of every session that the national legislature is prepared to receive any communication which he desires to lay before them, whereupon he sends what is termed a message, or written communication, which deals with the general condition of the country, or calls their attention to some matter of pressing urgency, and is of greater or less length according to the importance and necessities of the subject matter which it contains and according to the natural verbosity of its composer. Most presidential messages are so long that very few persons read them.

The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States. The object of this provision in the Constitution is to ensure that the sovereign authority over the armed forces of the country shall always remain in the person of the man who is elected every four years by the votes of the country. He appoints our ministers and consular officers to foreign countries, receives formally all foreign ministers accredited to this country, and under his direction our State department grants *exequaturs*, that is, permits to depart to foreign consuls in the United States. He alone is authorized to negotiate treaties with foreign powers which he must lay before the Senate representing the States for adoption without which no treaty can go into effect.

*The power to pardon for any violation of the laws of the United*



NAVAL HEROES OF THE LATE WAR.

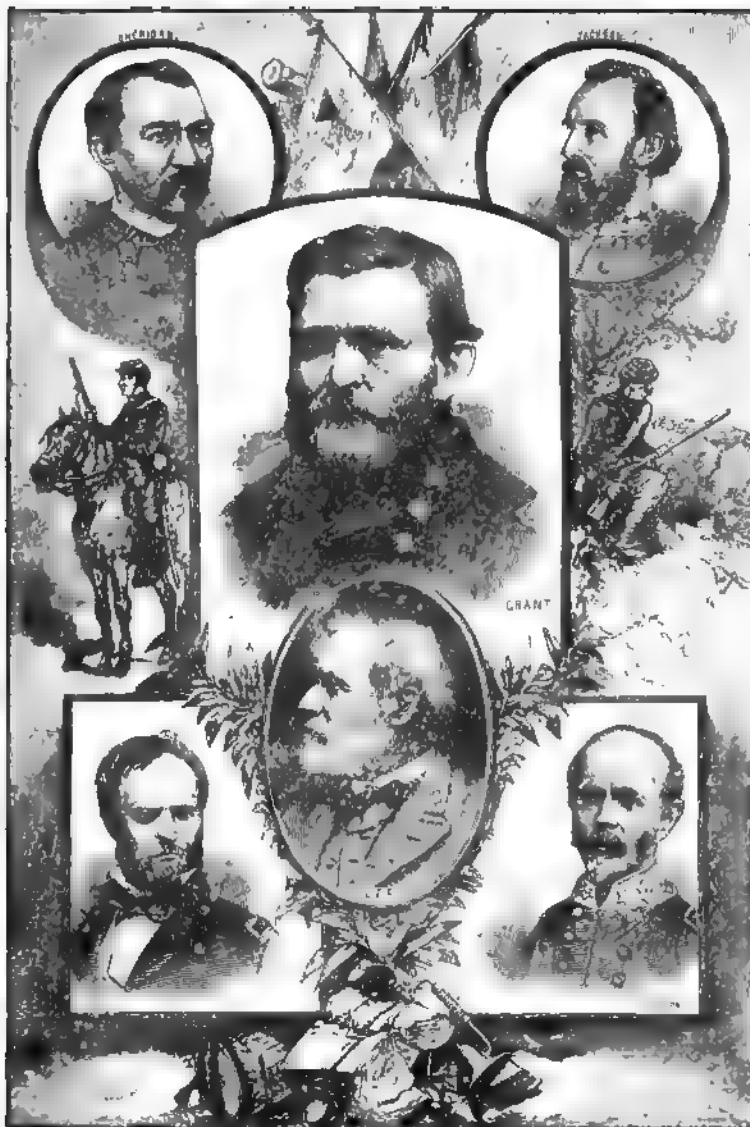
States belongs to the President as supreme ruler. This pardoning power exercised by the head of all civilized nations corresponds in a great measure to the powers allowed courts of equity, which afford relief in cases where the courts of law, by reason of the rigidity and universality of the written law, fail to do so. Violations of the criminal law of the United States take place from time to time through ignorance, or some other powerful extenuating circumstance occurs which could not be pleaded in defence in court; in such cases the President in his discretion can exercise his high prerogative — the power to pardon — with which he is invested by the Constitution.

Every bill passed by Congress must be approved by the President. When a measure passes both houses it is submitted to him for his signature. If he signs the bill it immediately becomes the law; if he refuses to sign he returns the bill to Congress with a special message containing reasons for withholding his signature. When he refuses to sign a bill he is said to be exercising the veto power given him by the Constitution. A vetoed bill is practically dead, unless its friends in Congress can secure for it a two thirds vote of both Houses, when it becomes law, the President's veto notwithstanding.

In case a bill passes over the veto, it is sent by Congress direct to the State department, where it takes its place among all other laws, and must be carried out precisely as if it bore the signature of the Executive. This right of the President to veto any legislative measure passed by a majority of the representatives of the people, as well as by a majority of the States represented by the Senate, seems, under a republican form of government, to be a singular anomaly.

The people elect men to enact laws; they also elect a certain man to execute those laws, but the Executive possesses substantially the power to say what laws shall be enacted by the law-makers, because it is almost impossible to secure a two thirds vote to overrule a veto in both Houses against the tremendous influence of the President, backed by the official patronage and the great army of officials dependent upon him.

A bare majority of the votes in both Houses can enact any law *which* the President approves; if he disapproves, a two thirds



MILITARY HEROES OF THE LATE WAR.

vote is required, so that his legislative power exercised in this negative fashion is equal in a House of three hundred members and a Senate of eighty to forty-nine votes in the one house and thirteen in the other respectively, or the difference between a bare majority and the number requisite added to it to carry a measure over the veto.

The reason for so much legislative power in the hands of the Executive does not appear to be sound to-day, however it may have been at the time the Constitution was adopted. The prerogative of British monarchs was conferred by it upon our Executive, but no British monarch has exercised the veto, since the time of Queen Anne at the beginning of the last century, and it is very certain that it will never be used again against a parliamentary act, *while our Presidents have used it with impunity to defeat measures to which they were opposed.*

The Swiss confederation does not permit its executive to interfere in any direct or indirect way with the Federal Assembly, *and the veto power is retained by the people themselves*, who exercise it at the ballot-box under the law of the Referendum, which is explained in another part of this work.

The President cannot be tried in any ordinary court for an offence against the law. Provision has been made, however, that if he offends he must be accused by the House of Representatives, and tried by a legal process called impeachment, by the Senate. If he is found guilty he can be removed from office. The vice-president is subject to impeachment and removal in a similar way, as well as certain other officers of the government.

The salary which the President receives is fifty thousand dollars a year, with the use of the executive mansion in Washington, called the White House, which is all furnished and equipped at the expense of the government. The public treasury also pays the salaries of his two secretaries, two clerks, telegraph operator, and a number of minor employees who are engaged in the executive mansion.

The President appoints the members of his Cabinet, or advisors, who receive each a salary of eight thousand dollars a year. Each member of the Cabinet is at the head of a very important and extensive department, which he manages under the direction of

the President, who can remove him at any time he sees fit. The Cabinet officers are prohibited by law from taking any part in the proceedings of Congress, unlike the members of the Swiss Executive, who are permitted, and indeed often requested, to appear on the floor of either house to explain and to give information respecting the transactions of their departments, and to advocate or oppose legislative measures pending, but who are not allowed to vote. There does not appear any good reason why the privileges extended to the Swiss cabinet could not be adopted in the United States with the same advantage.

Since our executive department comprises the working machinery of the national government throughout the country, as well as in its relations to foreign countries, a brief summary of the special departments into which it is subdivided, with their chief officials, powers, and duties will be in order.

The Secretary of State has the management under the direction of the President of the duties appertaining to correspondence with the United States ministers and consuls to foreign countries, with the representatives of foreign powers accredited to the United States, and to negotiations of every character relating to foreign affairs. He is also the medium of correspondence between the President and the chief executive of the several States of the Union; he has the custody of the great seal of the United States, and countersigns and affixes such seal to all executive proclamations, to various commissions, and to warrants for pardon, and the extradition of fugitives from justice.

He is regarded as the first in rank among the members of the Cabinet. He is also the custodian of the treaties made with foreign states and of the laws of the United States. He grants and issues passports, and all exequaturs to foreign consuls in the United States are issued through his office. He publishes the laws and resolutions of Congress, amendments to the Constitution, and proclamations declaring the admission of new States into the Union. He is also charged with certain annual reports to Congress relating to commercial information received from diplomatic and consular officers of the United States.

The Secretary of State is aided by the Assistant Secretary of State, who becomes the acting secretary in the absence of his chief.



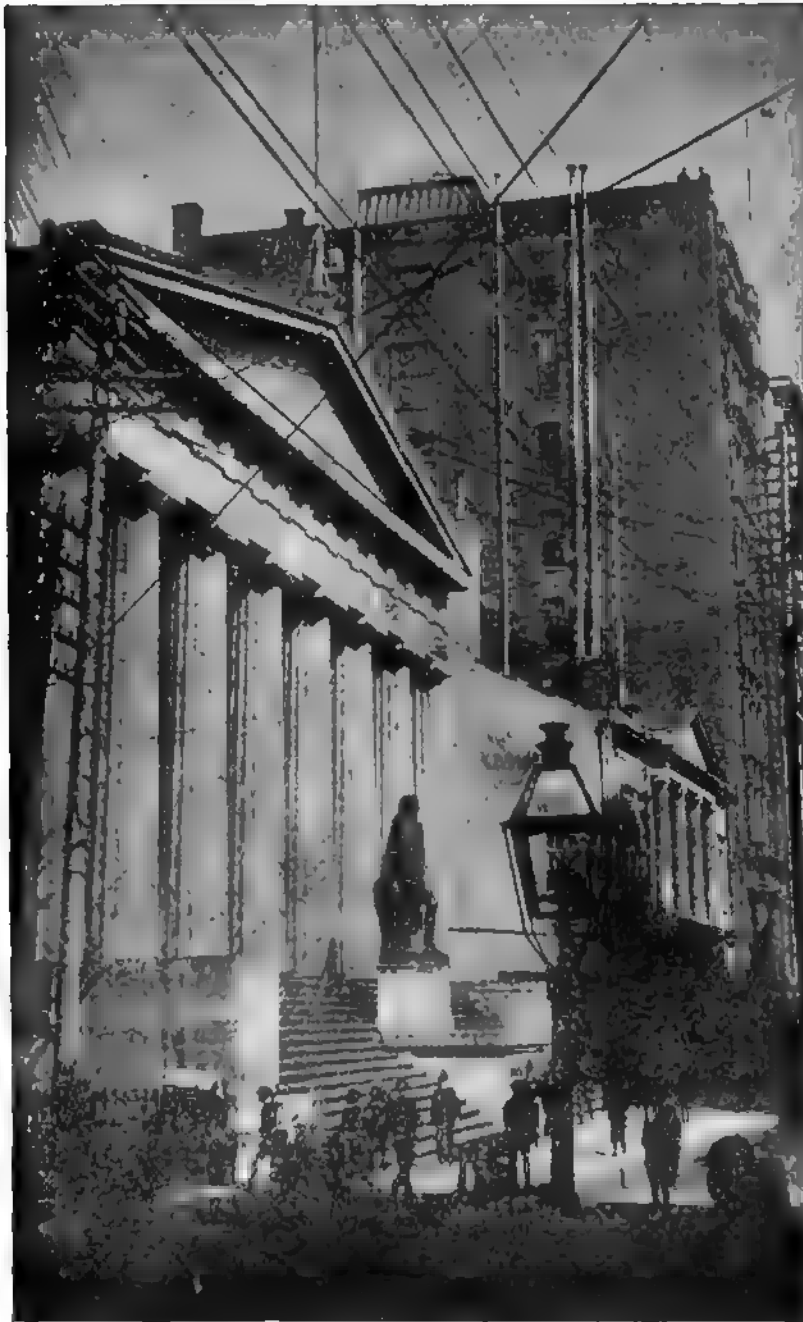
Under the organization of the department the assistant secretary, second assistant secretary, and third assistant secretary are respectively charged with the immediate supervision of all correspondence with the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, and of the miscellaneous correspondence relating thereto, and in general they are intrusted with the preparation of the correspondence upon any questions arising in the course of the public business that may be assigned to them by the secretary. A chief clerk has the general supervision of all the clerks and other employees, and of all the business of the department.

The Secretary of the Treasury is charged by law with the management of the national finances. He prepares plans for the improvement of the revenue and for the support of the public credit; he superintends the collection of the revenue, and prescribes the forms of keeping and rendering public accounts and of making returns; he grants warrants for all moneys drawn from the treasury in pursuance of appropriations made by law, and for the payment of moneys into the treasury; and he annually submits to Congress estimates of the probable revenues and disbursements of the government.

The Secretary of the Treasury also controls the construction of public buildings, the coinage and printing of money, the collection of statistics, the administration of the coast and geodetic survey, life-saving, lighthouse, revenue cutter, steamboat inspection, and marine hospital branches of the public service, and furnishes generally such information as may be required by either branch of Congress on all matters pertaining to everything within the jurisdiction of the department.

There are three assistant secretaries of the treasury. One of these has general supervision of the work assigned to one of the three divisions of the department, called the Division of Appointments, which attends to public moneys, loans and currency, secret service, etc. He signs all letters and papers relating to the business of his division as assistant secretary, or "by order of the Secretary," except such papers as by law require the signature of the secretary himself, and he performs all other duties prescribed by law or by the secretary.

Another of the assistant secretaries has the general supervision



WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

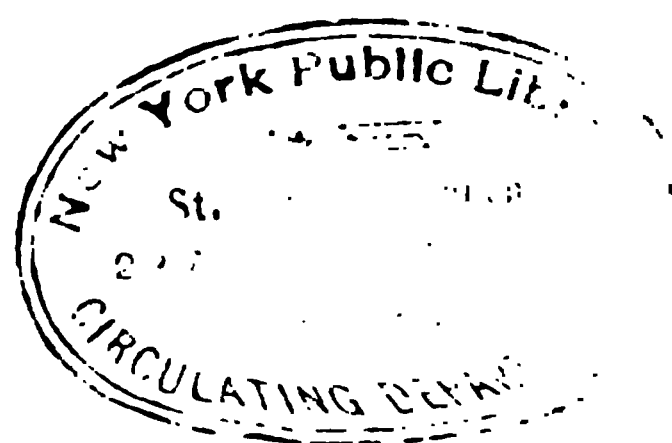
of the work assigned to the Division of Customs, which embraces revenue marine, special agents, and bureau of navigation. He signs all letters and papers relating to the business of his division as assistant secretary, or "by order of the Secretary," except such as by law require the signature of the secretary.

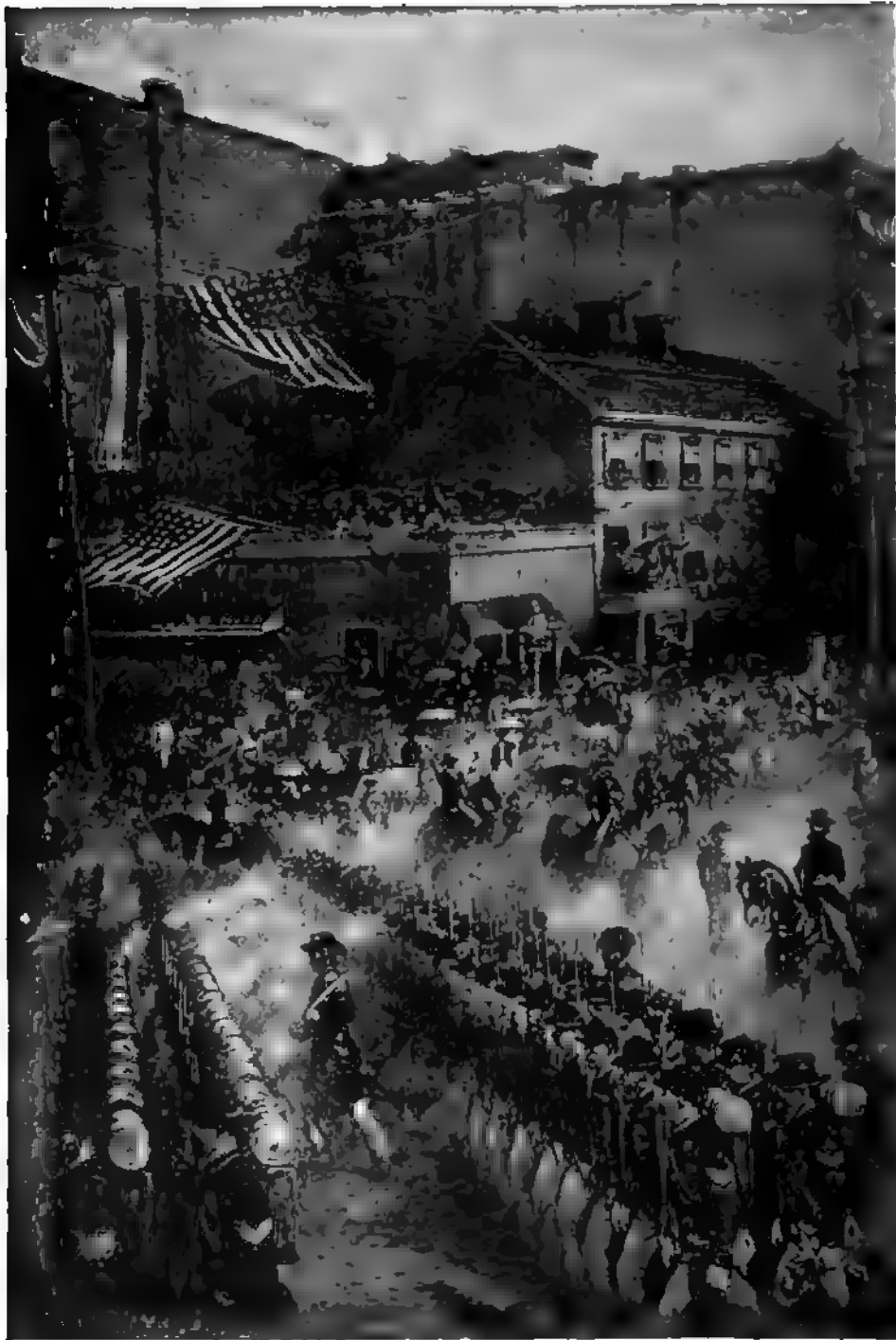
The third assistant secretary has general supervision of the business assigned to the Division of Mails and Files, which embraces warrants, estimates, appropriations, etc. He signs all letters and papers issuing from his division as assistant secretary, or "by order of the Secretary," except such as require the signature of the secretary.

The chief clerk of the secretary of the treasury supervises under the immediate direction of the secretary and assistant secretaries all the clerks and employees connected with the department. He has the superintendence of all buildings occupied by the department in the city of Washington, the transmission of the mails, the care of all horses, wagons, and carriages employed, the direction of engineers, machinists, firemen, and laborers, and the expenditure of the appropriations for contingent expenses of the treasury department. He has also supervision of all the official correspondence of the secretary's office so far as to see that it is stated in correct and official form, the enforcement of the general regulations of the department, and the charge of all business of the secretary's office not assigned.

Six auditors are appointed for the department each of whom is at the head of a division bureau assigned to pass upon a special class of accounts, the whole together covering all the financial transactions of the United States. Two comptrollers, designated as the first and second, are also appointed, whose duties are to re-examine, revise, and certify the accounts reported by the auditors.

The Commissioner of Customs revises and certifies the accounts of revenues collected from duties on imports and tonnage; fines, penalties, and forfeitures under the custom and navigation laws, and from other sources connected with custom matters, also the accounts of the importation and exportation of goods under the warehouse system, and many other kindred matters, and he also approves and files the official bonds given by custom officers, and





*Wheeling into 15th St. from Pennsylvania Ave.*

**GRAND PARADE. REVIEW OF THE UNION**  
FROM



WASHINGTON, D. C., AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.  
 Paintings.

May 23 and 24, 1865.  
 1865.



transmits their commissions. This office is organized in two divisions, Customs and Appointments.

The Treasurer of the United States is charged with the receipt and disbursement of all public moneys that may be deposited in the treasury at Washington, and the sub-treasuries at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, San Francisco, St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati, and in the national bank United States depositories; is trustee for bonds held to secure national bank circulation, and custodian of Indian trust fund bonds; is agent for paying the interest on the public debt, and for paying salaries of members of the House of Representatives. The following are the sub-divisions of the treasurer's bureau: —

*Chief Clerk.* — Receives and distributes the official mail, has charge of the correspondence and the disposition and payment of the clerical force, and the custody of the records and files, and of the issue of duplicate checks and drafts.

*Cash Division.* — For receipt and payment of public funds at Washington.

*Issue Division.* — Completion of new United States notes, gold and silver certificates, and count of silver, gold, and minor coin.

*Redemption Division.* — All currency except national bank notes received and redeemed.

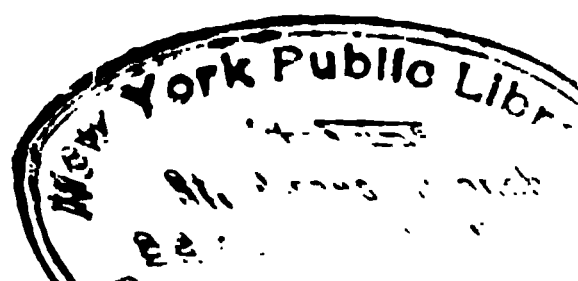
*Loan Division.* — Interest checks prepared and bonds redeemed.

*Accounts Division.* — The accounts of the treasury, the sub-treasuries, and the United States national banks depositories are kept.

*National Bank Division.* — Has custody of bonds held for national bank circulation, for public deposits and various public trusts, and makes collection of semi-annual duty.

*National Bank Redemption Agency.* — Notes of national banks are redeemed and accounted for.

The Register of the Treasury is the head official bookkeeper of the United States. He prepares a statement which shows all receipts and disbursements of the public money (except those made under the supervision of the Post-Office Department) which statement is transmitted annually to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. He signs and issues all bonds and sends to the Treasurer of the United States schedules showing the names of persons entitled to receive interest thereon. He registers all warrants





drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the Treasurer, and transmits statements of balances due to individuals after the settlement of their accounts by the first comptroller or the Commissioner of Customs, upon which payment is made. The bureau of the Register is sub-divided into the following divisions:—

*Loan Division.*—In this division registered and coupon bonds are issued and all registered bonds transferred; it also has charge of the conversion of coupons into registered bonds, the ledger accounts with holders of registered bonds, and the preparation of schedules upon which interest on the registered bonds is paid.

*Receipts and Expenditures Division.*—In this division are kept the great account books of the United States which show the civil, diplomatic, internal revenue, miscellaneous and public debt receipts and expenditures.

*Note Coupon and Currency Division.*—In this division redeemed bonds, paid interest coupons, interest checks, and interest-bearing notes are examined and registered. Treasury notes, legal tenders, and fractional currency are examined, cancelled, and the destruction thereof witnessed and recorded.

*Interest, Expense, and Warrant Division.*—In this division the interest on the various loans, the premiums and discounts on bonds sold, and the expense of negotiation are ascertained. It also receives and registers all civil accounts and civil pay warrants.

The Comptroller of the Currency has, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, the control of the national banks. The sub-divisions of this bureau are:—

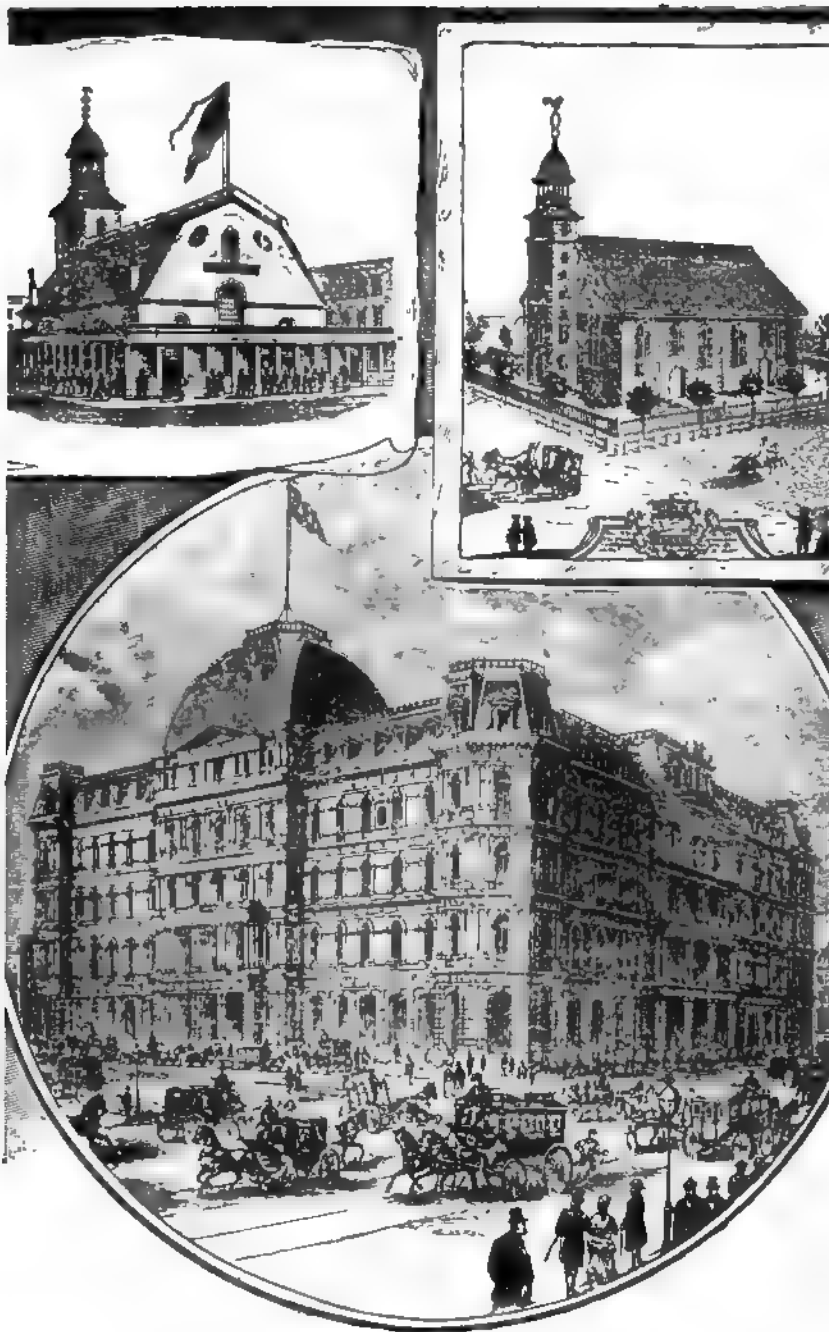
*Organization Division.*—The organization of national banks.

*Issue Division.*—The preparation and issue of national bank circulation.

*Reports Division.*—Examination and consolidation of the reports of national banks.

*Redemption Division.*—The redemption and destruction of notes issued by national banks.

The Director of the Mint has general supervision of all the mints and assay offices of the United States. He prescribes rules, to be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, for the transaction of business at the mints and assay offices. He regulates the distribution of silver coin, and the charges to be collected from depositors. He receives for adjustment the accounts



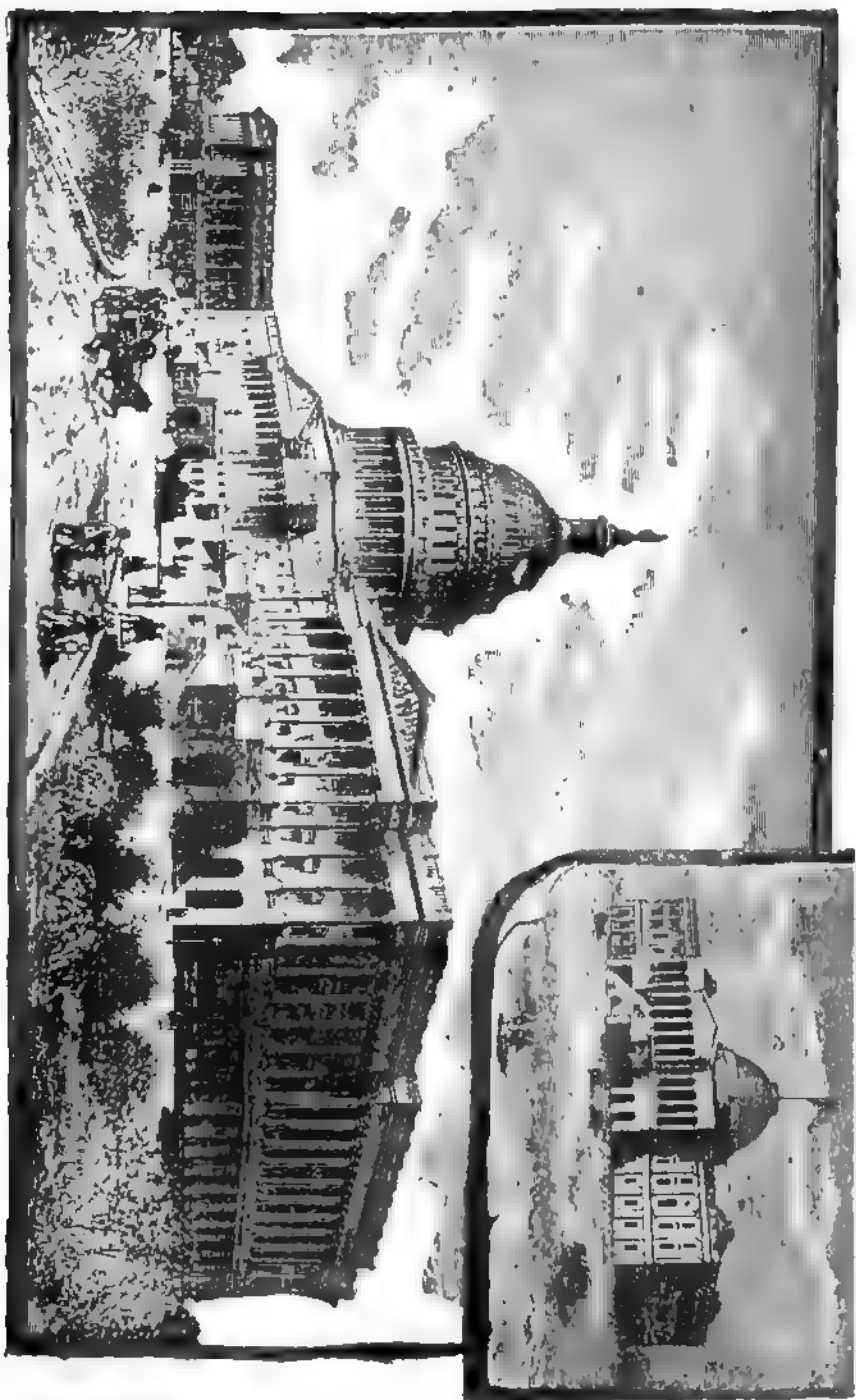
NEW YORK POST OFFICE. — 1750, 1800, 1890.

of the mints and assay offices, superintends their expenditures and annual settlements, and makes special examinations of them whenever deemed necessary. All appointments, removals, and transfers in the mints and assay offices are subject to his approval.

The purchase of silver bullion and the allotment of its coinage is made by him, and at his request are made all transfers of the moneys in the mints and assay offices, and advances from appropriations for the mint service. Tests of the weight and fineness of coins struck at the mints are made in the assay laboratory under his charge. He estimates annually the values of the standard coins of foreign countries for the guidance of the custom-house officials and for other public purposes. He also prepares two annual reports, one for the fiscal year, printed in the finance report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the other for the calendar year, which contains the statistics of the yearly production of the money metals.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue makes assessment of all internal revenue taxes, and has general superintendence of their collection and of the enforcement of internal revenue laws, the employment of internal revenue agents, the compensation and duties of gaugers, store-keepers, and other subordinate officers, the preparation and distribution of stamps, instructions, etc., the analysis of food and drugs in the District of Columbia, and the payment of the bounty of sugar. His bureau is sub-divided into eight divisions, which are designated as appointments, law, tobacco, accounts, distilled spirits, stamps, assessments, revenue agents, and sugar bounty.

The Solicitor of the Treasury takes cognizance of all frauds or attempted frauds on the customs revenue. He is charged by law with duties regarding the compromise of debts, and with a supervision over suits for the collection of moneys due to the United States, excepting those due under the internal revenue laws. His approval is required of official bonds of United States assistant treasurers, department disbursing clerks, collectors of internal revenue, the secretary and the chief clerk of the department of agriculture. As the law officer of the treasury department many matters are referred to him for his examination and opinion aris-



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, 1800 AND 1890.

ing under the customs, navigation, banking, and registry laws, and in the administration of the department.

He is also charged by law with the supervision of suits and proceedings arising out of the provisions of law governing national banking associations in which the United States and any of its agents or officers are parties; also with the charge, release, and sale of lands acquired in payment of debt, excepting those acquired under internal revenue laws.

The Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey is an official of the Treasury Department. He is charged with the survey of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts of the United States, the survey of rivers to the head of tide-water or ship navigation, deep sea soundings, temperature, currents, etc., and observations on latitude and longitude and points of reference for state surveys. Results of this survey are published annually which embody professional papers of great value, notices to mariners, tide tables, charts upon various scales, including harbor charts, general charts of the coast, and sailing charts, chart catalogues, and coast pilots.

The General Superintendent of the Life-Saving Service is also an official of the Treasury Department. He supervises the organization and government of the employees of the service, prepares regulations and fixes the number and compensation of the surf-men at the several stations within the provisions of law, and does such other things as he believes requisite to promote the efficiency of the life-saving service. He makes an annual report of the expenditures of the money appropriated for the maintenance of the life-saving service to the Secretary of the Treasury, by whom it is laid before Congress.

The Supervising Surgeon-General is charged with the supervision of the marine hospitals and other relief stations of the service, and the care of sick and disabled seamen taken from the merchant vessels of the United States, and from the vessels of the revenue marine and lighthouse services. He examines and passes upon the medical certificates of claimants for pensions under the laws of the life-saving service. He has also the direction of laboratories established to investigate the cause of contagious diseases, and publishes each week an abstract of sanitary



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

reports received from all parts of the United States and through the State Department the reports received from foreign countries.

The Supervising Inspector-General of Steam Vessels superintends the administration of the steamboat inspection laws, presides at the meeting of the Board of Supervising Inspectors, receives all reports and examines all accounts of inspectors.

The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics collects and publishes the statistics of our foreign commerce, embracing tables showing the imports and exports respectively by countries and custom districts, the rates of duty on imports, and the amount of duty collected on each article or class of articles, the number of immigrants, their nationality and occupation, arriving from foreign countries, and the number of passengers departing for foreign countries, with much other information of kindred tenor.

The publications of this bureau are as follows: Annual Report on Commerce and Navigation; Annual Report on Internal Commerce; Annual Statistical Abstract of the United States; Quarterly Reports on Commerce, Navigation, and Immigration; Monthly Summary Statement of Imports and Exports; Monthly Reports of Total Values of Foreign Commerce and Immigration; Monthly Reports of Exports of Breadstuffs, of Provisions, of Petroleum and Cotton.

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing is under the Treasury Department. It designs, engraves, prints, and furnishes all of the securities and other similar work of the government printed from steel plates (except postage stamps and postal notes) embracing United States notes, bonds and certificates, national bank-notes, internal revenue and custom stamps, treasury drafts and checks, disbursing officers' checks, licenses, commissions, patent and pension certificates and portraits of deceased members of Congress and other public officers authorized by law.

The Secretary of War is the official head of the War Department of the United States under the President as commander-in-chief, and he performs such duties as the President desires relative to the military service. He has chief supervision of all the estimates of appropriations of money to be expended for the department, and for army supplies and rations, and transportation of troops, and such other expenditures as he is allowed by law to

make. He has also official charge of the Military Academy at West Point, of the national cemeteries, the Board of Ordnance and Fortification, and the publication of the official records of the Civil War.

He also attends to all matters relating to river and harbor improvements, the prevention of obstruction to navigation, the establishment of harbor lines, and he approves all bridges authorized by Congress to be built over navigable waters in the United States. An assistant secretary of war aids the secretary in attending to the duties of the office. A chief clerk attends to the official mail and correspondence of the department and to such other duties as may be required by the secretary.

The military bureaus of the department are supervised and directed by officers of the regular army as follows: Adjutant-general, inspector-general, quartermaster-general, commissary-general, surgeon-general, paymaster-general, chief of engineers, chief of ordnances, judge-advocate-general, and chief signal officer.

The Secretary of the Navy is at the head of the Navy Department, attending to all duties which may be assigned by the President, and he has general superintendence of the construction, equipment, and employment of all the war-ships of the United States. He is aided by an assistant secretary and a chief clerk who has charge of all the correspondence of the department.

The naval bureaus of the department are in charge of officers of the navy, and are as follows: Bureau of navigation, yards and docks, equipment and recruiting, ordnance, construction and repair, steam-engineering, medicine and surgery, provisions and clothing, judge-advocate-general, and marine corps.

The Secretary of the Interior, who is the head of the Department of the Interior, supervises all business relating to patents for inventions, bounty, and pension lands, public lands and surveys, education, railroads, the census, Indian reservations, etc. He is aided by two assistants who have certain specific duties assigned them. A chief clerk has general supervision of the clerks and other employees of the department, and of all its correspondence and papers. Under the jurisdiction of this department the following important officials conduct the duties of their respective offices.



The Commissioner of Patents administers the patent laws, supervises the issuing of letters-patent, and the registration of labels and trade-marks. A corps of skilled assistants aid him in attending to business of the office. The Commissioner of Pensions who examines and adjudicates on all claims for pensions made according to law. The Commissioner of the General Land Office attends to the survey, management, and sale of the public lands, and the issuance of titles for the same.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs superintends the various tribes of Indians in the several States and Territories. Through agents he attends to the annual distribution of rations to such tribes as may be entitled thereto; he has charge of the general management of their schools and other duties of a general character prescribed by law. The Commissioner of Education collects statistics showing the progress of education throughout the Union, its form and character in the various portions of the country, and all such information as may tend to promote the diffusion of intelligence.

The Commissioner of Railroads is the official to whom those railroad corporations report whose roads are located wholly or partly north, south, or west of the Missouri River, and to whom the United States Government has granted any loan for building or equipping the said roads; he is authorized to examine their books and accounts at least once a year, and at such other times as he deems necessary, and to furnish such information as he may deem expedient for the interest of the government in his annual report, which must be made to the Secretary of the Interior on the first day of November of each year.

The Director of the Geological Survey attends to the classification of public lands, the examination of the geological structure, mineral resources, and products of the national domain. The Superintendent of the Census superintends the taking of the census of the United States every tenth year, and its arrangement, classification, and compilation for the public information.

The Postmaster-General is the head of the Post-Office Department, of which he is the director and manager. He appoints all officers and employees of the department except the four assistant postmasters-general, who are appointed by the President by and



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with the advice and consent of the Senate; he appoints all postmasters whose compensation does not exceed one thousand dollars, makes postal treaties with foreign governments by and with the advice and consent of the President, awards and executes contracts, and directs the management of the domestic and foreign mail service. Each of the assistant postmasters-general has charge of a great division containing a large number of sub-divisions which is thus arranged for convenience and the despatch of business.

The Attorney-General is the head of the Department of Justice, and is the first law officer of the government. He represents the United States in all legal matters; he gives his advice and opinion on questions of law when they are required by the President, or by the heads of the other executive departments on questions of law arising from the administration of their respective departments; he also exercises a general superintendence and direction over United States attorneys and marshals in all judicial districts in the States and Territories, and he provides special counsel for the United States whenever required by any department of the government.

A chief clerk with a number of subordinates assists in conducting the clerical business of the department. The Solicitor-General aids the attorney-general in the legal duties of his office and in his absence acts for him. There are four assistant attorneys-general who assist in all the legal duties which come under the supervision of the attorney-general.

The Secretary of Agriculture is the head of the Department of Agriculture. He has superintendence of all public business connected with the agricultural industry. He appoints all persons employed in his department, except the assistant secretary and the Chief of the Weather Bureau, whose appointments are made by the President. There are a great number of sub-divisions in this department such as the Weather Bureau, the Bureau of Animal Industry, the Botanical Division, the Division of Vegetable Pathology, the Chemical Division, the Seed Division, etc., each with its appropriate chief officer who attends to certain specified duties under the direction of the secretary.

The Commissioner of Labor is the head of the Department of

Labor, whose chief duties are to secure useful information on matters of importance in the relations of labor and capital in the United States. The collection of facts regarding the hours of labor, wages paid to men and women, cost of living, housing of the wage earners, the cost of production and distribution of products, and such like come within the scope of his duties.

He is especially charged to investigate the causes of and facts relating to all controversies and disputes between the employers of labor and their employees, and is authorized to obtain information which may be useful even from foreign countries. He is obliged to report annually the doings of his department to the President and Congress and also at such other times as special information may be desired by either authority.

An Interstate Commission is established with authority to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers who are subject to the provisions of "An act to regulate commerce," which became law on February 4, 1877, and which has jurisdiction generally over rates on interstate traffic, to decide questions of unjust discrimination and of undue preference, and to enforce all the provisions of the act.

The United States Civil Service Commission makes regulations for the examination of all employees who enter the civil service of the nation. A Court of Claims, the government printing-office, Board on Geographic Names, Bureau of American Republics, and the Inter-continental Railway Commission, with certain limited duties assigned to each, of minor importance, make up the balance of all the bureaus under the immediate control of the Executive.

Respecting the third coördinate branch of the government — the Judiciary — Article III. of the Constitution provides: —

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority—to

all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact; with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The power herein vested in the Supreme Court is now exercised by nine judges, who are called Justices of the Supreme Court, and the tribunal itself is officially designated the Supreme Bench.

The head, or presiding Justice of the Bench, is called the Chief Justice of the United States. The President of the United States nominates the judges of all the United States courts, which nominations are submitted to the Senate, as it is necessary that the latter should confirm each appointment, otherwise it is of no effect. Whenever the Senate refuses to endorse an appointment, the President generally submits the name of some other person for the office.

The decisions of the Supreme Court are final; it is the highest authority, the court of last resort. After it decides what is the law on any disputed question, the whole power of the nation stands ready to enforce its decision. Even Congress may pass a measure and the President sign it, but if the Supreme Court declares it to be unconstitutional, it is null and void. The court is independent as well as supreme in the judicial sphere. It does not depend on Congress or the President, as each judge when appointed holds his office during good behavior and cannot be removed except by impeachment, in the manner provided by the Constitution. The court cannot initiate, nor make, nor execute any laws. It can only decide upon laws already made.

A majority of the court — that is of the judges composing it — decides every question which comes up for adjudication. This is



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called rendering the decision of the court, which is written out by one of the justices selected for that purpose, in appropriate language, alleging reasons and citing precedents for the new decision given, which will serve itself as a precedent for the final interpretation of the law in the future.

When one or more of the judges constituting a minority of the Bench cannot concur with the majority, a dissenting opinion is written out and placed upon record with the other in the official reports of the court, but the dissenting opinion does not affect in any way the interpretation of the law.

The regular sessions of the Supreme Court are held in Washington from the middle of October till May, when the judges separate, each going into a different section of the country to preside over the sessions of the United States Circuit Courts. Special sessions of the court may be held at any time as the justices determine. Each judge is paid a salary of ten thousand dollars a year, the chief justice receiving five hundred dollars additional. Provision has been made by Act of Congress that a justice who has served ten years on the Bench and is seventy years of age may retire on a pension equivalent to his salary for the remainder of his life.

While the Supreme Court determines finally all questions relative to the Constitution, and to such other matters as are set forth in Article III. of that instrument, Congress, by virtue of its constitutional power, has established national courts of inferior jurisdiction, viz: Courts of Appeal, Circuit Courts, District Courts, and Commissioners' Courts.

The Courts of Appeal were established in 1891 to decide definitely certain classes of cases which formerly were appealed to the Supreme Court, thus relieving the latter from the enormous pressure of business which threatened to block the judicial wheels. The whole country is divided into nine judicial divisions each having a Circuit Court.

These divisions are again subdivided into districts, each having a District Court. The Commissioners' Court is the tribunal of lowest jurisdiction among them all. Each of these courts has the limits of its jurisdiction clearly prescribed by law; its own judge, or bench of judges, its clerks, and other officials.

In the Territories of the United States special national courts are also maintained which adjudicate upon all questions arising within the territorial domain, and having judges and other court officials appointed by the President. All the courts of the United States in every part of the country follow the same rules. They are governed exclusively in their proceedings by the statute law enacted by Congress, and consequently they are not affected by the dissimilarity of the laws of the respective States in which they hold their sessions. The limits of their jurisdiction, however, are explicitly defined, and they cannot invade the field of the State tribunals within the legal domain of the latter, except in those particular instances reserved in the Constitution.

The most difficult thing to a foreigner to comprehend respecting our government is the relation which our States bear to the nation, and the limited universal jurisdiction of the latter throughout the States. This difficulty disappears, if it is clearly understood that the nation has no authority or power whatever, except such as has been, or may be, specially delegated to it by the States and expressly stated in the Constitution.

All power in our country comes from the people of the respective States who have deemed it wise for the common welfare to surrender certain powers which they originally possessed to the nation which now exercises them. The nation has no rights or authority except such as have been thus conferred in explicit terms by the States, and it cannot take away any power which they still retain. In some countries the national governments confer and take away the people's rights as they see fit ; with us, the people remain sovereign.

The ninth and tenth amendments to the Constitution are very explicit on this point, showing how very strictly, indeed jealously, the people guarded against any usurpation of power by our national government. The ninth amendment declares: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." And the tenth amendment, with notable clearness and precision, says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

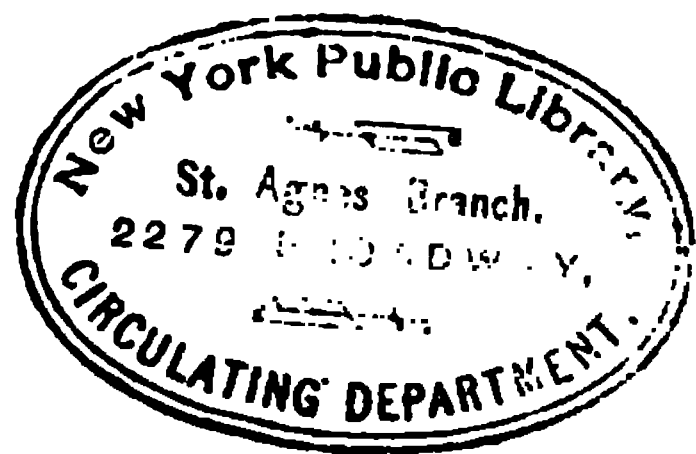


Those powers only which have been considered necessary to ensure the common safety, welfare, and convenience of the people of all the States have been surrendered to Congress which represents the nation. The eighth section of Article I. of the Constitution, with the constitutional amendments, define the powers which Congress alone shall exercise. These powers have been stated in the beginning of this chapter and in all other respects each State of the Union is sovereign within its own borders; it can enact such laws as the people see fit, but they must not conflict with laws passed by Congress in the proper exercise of its constitutional power, nor can a State establish any other than a republican form of government, because the Constitution prohibits it from doing so.

The form of our State governments is very similar to that of the national government. Each State has a written constitution, and a legislative, executive, and judicial department. The executive of a State is called the governor; he is elected by the people by direct vote, except in one or two States, for a term fixed by themselves, in some cases for one, in others for two or three years. He sees that all laws of the State are carried out, and is commander-in-chief of the militia, or armed volunteers, which he can call out for service in certain exigencies prescribed by law. He also possesses the power of veto over such legislative measures as he deems opposed to the public welfare.

The legislature of a State consists of two houses, an upper and a lower house, designated respectively as the Senate and House of Representatives, though in some States the latter is called the Assembly. The members of both houses are chosen directly by the people. A senator, representing a much larger district than a member of the lower house, is voted for by a much larger number of people, and hence the Senate is always much smaller numerically than the House of Representatives. The duty of a State legislature is to make all laws regulating the internal concerns of the State. It is the authority which grants charters to business corporations and cities, and it exercises control over banks, insurance companies, and every public and quasi-public undertaking carried on within its jurisdiction.

In some States the legislatures are elected every year, and hold







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annual sessions, while in others biennial elections and sessions are the rule. Very recently in some sections of the country, movements have been made towards securing triennial and even quadrennial elections in certain States. It is claimed by the advocates of less frequent elections and sessions that the turmoil and excitement of political campaigns is a great hindrance to business, and that more perfect legislation could be expected from men chosen for three or four years than from those chosen for one year. These claims, however, are generally made by the agents and attorneys of corporations and syndicates who frequent the lobbies of our State Houses, endeavoring to secure special legislation in the interest of their employers.

*The frequency of our elections* in these days of gigantic corporations who bring influences of various kinds to bear on the members of our legislatures is the great safeguard and tower of defence of the people. The annual political campaign is a great educator of the masses, and the legislator newly commissioned by them more truly understands and closely represents the views of his constituents than one who is removed from them by a term of two, three, or more years.

The honest and intelligent legislator has no fear of appearing before his constituents frequently for re-election; the dishonest man may well dread the ordeal. There never was a time in the history of our country when it has been so necessary for the people to keep the closest supervision over the doings of their representatives, and to express their opinions often at the ballot-box on measures and men, than at the present time, owing to the new colossal forces of corporate power which wield such a tremendous and sinister influence in our legislative halls.

The judicial department of each State, consisting of courts and judges ranging from the court of last resort, or Supreme Tribunal, down to the lowest in jurisdiction, administers the law of the State. The highest court in a State determines finally all questions relative to the constitution of the State, that is to say it interprets the constitution, and all legal matters coming before it on appeal from the lower courts.

The constitution is the organic law of each commonwealth, and a legislature cannot enact a law which will be operative against



it. If the constitution requires alteration or amendment of any nature, it must be altered or amended by the whole people of the State, themselves voting directly on the matter. The laws of each State vary as a rule from those of the other States, and the law of one is of no force in any other.

Because of the sovereignty of the States and the dissimilarity of their laws, the national Constitution provides for the regulation of certain general matters by the United States Congress; and also that the public statutes of each State shall be recognized and respected by all the others. No State, for instance, can impair the validity of a legal contract made in another State, nor can it reopen in its courts a case which has been decided by a competent tribunal in some other State, because the national Constitution has so provided to prevent the confusion which would result from such a condition. Congress representing the nation manages the affairs that are common to all the States, while the latter attend to everything else.

In the sparsely settled districts of the country not included in any of the States, Congress establishes a government usually upon the petition of some of the people who live there. The governor, judges, and other principal officers of the territory are then nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The people elect their own legislature which, with the appointed governor, conduct territorial matters very much as the States do. Indeed, a Territory is simply an embryo, or infant State; it only requires age and growth to become one.

Each territory sends one delegate to the House of Representatives in Washington to look after its interests, and make Congress acquainted with the wants of his constituents. These delegates cannot vote on any question, but they can speak on the floor of the House, and otherwise exercise whatever influence they possess on legislation in which they are interested.

The power of Congress over the Territories is supreme in every way. A law made by a Territory becomes invalid whenever Congress says so. A territorial legislature might pass a law similar to that of a State contiguous, but if Congress disapproved of it, it would be null, while the same law in the State could not be interfered with.

When a territory grows large in population and desires to be admitted a State of the Union, its legislature calls a convention which adopts a constitution. This constitution is then presented to Congress, with a petition asking that the territory be permitted to enter the Union of States. As soon as this is allowed, the new State, although its population may not be one twentieth of some of the older States, is entitled to two members in the Senate of the United States, indicative of its equal sovereignty with the other States. She is entitled to as many members in the lower House of Congress as her population gives her the right to choose and no more.

In closing this necessarily brief exposition and explanation of the complexities of the republicanism under which we live, we should fail in our duty to the subject and most of all to the American people, if we did not point out in clear, unmistakable terms the grave perils in the path of our progress to which allusion was made in the beginning of this chapter.

We began our national life with the fairest auspices. The natural wealth of the country was fairly well distributed. No wide extremes of riches and of poverty dazzled and disturbed the public vision. Patriotism, pride in our country or in our countrymen—a just pride then—was no mere catchword or political excuse for oratorical display, but was a vital, throbbing, personal fact. To be an American was greater than a king.

To-day, how many Americans are practically free? For, if a man is dependent on the will, or wish, or whim of another to give him work, and has no certainty that his work will be continuous, is he not really a slave? Yet many of the men who suffer just such a degrading dependence risked their lives thirty odd years ago to abolish slavery? They did abolish the slavery of colored men and blotted out the *word* as a legal and technical term. But the thing remains.

Remains with regained and with increasing vigor—a servitude not merely of the semi-civilized and ignorant mass of an alien race, but a subjection of white men, and women, and children to a few taskmasters, a very few profiteurs and promoters of an industrial system just as absurd as it is cruel and degrading.

We indulged, especially in New England, in a vast amount of

virtuous indignation over the evil of black slavery, and we spent many noble lives and much treasure to remove the motes from the eyes of our Southern brothers. But no unpartisan observer will deny that the condition of colored men under the regime of the planter aristocrat was far better on an average than that of the lower classes to-day in any of our large cities. What, then, awaits the republic?

The masses are discontented, and they have a right to be so. For huge monopolies since the war have crawled into existence and coiled themselves around the legislature, the judicial bench, the pulpit and, worst sign of all! around the press. The middle classes, to be sure, are tolerably prosperous, and a small personal prosperity salves their consciences into silence.

But theirs is a fool's paradise, for numerically they represent only a tenth of the population and thus, with the working class who represent nearly nine tenths on one side, and the plutocrats who represent about one seventieth on the other, the middle classes are between the upper and nether millstone, and are liable, unless they wake up in time and hasten to effect a change in the system, to be ground into powder by dynamite in the hands of an enraged populace whose only lack for present action is the lack of a leader.

There is one cure for many, not for all, the evils of our present situation, and this cure would also be a preventive of a worse condition of the body politic. This remedy is a simple one and the number of persons who see its virtue increases every day. That is, to take all the large businesses which directly concern the masses out of the tricky hands of private enterprise, and make them parts of the machinery of the government, like the post-office, for instance.

Railroads, telegraphs, telephones, expresses, mines of all kinds, ought to be owned and operated by the general government at cost for the benefit of the whole people. All means of supplying light, heat, and pure water should belong to the cities and towns; likewise, of course, all franchises for public conveyance such as horse or electric cars.

After these, some other businesses that affect the health of the people might wisely be done by the village, town, or state. By

this method a growth of true and valuable individualities would be stimulated and a sufficiently large field for the free play of better individual effort would remain to yield a rich harvest for the race in the present as well as the future. If some of these things are not done speedily, it needs no special gift of prophecy to predict a tremendous crash of national disaster, for the American people, as we noted before, are unquestionably growing very discontented.

And you who are one of the toiling, moiling millions, you who live in a poor, ill-furnished house, who suffer from cold in winter and have no bathtub to keep you clean from the daily sweats of your vacationless summer, you who would like to work a trifle less and to know a trifle more, you who would like to live with just a little more dignity, a little more decency — you say the American masses have a right to be discontented. A right? Yes, and in truth it is their highest duty to be so, for discontent is one of the noblest words in the American language. Nay, more, it is not a mere word. Discontent is the Divine Mother of Progress.

